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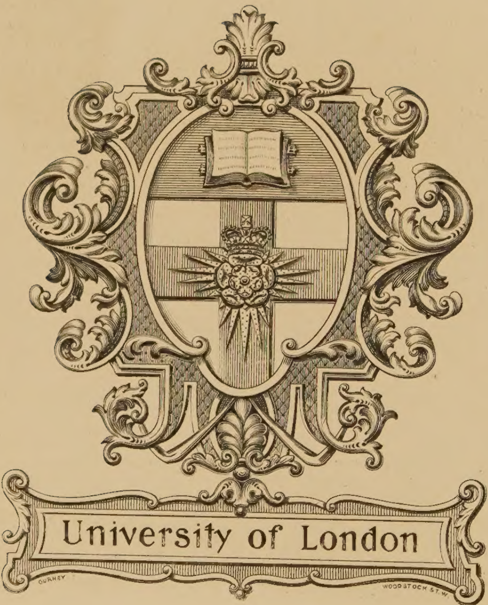
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HANSARD'S

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THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

45° & 46° VICTORIÆ, 1882.

VOL. CCLXXII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE ELEVENTH DAY OF JULY 1882,

TO

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF JULY 1882.

SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

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—:o:—

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 213] [Sixth Night]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 14*th July*] 724

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

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Public Offices Site Bill (No. 184)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee,"—(*The Lord Sudeley*).. 836

Amendment *moved*, to leave out from ("That") to the end of the Motion, for the purpose of inserting ("the Bill be referred to a Select Committee,")—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

After debate, on Question, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?—*Resolved* in the *affirmative*:—House in Committee accordingly:—Bill *reported* without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Friday* next.

NAVY—SHIPBUILDING POLICY OF THE ADMIRALTY—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Returns of the number and armament of ships of war in the navies of Foreign Powers, number and weight of guns carried by them, with the number of torpedo boats at the present time, and the estimated naval forces that are expected to be at the disposal of each Power at the expiration of three years from the present date,"—(*The Viscount Sidmouth*) .. 844

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THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — THE SPECIAL GRANT — Question, Observations, Viscount Midleton; Reply, Lord Carlingford .. 848

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PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—:o:—

Belfast Harbour Bill [*Lords*]—

Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered" .. 851

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient to grant such extensive powers to any Corporation elected on so restricted a Franchise,"—(*Mr. Biggar*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 193, Noes 26; Majority 167.—(Div. List, No. 274.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered;* to be read the third time.

Dover Harbour Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Freshfield*) .. 873

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is not desirable to proceed with this Private Harbour Bill until Government have made known their final decision,—about the formation in Dover Bay of

Dover Harbour Bill (*by Order*)—continued.

the long contemplated Public, Military, and Naval Harbour,—as to their intentions about granting, in aid of the proposed private work, money grants, loans, subsidies, and tolls,—the use of convict labour, materials, lands, shores, and the use of the Admiralty Pier; also, to what inquiry the proposed work will be subjected, as to the sufficiency of the named capital and works to form and complete a private harbour which will fulfil the conditions set forth in the Petition of the promoters of this undertaking,"—(*General Sir George Balfour*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

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Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 888

After short debate, Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday*.

QUESTIONS.

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Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff*:) —After debate, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL—Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 922

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 213] [Seventh Night]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 17*th July*] 922

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (Nos. 1 and 2) Bills—

Moved, "That the Select Committee do consist of Twenty-seven Members,"—(*Sir Thomas Acland*) 966

After short debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "Twenty-seven," in order to insert the words "Twenty-nine,"—(*Mr. Labouchere,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'Twenty-seven' stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 120, Noes 35; Majority 85.—(Div. List, No. 277.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—List of the Committee .. 972

Agricultural Holdings Act (1875) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Monckton, Mr. Levett*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 242] .. 972

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Considered in Committee 972

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COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 19.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

***Earl of Aylesford's Estates Bill* [*Lords*]**—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 973

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTION.

Egypt—Protection of Europeans—The Suez Canal—Questions, Mr. Gourley, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Charles W. Dilke 975

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 213] [Eighth Night]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 18th July*] 976

After long time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*, and to be *printed.* [Bill 241.]

QUESTION.

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal Bill [Bill 64]—

Order for Second Reading read 1019

Moved, "That Strangers be ordered to withdraw,"—(*Mr. Callan:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 36, Noes 173; Majority 137.—(Div. List, No. 280.)

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Stansfeld*) .. 1021

Previous Question proposed, "That that Question be now put,"—(*Mr. Childers:*)—After short debate, *Previous Question,* "That that Question be now put," put, and *negatived.*

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill [Bill 182]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Stevenson*) .. 1031

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot:*)—After further short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

QUESTION.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Viscount Folkestone, Colonel Alexander, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1049

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) [SALARIES AND EMIGRATION]—

Considered in Committee 1050

Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 20.

EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT—Question, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury; Reply, Earl Granville 1051

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UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD UNIVERSITY STATUTES)—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the proposed Statute for the University of Oxford, framed

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877, &c.—continued.

by the University of Oxford Commissioners, concerning the nomination of examiners, and now on the Table of this House,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) .. 1055

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Division List, Contents and Not-Contents 1070

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THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that Her Majesty will cause to be laid on the Table, Copy of the report of a committee which has lately inquired into the Channel Tunnel scheme; also copies of any other papers which may exist on the same subject,"—(*The Viscount Bury*) 1071

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 20.

QUESTIONS.

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ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) [SALARIES AND EMIGRATION]—
Resolution [July 19] *reported* 1104
After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

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Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill [Bill 241]—

Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1107

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill, as amended, *considered.*

After debate, Bill re-committed; *considered* in Committee 1132

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill [Bill 147]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That this House will, upon Saturday next, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) 1160

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Colonel Alexander*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 130, Noes 36; Majority 94.—(Div. List, No. 283.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Committee upon *Saturday* next.

Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 243]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 1167

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 75]—

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday next,"—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*) 1168

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Biggar*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 78, Noes 5; Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 284.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Second Reading upon *Saturday* next.

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill [Bill 148]—

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday next,"—(*Mr. J. N. Richardson*) 1170

After short debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Warton*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question:"—Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 30, Noes 25; Majority 5.—(Div. List, No. 285.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Second Reading upon *Saturday* next.

Payment of Wages in Public-Houses Prohibition Bill [*Lords*]

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday next,"—(*Mr. Broadhurst*) 1171

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Warton*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 33, Noes 4; Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 286.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Second Reading upon *Saturday* next.

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Churchwardens' Admission Bill [Bill 45]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That this House will, upon Saturday next, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Mr. Monk*) .. 1172

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Warton*,)—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 12, Noes 11; Majority 1.—(Div. List, No. 287.)

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 21.

INDIA (HYDERABAD) — MAJOR C. B. EUAN SMITH — Questions, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answers, Viscount Enfield 1173

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE LAND COURTS—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—Observations, Lord Brabourne; Reply, Lord Carlingford:—Short debate thereon 1175

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—SECOND READING—Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, Earl Granville 1205

Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Galloway*) .. 1206

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 1*st of August* next.

Public Offices Site Bill (No. 184)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley*) .. 1212

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months,") — (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved* in the *Affirmative:*—Bill read 3ª accordingly, and *passed*.

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 21.

QUESTIONS.

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LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—RIOTS AT BELFAST—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1215

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EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT—Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Leamy; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Gladstone 1222

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Arrears of Rent (**Ireland**) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 241]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 20*th July*] 1226

After long time spent therein, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day*.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

Progress *resumed* 1281

After long time spent therein, Question, "That the Bill, as amended, be reported to the House," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 1307

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day two months,"—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 283, Noes 177; Majority 106.

Div. List, Ayes and Noes 1319

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Observations, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Reply, Mr. Gladstone 1323

Partnerships (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 179]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 10*th July*] 1324

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress.

Pensions Commutation Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 252] 1331

Poor Law Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 251] 1332

MR. MOORE asked whether the remainder of the Papers could not be laid on the Table?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he would consider that matter.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA—EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS, &c.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Government has received any report of the inquiry into the riot at Alexandria on June 11th?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have received no Report from the Commission of Inquiry into the recent riots at Alexandria, and they are not aware that any such Report exists. I have, however, myself had a conversation with an English barrister who was a member of the Commission, and who has furnished the Foreign Office with notes which will form the basis for further inquiries.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Has the Government received any information that will enable it to make a demand for reparation?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the information in our possession is very far from complete. Telegrams have been addressed to various points by the Colonial Office, including Malta and Cyprus, for the collection of information from refugees from Egypt; but the information obtained is in too incomplete a form to enable me to say anything further. The matter will be submitted to the Law Officers on the receipt of details.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If there is any objection to laying further Papers relating to Egypt upon the Table at once, at all events down to the meeting of the Conference?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, further Papers relating to Egypt, and bringing the Correspondence up to the meeting of the Conference, will be laid upon the Table as soon as possible.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: On what day?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Probably on Thursday or Friday of next week.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: When will the despatch relating to the conversation with M. Challemel-Lacour be laid on the Table?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I have asked my noble Friend the Foreign Secretary whether he wished it to be laid separately or not on the Table, and he said he did not wish it to be laid separately.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I beg to remind the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government that he promised that we should be able to have a discussion on the Egyptian Question about the middle of July. We shall require the Papers before that.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The Egyptian Papers are extremely bulky, and I do not think it would be possible to lay them on the Table before Thursday or Friday next week. We hope they will be distributed to the House on the Saturday following.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: What is the proper place in the Papers for the despatch to which I refer?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I do not know the exact place, but Lord Granville does not desire any of these Papers to be laid on the Table separately.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: The despatch to which I refer must have been written about the month of February. The Papers that are to be laid on the Table are subsequent to that date.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I understood my hon. Friend to refer to a despatch correcting the impression which had been formed of the conversation with M. Challemel-Lacour. I now see that he refers to the account of the conversation itself. That, of course, will have to be laid before Parliament separately.

MR. GORST asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the interpretation placed by himself on the fifty-fifth section of the twenty-first and twenty-second Victoria, chapter one hundred and six, on the 27th of May 1878, when he stated that the Law had been flatly, plainly, and egregiously broken by the Government, he intends to obtain the "previous" consent of Parliament before advising Her Majesty to employ her Indian forces in Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the contingency to which the hon. and learned Gentleman refers has not arrived. Her Majesty has not been advised to employ her Indian Forces in Egypt. If that contingency should arise, and if the conduct of the Government or my conduct should be in conflict with the opinion of which the hon. and learned Gentleman reminds me, I have no doubt that the hon. and learned Gentleman will be in his place to exercise his right.

MR. ONSLOW asked if Her Majesty had been advised to get ready her Indian Forces in case of necessity?

[No reply was given.]

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the Government are taking any, and, if so, what, steps to relieve the British subjects that have taken refuge in Malta and Cyprus, and if he is aware of the very superior facilities furnished by the Greek and Italian Governments for the removal of Greek and Italian subjects from Egypt to that furnished by the British Government to British subjects?

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect, Sir, to the refugees in Malta, I gave an answer yesterday, and I do not think I have anything to add to that answer. With respect to the refugees in Cyprus, we have this information. About 2,500 have arrived, mainly natives of Cyprus, many of whom have friends in the island. The monasteries have been largely used for the purpose of housing them; and I believe their condition is pretty satisfactory. Cases of destitution have only quite occasionally been reported. With regard to the facilities furnished by the Greek and Italian Governments, I have seen the statements in the newspapers; but we have no information which would enable us to give an answer.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I wish to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he has any information to give the House as to the progress of the bombardment reported to have taken place at Alexandria, and especially if he can state whether any of Her Majesty's ships have received any damage, and whether any casualties have taken place among the crews?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the Admiralty have received some telegrams in the course of this day. They came from Mr. Moore, secretary to the Admiral commanding-in-chief, who is on board the telegraph-ship *Chiltern*, lying off Alexandria. We are not aware whether the telegrams were prepared in communication with the Admiral, but we presume they were not. At 7 o'clock this morning this telegram was received—

"Alexandria, 7.10 a.m., July 11.—Tuesday, Seven, Morning. Ships have opened fire on the forts. Ships in following positions:—*Alexandria*, *Sultan*, *Superb*, under weigh on a NE by E line from 1,500 to 1,900 yards W ½ N Eunostos Lighthouse. *Inflexible* in Central Pass 3,700 yards N by W of Mexs Fort. *Teméraire* in Central Pass, 3,500 NNW Mexs. *Penelope*, *Invincible* (flag), *Monarch*, 1,000 to 1,300 yards W by N Mexs."

I may here say that Mexs commands the exit and entrance to Alexandria Harbour. The telegram proceeds to say—

"Unarmoured ships under weigh, working guns to best advantage, annoying Mexs. Return fire from forts weak and ineffective. *Hecla* has arrived."

At 8 oclock this morning we received the following:—

"8.40 a.m.—Tuesday, eight, morning. Bombardment continues; heavy explosion in Fort Marsa-el-Kanat; return fire from forts slackening. French Squadron sailed last evening, leaving *Bison* and *Hirondelle* off the port."

At 11 a.m. we received this—

"Alexandria, July 11, 11 a.m.—Forts on Isthmus comparatively silenced. Moncrieff near Lighthouse and one gun, Fort Ada replying about 10 rounds an hour. *Alexandria*, *Sultan*, and *Superb* at anchor returning fire. Unarmoured ships warmly engaged inside Fort Marabout. Egyptian practice apparently very indifferent."

That opinion, of course, must be taken as the opinion of the sender of the telegram. Then, at 1.30 p.m., we received this—

"1.30 p.m.—Magazine Fort Ada blown up."

We have no information as to the damage to the ships or as to casualties. That information will, no doubt, come in the course of time from the Admiral himself; but we presume that his secretary, who, as I have said, is on the telegraph-ship off Alexandria, will not be aware of any details that may occur among the ships of the Fleet.

MR. W. H. SMITH: With your permission, Sir, I beg to give Notice that I shall repeat the Question at 10 minutes to 7 o'clock this evening, in case there is any further information.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I beg to state that I have had placed in the Newspaper Room a chart of Alexandria, showing the position of the different places mentioned in these telegrams.

Mr. RICHARD: I should like to ask the Prime Minister the following Question. He may be able to answer it now, but if not I shall put it on the Paper. I wish to ask whether there was not an understanding among the Powers represented at the Conference now sitting at Constantinople that no separate action should be taken by any one Power pending the deliberations of the Conference; whether the bombardment of Alexandria by our Fleet is not a violation of such understanding; and whether any communications have been addressed by the Representatives of the other Powers to the British authorities in regard to the bombardment?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, there was a general understanding among the members of the Conference at Constantinople to the effect mentioned by my hon. Friend. But from that understanding was expressly, and at the time, excepted the class of cases under which this bombardment would fall. I, therefore, unhesitatingly say that there is no question in this measure of bombardment of any departure from that understanding. I am not aware of any representation having been made by any of the Powers to the effect described by hon. Friend.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is the Conference still sitting?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir; I make no doubt of that. We are still receiving telegrams, although we have not received any for the last few hours.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Conference adjourned for a day or two, in order to receive the replies of the Powers to a proposal that had been made.

Mr. ONSLOW: I wish to ask—if the Question can be answered without prejudice to the Public Service—whether the right hon. Gentleman can corroborate the reports that we are making preparation in India for the despatch of troops?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I adhere to the general rule, and in conformity with universal practice, and without any discourtesy to the hon. Gentleman, I must reply that it would not be compatible with my public duty to answer the Question.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: Until what time has the Conference been adjourned?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Conference adjourned some days ago, until the Powers had replied to the proposition put before them. Affirmative replies have been received from, I think, almost all the Powers.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN: Has any communication or remonstrance been received by Her Majesty's Government from the Turkish Government as to the bombardment?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: It would be better for Notice to be given of this Question. Several communications have passed in view of the probable bombardment; but those were previous to the actual opening of fire.

Mr. G. W. ELLIOT: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether there is any reservation in the understanding between the Powers at the Conference as to the landing of troops in Egypt?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member had better give Notice of that Question.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: About these Papers, Sir; the Prime Minister promised that we should have them by the first week in July. Could we, at all events, have the Instructions which were given to our Plenipotentiary at the Conference, so that we may know what ground we are standing upon?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I very much doubt whether it will be possible to give the later and more detailed Instructions to our Plenipotentiary while the Conference is sitting. They will not be, in fact, included in the Papers which I have promised. They are of a character which will render it impossible to lay them on the Table while the Conference is sitting.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) has alluded to a promise given by the Government at the beginning of this month—namely, that a discussion may be taken on the Egyptian matter. It appears that all parties are satisfied—at least the two Front Benches are satisfied—but there is a Party which is not satisfied. I want to know what opportunity there will be for discussing the Egyptian matter, and at what time the Government will see fit to allow the House to discuss it?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg to remind my hon. Friend of the only specific promise which it was my duty to give. It was that about the middle of July—in other words next week—Her Majesty's

Government will think it their duty, even if not obliged by necessity, to submit the question of Supply. That is apart from any general discussion founded on any Motion expressing the opinion of a large body in the House. As regards an opportunity of discussing that question, that answer is the answer I have already given.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: How does the right hon. Gentleman expect that we can discuss the question before we have the Papers?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have never given any pledge with regard to any Papers of a later date than the end of May, and the promise given by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary as regards new Papers is distinct and independent from that which I gave.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Is it not a fact that it was said there might be a discussion in the middle of July on the general Egyptian policy of the Government? If so, we shall require, before that, some time to read the Papers.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have nothing to add, Sir, to what I have already stated. The Papers which I promised take us down to the end of May, and these Papers I expected to be in the hands of the House in the first week of July. I believe that they are now in the hands of Members. There can be a discussion upon them, and I said we should propose Supply about the time I have mentioned.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—:o:—

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[Bill 213.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 10th July.*]

[SECOND NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

Settlement of Arrears of Rent.

Clause 1 (Settlement by Land Commission of arrears of rent).

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON moved the insertion, after the word "satisfied," in line 18, of the words, "at the customary date." It appeared to him that, unless some such words were introduced in order to fix the exact period at which the tenant must pay his rent, a difficulty might arise. He understood that the object of the Bill was to enable certain tenants to avail themselves of the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but who would, from the arrears of past years, be liable to eviction before their cases could come before the Land Court. Unless some such words as those he now suggested were inserted, that object would not be accomplished. His reason for arriving at that conclusion was this. The tenant was required to recognize the obligation of paying rent in respect of certain years—1880 and 1881—but in the Bill it was provided that the rent payable in respect of the year of the tenancy expiring on the last gale day of the tenancy, in the year 1881, should have been satisfied before the application was entertained by the Commission—that was to say, that a tenant who did not lodge an application until the year 1883, and which could not come on for adjudication for a period of 18 months, would not be obliged to pay rent during that time. He had consulted some of his legal Friends as to his reading of the clause, and he believed he was right in putting the case in this way. The consequence would be that, although the tenant recognized his obligation to pay rent, he might not fulfil it, and the landlord would be without the power of enforcing his rent except by serving a notice to quit upon him. It was suggested, in the discussion which occurred upon this question last night, that the exact date at which the tenant ought to comply with that obligation should be inserted, or that the object of the Bill would be defeated, and the date proposed last night was the 30th of November. There were, however, certain objections raised to that date, and the Amendment was rejected. The object of the present Amendment was to provide that it should be proved to the satisfaction of the Land Commission that the rent payable in respect of the year of the tenancy expiring on the last gale day of the tenancy of 1881 had been satisfied "at the customary date." He believed these words would carry out the idea he had understood the Secretary of State for

War (Mr. Childers) to express on a previous occasion. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that he had no objection to the insertion of such words on the part of the Government; but he suggested that they should be inserted in Sub-section 3. He (Lord George Hamilton) thought that anyone looking at Sub-section 3 would see that it was not possible to insert those words there; and, therefore, he proposed to insert them in the sub-section now under discussion.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 18, after "satisfied," insert "at the customary date."—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE said, there was no question of principle between the noble Lord and the Government; but the Amendment seemed to go somewhat further than the statement made by his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War, to which the noble Lord had referred. If the landlord required payment of the rent earlier, he had his usual powers, and could resort to the exercise of such powers. That was a matter altogether outside the Bill; but, as far as the proposals of the Bill were concerned, it was quite enough if the rent had been satisfied at the date when the matter came before the Court.

MR. SYNAN said, he did not see how it was possible for the Committee to adopt these vague and uncertain words. What did the words "customary date" mean? On some estates it might be customary to fix a date for the payment of rent, while on other estates it was not. According to the custom of some estates, there was a hanging time, leaving the rent due in November to stand over until the following May, while upon other estates there was no such hanging date, and it was required that the rent should be paid in November.

MR. GIBSON said, he did not think that the matter was clear or satisfactory as the clause now stood. Sub-section (*a*) was of immense importance, bearing in mind the statement made last night by the Secretary of State for War. That statement was perfectly clear and intelligible, and the object of the Amendment of his noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) was to make Sub-section (*a*) what it should be, and complete in itself. The first condition was that the rent of the particular year should be satisfied either by a cash payment or an arrangement with the landlord, or in any other mode that was deemed satisfactory. His noble Friend, in order to make the matter complete in itself, and to make it clear that there should not be a hard-and-fast line, and that the rent should not be paid at the very hour it became due, proposed to put in the words actually used by the Secretary of State for War last night—namely, "at the customary date." But there was no magic in those words, which simply meant the time at which the rent was usually paid. His (Mr. Gibson's) point was that the sub-section should be made complete, and that it was not necessary to have any subsequent gloss upon it, which would be certainly left if it were retained in its present shape. As to Sub-sections 3 and 4, he confessed that, for the life of him, he could not understand them. He had read them carefully that morning in the light which the right hon. Gentleman had thrown upon them; but he had failed to reconcile the statements of the Government in regard to those sub-sections with the Bill itself. When they came to Sub-section 3 it would be found that it was a perfectly worthless and useless sub-section, except that its object was to re-adjust the sub-section the Committee were now engaged upon. It might be that, in 1881, the landlord might have accepted in full discharge 50 per cent of the arrears accrued in 1879; but that was a transaction of 1879, and not of 1881, and it would be so stated on the receipt given upon the understanding and arrangement come to between the parties. Therefore, such an acceptance ought not to be placed to the credit of the year 1881; and he wanted to know if the Government intended to apply this unnatural construction to the payment of arrears? His own opinion was that such a construction would be absurd, ridiculous, and grossly unjust; and he wanted a clear statement from the Government as to whether they contemplated any such possibility.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the question which had just been raised by the right hon. and learned Gentleman had nothing whatever to do with the Amendment of the noble Lord. The Amendment of the noble Lord raised a very small point in comparison with that raised by the right hon. Gentleman, and it was one upon which the Government had distinctly given their reasons for not accepting it. When they came to Sub-section 3 the subject might be reopened.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he understood the Government to attach importance to the payment of rent in the year 1881, and his noble Friend's Amendment would carry out that object of the Government. Any person who had paid his rent in a good year like 1881, and had resisted the allurements of illegal organizations to keep it back, would be placed at a disadvantage by the Bill as it stood. In point of fact, those who had lent their aid to the discouragement of the schemes of the Land League would be deprived of all the benefit of the Act, and he gathered that it was the object of the Government to help those who had paid their rents and had resisted illegal organizations. If that really was the object of the Government, they ought to accept the Amendment.

Mr. GIVAN said, there was nothing in the clause to preclude arrangements such as that suggested as between landlord and tenant, or to deprive a landlord of his ordinary remedy. There was no really fixed time for the payment of rents on Irish estates; but there was a certain lax practice prevailing in regard to the payment of rents. No hard-and-fast line was drawn; but if they were not paid at the particular time when they were considered to be due the landlord had his ordinary remedy.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) pointed out that the landlord would not be precluded from the employment of his ordinary remedy. Now, what did that mean? It meant that if a tenant did not pay the rent, he would receive notice to quit and be evicted. He thought it was the object of the Bill to stop evictions. Nevertheless, when he ventured to point out an unquestionable flaw in the 1st sub-section of the clause, and which he proposed to amend, the Government told him that it was a point of minor and secondary importance. He was aware that in the North of Ireland there was considerable anxiety as to the date of the payment of rent, but his object was to prevent unnecessarily harsh steps being taken, and to make it perfectly clear to the tenant what the date was at which he must comply with one of the preliminary conditions of this section. He had proposed an Amendment last night giving ample time for this purpose—namely, about 10 months. This should be quite long enough a period to enable the tenant to satisfy the rent of the preceding year; but the Amendment he had proposed was not accepted, and, acting on the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, he now proposed to insert the words, "at the customary date." If, in consequence of the Government declining to make the obligation of the tenant perfectly clear, they forced the Government to take proceedings against the tenant with the view of enforcing payment or evicting him, the Government alone would be responsible for it.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he had followed the observations of the noble Lord, and thought he understood his meaning; but the noble Lord had described as the object of the Government that which was not their object at all. The noble Lord said the object of the Bill was to prevent evictions. The object of the Bill was not to prevent all evictious, but to prevent evictions for the non-payment of arrears of rent. That was the sole point at issue, and if they travelled beyond that they would be at sea.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH proposed an Amendment to provide that the payment of arrears should be a *bonâ fide* payment. He said he should have been glad if he could have proposed an Amendment last evening, substituting the word "paid" for the word "satisfied." He had been struck on considering Sub-section (*a*) by the fact that the language of the Government uniformly throughout the Bill was that the payment was to be made by the tenant; and, if he remembered rightly, when the right hon. Gentleman opposite introduced the Bill, the payment of a year's rent by the tenant was made a condition precedent to his accepting the benefits of the Bill, and was relied upon as affording an important security before any portion of the public funds were advanced. If that were so, it might have been expected that the language of the clause would run in this way, "that the rent payable in respect of the year has been paid;" but the word used was "satisfied," and not "paid." His noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) had relied upon the use of the word "satisfied" by the Secretary of State for War in the discussion of last evening, and he had proposed to add to it the words, "at the customary date." When he looked at Sub-section 4, he found an interpretation there given of the word "satisfied." The sub-section said—

> "A remission by the landlord of the whole, or any part of the rent, payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid shall be deemed to be a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted."

Therefore, it was held out to the owners and occupiers of the land that they had only to agree between themselves that no rent should be asked for or paid in respect of the year so expiring, and thereupon they would be in a condition to apply to the Government for the payment of the year's rent out of the public funds. If all he had heard as to the impecunious condition of these tenants were true, it was only reasonable to suppose, as was stated in a letter to *The Times* of that morning, that they were no more capable of paying a year's rent than they were of paying off the National Debt. If that were so, what was the use of this issue of public funds, which could be of no advantage either to the tenant or the landlord? He must say it seemed to him not only to render possible a collusive arrangement between the owner and occupier of a small tenancy, but really to invite such collusion, with the view of securing the payment of the public money in discharge of the arrears. For his own part, he had relied very much on the idea that by the issue of public money for wiping out the arrears, advantage might be conferred upon the tenants, and he entirely agreed with the view expressed by the Prime Minister yesterday, when the right hon. Gentleman complained of the mischievous practice of adding up arrears against the tenant from year to year, the tenant being entirely unable to pay the money due for the current year's rent out of that year's profits and receipts. He was quite willing to consent to an Arrears Bill on the basis of getting rid of this objectionable practice, which was certainly not a practice adopted in England; but if the tenant were unable to pay any considerable portion of the year's rent, his business could not be considered a going concern, and it did not seem to him (Mr. Sclater-Booth) in any way expedient that the resources of the State should be ladled out for the support of such a person, or for the retention of his holding. He gathered from the speech which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), on a previous occasion, that this clause was to operate as a means of getting rid of hopeless arrears; but if it were really meant to relieve landlords by the use of public money, let them have it so stated, and they would know what they were about. He should object to anything of the sort, and he was curious to hear how the Government would justify the language of Sub-section 4, which gave an interpretation of the word "satisfied." He now proposed to qualify that interpretation by adding the words, "*bonâ fide* payment." A *bonâ fide* payment was a difficult thing to define or describe; but the Commissioners, taking a common-sense view of the matter, would understand what was meant by a *bonâ fide* payment in respect of rent. The Commissioners would know directly whether it was merely an illusory payment, a nominal payment, or no payment at all, or whether it was a really *bonâ fide* payment.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, at end of paragraph (a.), after "satisfied," insert "by a bonâ fide payment."—(*Mr. Sclater-Booth.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the right hon. Gentleman himself had referred to Sub-section 4 of the Bill, by which it was intended to explain what would constitute satisfaction. Why, then, import the consideration of the matter into an earlier portion of the clause, seeing that it was adverted to in a later portion? The right hon. Gentleman would see that to enter upon the discussion now would only confuse and prolong the labours of the Committee. He would only say at the present moment that it was intended by the Government that the satisfaction should be a *bonâ fide* payment. He hoped the Amendment would not be pressed.

Mr. J. LOWTHER thought the right hon. Gentleman was scarcely correct in saying that the Amendment of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Sclater-Booth) ought to be deferred until the 4th sub-section. If his right hon. Friend proposed subsequently to amend the 4th sub-section, and deferred the present Amendment until that sub-section was reached, he might be met at once with the statement that the point had been already practically settled by the Committee in passing the words now under consideration. That would be the natural conclusion at which everyone would arrive. His right hon. Friend wished to prevent a collusion between the landlord and the tenant by which the whole or any part of the rent due would be forgiven in order to enable the parties to obtain the funds granted by the State. He was afraid that the mouth of his right hon. Friend might be stopped if he did not press the Amendment now. The matter was one of immense importance, at whatever time the Amendment might be taken, and he ventured to say that the present was the proper time. What his right hon. Friend drew the attention of the Committee to was the fact that collusive transactions might be entered into between the parties, and the payment of rent might not be really a *bonâ fide* payment, but a transaction altogether behind the back of the Commission and of the taxpayer, and altogether outside the scope of the Bill, and that by means of such devices improper demands might be made upon the public purse. Surely, that was an important matter which should not be passed over by the Committee, and he trusted that it would be fully discussed at whatever might be considered the proper time.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, that all these Amendments had quite clearly one object, and that object was to defeat the intentions of the Bill. He should like to ask the two right hon. Gentlemen opposite who had taken part in the discussion, who was to be satisfied in this way? Was it not the man who ought to receive the money—namely, the landlord? Whether the landlord took only a proportion, or insisted upon his full right, was a matter which could not concern anybody who wished really to protect the tenant. He wished to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) whether he had considered this point, that if he insisted upon the tenant having made what he called a *bonâ fide* payment, he meant that that payment should be a substantial sum, because, if so, it would amount to the penalty of eviction upon 100,000 or 150,000 persons within the next few months in the West of Ireland. Was the right hon. Gentleman prepared to encounter such a state of things? If he was so prepared, then he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) would say that the landlords and people who had to live in Ireland would not be able to live at peace with their neighbours. He therefore trusted that the Committee would not accept any of these Amendments, however simple they might appear at first sight, but that they would regard them as—what, in fact, they were—indirect attempts to defeat the Bill.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) to take the advice of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), who stated last night that the word "satisfied" was the correct word.

Mr. GIBSON said, that what he had stated was that the word "paid" or the word "satisfied" would be correct; and, personally, he did not think it unreasonable to allow the landlord voluntarily to make his own arrangements. If the landlord, with his eyes open with respect to particular arrears, desired to make an arrangement with his tenant he would leave him perfectly free to do so.

Mr. BULWER said, he had listened attentively to the discussion, and after the explanation of the word "satisfied" given by the Prime Minister, he thought the proper Amendment would be to insert the words, "has or has not been satisfied."

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he had no wish to divide the Committee on the Amendment if there was a general desire that it should not be pressed; but he would give Notice of an Amendment on the subject later on. He objected to the practice of allowing Amendments to stand over until a further stage of the Bill. There was nothing in the Amendment which, in his opinion, would prevent the landlord from giving the tenant all or part of the rent; but what he contended was that transactions of a colourable nature ought not to be permitted for the purpose of obtaining from the Government a sum of money out of the public funds, and nothing had fallen from the Government to intimate that precautions would be taken to guard against such a proceeding.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. DILLON moved to insert, after the word "satisfied," the words "or that the holding is valued at not more than ten pounds a year." The object of this Amendment was to add to the preliminary application to the Commission proof that the tenancy was of the value of not more than £10 a-year, and the effect of it would be to enable a small class of tenants to obtain the benefit of the Act without having made any payment at all. He did not know that he had much chance of inducing the Government to accept the Amendment; but he would state why he was convinced that an Amendment of this character was absolutely necessary in order to make the Bill a success. In the first place, there were a number of holdings which this provision would apply to. There were an enormous number of holdings in Ireland of a value not exceeding £4, or £5, or £6 a-year, and he thought the Government ought to fix some value below which they would not enable the landlord to proceed for rent. The number of holdings which the Amendment would set free from the obligations of the clause would be about 200,000. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had stated that it was perfectly true that if any tenant of this class was required to make any substantial payment of rent in the West of Ireland, the Act would lead to the eviction of between 100,000 and 150,000 persons. He was satisfied that a great number of landlords would be prepared to act in the spirit of his Amendment—that was to say, that they would be perfectly content to take a year's rent from the Government now and another year's rent from the tenant in November, and be very glad to get it. Then, why should they leave it in the power of a man who was neither humane, nor reasonable, nor just to defeat the intentions of the Bill by evicting the poorest of his tenants? There was not the slightest doubt that the vast number of landlords in Mayo and the West of Ireland would be extremely glad to take a year's rent from the Government now, and on that condition would let off their tenants from all arrears; but there were a certain number of men who had harassed the Government by their action during the last two years, and had made this Bill a necessity, because they were neither just, nor reasonable, nor humane. It was owing to the fact that the tenants of these men were utterly unable to pay or able to meet their landlords by any arrangement that the landlords might insist on their full right of evicting them. At least 50,000 persons would be at the mercy of the landlords, and would be left in such a position that the landlords might at once proceed to evict them. It had been truly said by the Prime Minister yesterday that if this Bill was anything at all it was a substantial financial boon to a great many of the landlords of Ireland; and, considering the amount of time which the Government had been compelled to waste on Irish questions, it was only fair to ask them even to sacrifice those men who were neither humane nor just. He believed that if this Amendment were not introduced into the Bill the measure itself would prove ineffectual, and the condition of affairs in Ireland would be exactly what it had been during the last two years, the poorer tenants being placed entirely at the mercy of men who neither cared for the Government nor for the tenants. The Amendment was intended to benefit the most wretched class of the population on Irish soil, and not to prevent them from emigrating. No scheme of emigration the Government could introduce would prove effectual. They could not touch the question of emigration until they were in the position to assure the Irish people that their emigration was not to be a forced emigration. When they could satisfy the Irish people that that was the case, they would find that many men would not be unwilling to emigrate. At present they only resisted all attempts that were made to drive them to emigration; and this Bill, with such an Amendment as this, might prepare the path for those who were desirous of introducing reasonable schemes of emigration. But, unless they protected the poorest class of the Irish people from that which they dreaded—namely, a forced deportation, the Government could not, and dare not, tolerate any scheme of emigration.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I put the Question, I wish to say that I have listened attentively to the remarks of the hon. Member, in order to see if I understood the meaning of the Amendment. As I understand it—but I may be wrong—the hon. Member intends this as a Proviso to exclude the tenants of under £10 from the operation of Sub-section (*a*), in the Proviso that they shall not be bound to pay a year's rent.

Mr. DILLON said, it was an alternative to the conditions contained in the clause. He proposed to exclude tenants of under £10 from the obligation of satisfying the rent before they could obtain the benefit of the provisions of the Bill.

The CHAIRMAN: Do I understand that it is a Proviso that a certain class of persons shall not be bound to pay rent. If that be so, I do not think that the Amendment would be in Order.

Mr. DILLON said, that that was not the object of the Amendment; but its purpose was to make one of the preliminary conditions of the application to the Commission proof that the holding was valued at not more than £10 a-year.

The CHAIRMAN: Then I do not think I can exclude it on the point of Order.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 18, after "satisfied," insert "or that the holding is valued at not more than ten pounds a year."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that, of course, he fully accepted the ruling of the Chair in regard to the formal character of the Amendment; but he had no doubt the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) would be prepared to hear him say that the Government could not accede to it, and on more grounds than one. In his opinion, the Amendment would give the Bill the appearance of having been framed, contrary to the intentions of the Government, in a spirit of hostility towards the landlords, whereas they had declared otherwise, although he could not say their declaration had had much effect on hon. Members on the other side of the House in regard to their reception of the Bill. They had endeavoured to found the Bill on principles of equity, and even of liberality, towards the landlords. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] He was sorry to hear that interruption; but he had arrived at the conclusion that there was no opinion, however innocent, that could be given by a Minister in his place, that was not liable to an interruption, such as, until within the last few years, was totally unknown in Parliament. He made that statement to the House for the information of those whom it might concern. The Government had endeavoured to balance together the various considerations, and to make the Bill operate with uniform fairness to all parties; but it was quite obvious, to take no other objection to it, that if indiscriminate indulgence were allowed to the tenants it would immensely increase the temptation which they had endeavoured to exclude as far as they possibly could—he did not say they had absolutely excluded it—namely, the temptation to the tenant to pretend inability to pay. For these reasons Her Majesty's Government could not accept the Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. VILLIERS-STUART said, the Amendment he was about to move was introductory to his second Amendment on the next page of the Notice Paper, and the object of it was to eliminate from the Bill an element of injustice. The Prime Minister, on introducing the Bill to the House, had laid down the axiom that if the Bill was to be compulsory it must be just. That principle, he believed, would be at once accepted by every right-minded man. He was anxious to point out that the clause, as it stood without the Amendment which he proposed, would not carry out this principle. The Bill proposed to enforce the liquidation of arrears of the years 1878, 1879, and 1880. Of course, this was a very startling proposal, and the justification of that project lay in the exceptionally bad seasons and other circumstances connected with those three years. With regard to those particular arrears, it might be admitted that the argument was just; but he would point out that this justification would not extend to arrears antecedent to the year

1878, when there had been a series of good seasons. Now, unless the Bill was modified in the direction of his Amendment, a very great injustice would be done, and a large number of landlords, and especially to that class who were most deserving of consideration—namely, those who, in the midst of distress which existed in Ireland, on the appeal of the Government, had not pressed their claims upon the tenants, and increased the difficulty and embarrassment of the times. A certain number of landlords had responded to the appeal of the Government, and the consequence was that an amount of arrears antecedent to the period he had referred to remained unpaid. Now, he put it to the Committee whether, in consequence of those landlords having listened to the appeal of the Government, it was right that they should find the arrears in question entirely confiscated without any consideration whatever being shown them? He would for a moment stop to consider the ways in which many of those arrears had arisen. In some cases, the tenants would go to their landlords and say they had had to provide for the expense of emigration for some of the members of their family; another would say he had married off his daughters, and had to provide their portions; others had bought stocks, or had become security for their neighbours. It was upon grounds of this kind that the tenants applied to the landlords for further time for the payment of their rents. In consequence of these appeals, the landlord would not press for the rents, looking to the security of the tenant right. On almost every large estate in Ireland there was a certain amount of arrears antecedent to the years of distress. Well, when the years of distress came, those arrears were dealt with by landlords in different ways. There was the indulgent landlord, who refrained from pressing his claims, and there was the exacting landlord, who, even in the time of distress, showed no indulgence, and got his arrears paid by the tenants out of the money at the bank by the sale of stock or otherwise. Now, it was proposed by this Bill to give those landlords who so got their arrears an amount of compensation which, in their case, would be very fair. The Government offered them something like 5*s*. in the pound on the three years' arrears, which, no doubt, they might fairly accept. But his complaint was that the same terms were offered to the landlords to whom he had referred as having refrained from pressing their claims at the request of the Government. If no modification were made in the direction of his Amendment, it would be simply saying to these landlords—"You have been allowing your antecedent arrears to remain over on the faith of the tenant right; that tenant right was a security which we ourselves pointed out to you as giving an additional security for arrears; but we shall now strike down that security; we will sponge out the arrears and declare the tenant whitewashed." The arrears, in fact, would be confiscated. Now, he put it to the Committee whether this was in accordance with the principle that, if this measure were to be compulsory, it must also be just? He would now take two classes of tenants—the thrifty, industrious tenant and the careless and thriftless tenant. With regard to the industrious tenant, he would be placed in this position—that, although he had strained every nerve to keep his tenant right free from incumbrance, if this Bill were left as it then stood, he would be in no better position than the man who drank away his money as fast as he could get it instead of paying his debts. That could not but have a demoralizing effect, and would certainly be a discouragement to industry, inasmuch as it would show the industrious tenant that all his self-denial and thrift had been exercised in vain, and that they were about to place his thriftless neighbour in as good a position as he was himself. He ventured to say that this was not in accordance with the principle laid down with reference to this Bill, and that the lesson which the landlord would learn from it was that he must never make any concession whatever to his tenants—that he must never meet their wishes for temporary accommodation by allowing his rents to stand over. The consequence of this would be that the rents would henceforth be exacted to the day. Now, he would point out that the landlords had been in the habit of charging no interest upon the rents allowed to stand over, and that was the reason why the tenants so much preferred to go to the landlord and ask time for payment rather than go to the bank and raise the money at a cost of from 6 to 10 per cent. It would be a great disadvantage to the tenant if the kindly relations—if the practice on the part of indulgent landlords of considering the convenience of their tenants in giving them time—were to be brought to an end; and he hoped, therefore, that he might appeal to the Government to give a favourable consideration to the Amendment which he proposed. That Amendment would not impair the efficacy of the Bill so far as its main object was concerned, that object, as he understood it, being to check evictions. He did not propose to give the landlord power of eviction for these antecedent arrears; but he asked that they should be secured, and that the landlord should only derive any benefit from them when the tenant came to sell his interest. If that principle were adopted, it would remove another objection to the Bill—namely, its demoralizing effect, because the industrious tenant would be still in a better position than the tenant who allowed his tenant right to become incumbered. That surely was an important point, and upon it he felt very strongly. He had given his support to the Bill up to the present moment, but he could not sanction that which he believed to be injustice; and, therefore, unless some concession were made in the direction of the Amendment which he begged to move, he should be unable to give any further support to the Bill.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 19, after "rent," insert "which became payable subsequent to the last gale day of the tenancy in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine."—(*Mr. Villiers-Stuart.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had listened with considerable interest to the speech of his hon. Friend, and he was bound to say that he had never listened to one which less persuaded him that the object of it could possibly be adopted by the Committee. The speech of his hon. Friend was interesting, inasmuch as it shadowed forth new matter in connection with the arrears in Ireland; and the Amenment which it introduced, when taken in connection with the other Amendment which the hon. Member had on the Paper, pointed to a method of dealing with a portion of the Irish difficulty. It had been carefully considered, and, had it been earlier introduced, he thought the hon. Member might have found himself in consonance with a certain portion of the House; but it was impossible for the Amendment proposed now to be considered by the Government, because it undoubtedly struck at the principal object which the Government proposed to themselves in dealing with this matter. The point of the Amendment seemed to be to make the arrears of rent begin where the Government intended they should leave off. The Amendment proposed to make the arrears commence at the last gale day of 1879.

Mr. VILLIERS-STUART: I beg pardon; that is a misprint in the Notice Paper; it should be 1877.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member proposed that the arrears of rent up to 1878 should come within the operation of this Bill, and that those before that period should not be wiped out, but should remain—a certain amount of them, at any rate—as a debt guaranteed by the tenant right, and which, when that tenant right was sold, should be paid to the landlord. The hon. Member said that the main object of the Bill was to check eviction. He admitted that that was one object of the Bill; but it was not the only object. Besides checking eviction, it was intended to give some hope to the tenant who had suffered during the bad years in Ireland, and some indication that he was a free man, and that in his hard life he was not to be entirely ground down. But the Amendment of the hon. Member would leave him under a heavy burden, which, when he desired to turn his tenant right into money for the benefit of his children at home, or their support in a new country, would reduce the value of that tenant right almost to nothing. Again, in principle he thought the hon. Member's proposal was untenable, because, if the Government once began paying arrears, he asked which arrears ought to be paid first? Surely, in all cases of debt the universal sense of mankind was in favour of a period of limitation; and it was invariably held that the new debt should be paid in preference to the old. To consider a debt of extremely long standing as of equal importance with one of recent date was obviously against all principle in the matter of accounts and liquidation; and, certainly, to consider an old debt as an equally grave and serious matter as a more recent one was against all principles of legislation, whatever it might be with regard to the principles of morality. Again, this view of the case might also be defended upon the grounds of morality, because, if there was anything which could demoralize those relations which ought to exist between man and man, it was to encourage the idea that to allow long arrears to run up was a proceeding which could not be blamed from a moral point of view. The Government felt very much for those landlords who, in bad years, had remitted rents to their tenants; but they also considered that, taking the landlords of Ireland as a whole, the outstanding arrears were compulsory rather than voluntary. As a rule, they were unable to recover their rents to a very great extent during those bad years; and, therefore, the Government could not feel that, on the whole, they were doing an injustice to the landlords in Ireland. What the hon. Member said with regard to the industry and thrift on the part of some tenants very well deserved a hearing; and had the speech of the hon. Member been delivered on the second reading, he believed it would have constituted a powerful argument as directed against this Bill, and he had no doubt that the votes of some hon. Members would have been influenced in consequence. But on the present occasion he thought it would be hardly a logical and convenient method to adopt for hon. Members to vote in favour of an Amendment which would have the effect of wrecking the Bill. He hoped the hon. Member for Waterford County would not press his Amendment to a division.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the most valuable possession of the tenant being secured. As he did not quite understand what this meant, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would kindly explain.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he referred to the tenant right. If the right hon. Gentleman would look forward on the Notice Paper he would see a very interesting and carefully drawn Amendment by the hon. Gentleman who had just moved, which would explain the meaning of his remarks.

MR. WARTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had declared that the Amendment came too late; but he must remind the Committee that justice in this matter was of more importance than time. He thought this serious appeal on the part of the hon. Member for Waterford County had not been treated as it deserved. It was quite true that the speech of the hon. Member was of an interesting character; but there was something beyond that to be considered in connection with it, and it was that he himself was one of those indulgent landlords who had listened too readily to the various excuses put forward by his tenants for the purpose of gaining time, and it was because he was suffering from the effects of his own kindness that he now came forward to ask the Committee to consider this reasonable Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had spoken of the tenant parting with his possession. But who gave him that possession? Why, it was conferred on him last year by that House; and was it not simple justice that when property had been created for the tenants of Ireland out of the property of the landlords it should be charged with the payment of some portion of the antecedent arrears? He thought if justice was altogether to be dispensed with in the application of this measure, that appeals to justice should be abandoned once for all in defence of it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

THE O'DONOGHUE said, that it had been stated by the Government on introducing this Bill, and by the supporters of the Bill itself, that it was intended to facilitate the working of the Land Act of last Session. He would point out to the Committee that the object of the Amendment he was about to move was to facilitate the working of this Bill when it passed into law. The Committee would see that there were certain preliminary steps to be taken by the Land Commission before this Bill would apply. For instance, they had to see that the rent payable in respect to the year 1881 had been satisfied, and that antecedent arrears of rent were due to the landlord. Now, he proposed that when the Land Commission had satisfied itself that those antecedent arrears were due to the landlord, the inquiry on the part of the Land Commission should go no further—that the Land Commission should assume that the tenant was unable to discharge such antecedent arrears. He maintained that this assumption might be fairly made by the Land Commission. The Committee would notice that at the end of the 1st clause he proposed to add a Proviso that when the landlord should receive an intimation from the Land Commission that there was a certain sum available for him he should then have power, if he thought proper, to move the Land Commission to inquire into the financial condition of the tenant. He wanted to throw the onus of such a step entirely on the landlord. Nothing in the world was easier than to lay down principles which were true in the abstract, which had a fine logical sound, and which captivated the understanding through the ear. But they were bound to ask themselves whether everything relating to the case with which they were dealing had been treated in accordance with strict principle? It was impossible to conceive any greater violence to the principles of political economy than resulted from the system of rack-renting which troubled Ireland; and he contended that in endeavouring to compensate for that injustice there was no violation of principle whatever. Why were the Irish tenants in arrear? Was it because they were robbers, or because they were habitually lazy? For neither of these reasons. They were now in arrear owing to the combined influences of bad harvests and rack-renting. Rack-renting, he maintained, was the chief cause of their being in arrear, because, if their resources had not been impaired by years of unjust exaction, it was impossible to suppose that two, or three, or four years of bad harvests would have utterly destroyed those resources. In justification of the Amendment he was about to move, he wished to say that this system of rack-renting had been of long standing; it had existed there from time immemorial, and in the year 1790 an Irish nobleman, who was not particularly given to taking an indulgent view of his countrymen, used these words—

> "I am very well acquainted with the Province of Munster, and I know that it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable tenantry of that Province. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by the rents they have to pay."

Now, what was true of the tenantry of the Province of Munster in 1790 could be said with perfect truth of the tenantry of every Province in Ireland at the present time. Again, in the year 1836, he found Lord Derby, in the course of a debate upon the Irish Poor Law in that House, saying—

> "He should have been most desirous of seeing a Bill introduced, by which the poor rate levied might have acted as an absolute check upon that which he held to be one of the greatest evils of Ireland, viz., the exorbitant rents fixed upon it. For now a landlord imposed a rent of 50*s*., knowing, at the same time, that he could not get more than 40*s*., but trusting to what he could screw out of the tenant, while the poor tenant, from the great competition for land, undertook to pay 50*s*., knowing well, at the same time, that he could pay no such sum."

In fact, as Lord Derby said "elsewhere," the tenant had to pay the rent in some way, and, in consequence, he was obliged to live in a state of starvation. Again, in order to prove that rack-renting had come down to the present time, it was only necessary to turn to the decisions of the Land Commission, and to the reductions of rent which the landlords themselves were every day making to their tenants out of Court. Now, he contended that it was quite impossible for hon. Members in that Committee to free themselves from responsibility for the state of things which existed in Ireland. For years they and their predecessors had resisted all attempts to bring about a just settlement of the Land Question. They had supplied the Irish landlords with that physical force which enabled them to extort exorbitant rents from their unfortunate tenants. It was true that the law sanctioned rack-renting; but it did not follow that the Irish tenantry were obliged to accept that plea in satisfaction of all their claims for redress. Now, his object, as he had already pointed out, was to facilitate the working of this Bill, and he contended that all that the Land Commission ought to inquire into was, as to whether the tenant really owed his landlord antecedent arrears. Supposing the Land Commission decided to make payment to the tenant on behalf of the landlord, what did this miserable concession amount to when contrasted with the rack-renting of generations? He trusted the Government would agree to his proposal that the Court should merely inquire into the fact of the tenant's owing money to the landlord. He was especially anxious upon this point, because he hoped they were about to have on the soil of Ireland a population to whom they could turn round and say that legislation had done for them all that legislation could possibly do. For these reasons, he hoped the Government would not make a stand upon a point which, in simple truth, had no foundation in justice.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 19, leave out all after "and," to "arrears," in line 21.—(*The O'Donoghue.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was sure the hon. Member would see that the Government could not admit the Amendment he had just moved without departing from the elementary conditions of their proposal. If inability was to be proved, that inability was just matter for the cognizance of the public authorities, and it was not right that the Government should leave that matter entirely as between the landlord and the tenant, because, in cases where a tenant falsely professed inability, the landlord would be the main resource for showing that he was able to pay, for if the tenant were able to pay, the landlord would think he was not bound to make the sacrifice which this Bill called upon him to make. He was sure his hon. Friend must be convinced that all along he had not considered this matter from the most popular point of view. The Land Act of last year included this very condition—namely, proof by the tenant of his inability to pay; and he could not state too frankly that Her Majesty's Government would not take the responsibility of asking for the application of a public fund with the contingency of a grant from the Consolidated Fund for the purpose of discharging arrears which the tenant himself might be able to pay. It was the bounden duty of the Government to have the inability of the tenant to pay ascertained. He might also say that, although the very general inability of large masses of the smaller tenants in certain parts of Ireland to pay these arrears constituted the whole basis of the Bill, the mere fact of the existence of great arrears in Ireland would not justify it. The Government thought the Bill justified, because, although there might a certain proportion of the tenants in arrears, yet there was a very large number of tenants unable to pay, and they felt that the line between ability and inability in this matter was one which ought to be maintained.

Mr. MOORE said, he thought that arrears ought to be blotted out once for all. He was, however, sure he could not move the House from the decision they had arrived at; but there appeared to prevail amongst hon. Members an opinion that there were to be two investigations. That, however, was not the case. But he thought they had a right to know what the character of the investigation was to be. He had no wish to create difficulties; but if the investigation was to be of a legal character, he was bound to say that it would prove to be another source of confusion and delay. If the Government were determined to have this investigation, which he regarded as a sham, and as placing a premium on dishonesty, he said they had a right to ask to whom—to how many Courts—it was to be delegated.

Mr. HEALY said, the investigation would, undoubtedly, lead to long delays. He suggested a provision should be inserted in the clause that the tender of one year's rent should be a bar to all action on the part of landlords where ejectment proceedings had been commenced.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. BRODRICK said, that no provision had been made to meet what would amount almost to a certainty under this Act. Application would be made by the tenant, and a certain time would elapse during which the application would be considered; in the meantime great pressure would be put upon the tenant by all his other creditors to liquidate their claims, and, if necessary, to place him in a position to come under the Act by giving them the money upon which the landlord would otherwise have the first claim. It would soon become a notorious fact that in a short time he would receive a certain sum of money from the Government, and the shopkeepers and money-lenders would at once make demands upon him for their debts. Now, he submitted that a man who had money at the bank sufficient to discharge his liability to the landlord ought not to claim a year's rent under the Act. In order to prevent this he begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice, and sincerely trusted the Government would accede to it.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 20, after "tenant," insert "at the date of his application was and now."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Gentleman opposite seemed to think the strongest reasons existed for the insertion of the Amendment he had just moved; but he was bound to confess that he did not see any reason to justify its acceptance. There were, no doubt, practical objections to the Bill, and some difficulties with regard to its operation, not the least of these latter being presented by the investigation to be made by the Land Commission. While the Government said the Bill was a necessity, they admitted that it would entail great labour, expense, and some delay. Now, it seemed to him that by the Amendment before the Committee the hon. Gentleman proposed to substitute two investigations for one. He proposed that the Court should be bound to ascertain at the time when the adjudication was made that the tenant was then unable to pay, and also to go back to a former date and examine as to whether any change had taken place in the circumstances of the tenant. The hon. Member must himself admit that this would constitute a large addition to the labour, delay, and expense of investigation. Again, he thought the case a most improbable one, in which there was likely to be abuse of the Act in the manner indicated. The hon. Member said the tenant might have money at the bank, which might be appropriated to the payment of debts to shopkeepers or moneylenders. But, supposing that money were appropriated to the payment of his lawful debts by the tenant, he was not prepared to say that such payment was such a sin on the part of the man as to disqualify him from receiving the benefit of the Act. What was really material was the man's inability to pay at the time the application was made. Her Majesty's Government were willing that a proper investigation should be made; but they objected to add gratuitously to

the difficulties of working the Bill, which it appeared to him they would be doing by acceding to the hon. Member's proposal.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought the motive which actuated his hon. Friend in proposing this Amendment was one which deserved more consideration from the Government than, as he gathered from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, it was likely to receive. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to draw a distinction—a rather unfair one in his opinion—between the lawful debts of the tenant and his debt to the landlord for arrears of rent. Now, he understood his hon. Friend to argue that a notice of application to the Court would, in fact, be notice to the creditors to come down on the unfortunate tenant for the purpose of squeezing him to the utmost for the whole of their debts, which at present the law considers as secondary to the debt due to the landlord; and that, when the Court decided the matter, the landlord would be the sufferer, because the money which ought to have paid the rent would then become applicable to the payment of debts of a secondary character. That was undoubtedly a hardship to the landlord, while, at the same time, the tenant was in no way benefited by it. He hoped there would be an opportunity of discussing the point raised by his hon. Friend at some time during the passage of the Bill through Committee. He thought, however, that the question as to when the investigation should be made—whether at the time of application or adjudication—was better raised by the Amendment of which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin had given Notice; and, therefore, he suggested that the present Amendment should not be pressed.

Mr. BRODRICK said, he had no wish that the time of the Committee should be occupied in twice discussing the same question; and, therefore, he was willing to ask leave to withdraw his Amendment. But he wished to point out that the payment of the creditors other than the landlord would go on in the cases indicated in the face of those tenants who had paid their rents, and would constitute a premium on dishonesty which the right hon. Gentleman, he believed, never intended.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. H. G. ALLEN said, the object of the Amendment he was about to move was to make a distinction, so far as the benefit of the Bill was concerned, between the two classes of tenants mentioned a short time since by the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart)—the thrifty and industrious tenants, and those who spent their money as fast as they received it. He desired to make it clear that the former class were to be relieved from the effects of bad seasons, and that it was not intended to relieve the latter from their liability under circumstances such as had been referred to. He thought it clear that inability to pay was not alone a sufficient claim to a relief in its nature exceptional. Suppose a man, in consequence of dissolute and drunken habits, never were to sow seed in his ground. It was obvious that such a man would be "unable" to pay rent, still more unable to pay off arrears. Would it be contended that, for such a man, his arrears were to be discharged out of the taxation of the nation? Surely not.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 20, after the word "unable," to insert the words "by reason of failure of crops or disaster to stock, and without fault on his own part."—(*Mr. H. G. Allen.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was afraid he must decline to accept this Amendment, on grounds which were the same as those which applied in the case of that which was last before the Committee—namely, that it proposed a very large extension indeed of the Amendment necessary to be made. It added largely and gravely to that difficulty, which was the main difficulty of the Bill—that was to say, the ascertaining of the tenant's inability to pay, a difficulty which the Government had encountered for the most serious moral and social reasons. But he could see no ground why those moral and social reasons should carry them so far as to adopt the words proposed by his hon. Friend. Now, there was no doubt of the fact that with regard to the great bulk of those whose cases this Bill would include, they were unable to pay owing to the failure of crops or disasters to stock, or other causes beyond their control. He quite agreed with his hon. Friend that it would be an excellent thing to exclude the drunkard, the unthrifty, and worthless fellow from the benefit of many Acts of Parliament; but it was hardly in the power of the Legislature to do it, and it was not very important that it should be done in a case of this kind; because the cases of persons who had ruined themselves from excess were quite exceptional, and the process of distinguishing and separating would be such that the labour entailed by the invidious nature, and the whole character of the investigation, would far more than outweigh the infinitesimal advantage to be derived from it.

Mr. GIBSON said, no doubt it was an important fact that some inquiry was to be made under the provisions of the Bill. There must be investigation if the Government were to justify themselves in the face of those who looked after the interest of the taxpayers. And, inquiry being necessary, however inconvenient, in the name of common sense, let it be a real and not a sham inquiry. If the Government intended that this money was to be had simply for the asking, they might as well enact that everybody who applied for it was unable to pay. The Amendment before the Committee said that the incapacity to pay should be by reason of the two points stated; but the Prime Minister had gone beyond them altogether, and his remarks had led him into a series of considerations that might be very well aired before a Social Science Congress, but which had nothing whatever to do with the Amendment before the Committee. The hon. Member who introduced the Amendment never suggested that it should be inquired into whether a man was moral in his habits, or whether he was reduced to present distress by drunkenness. For his own part, he considered the Amendment dealt with subjects that might very well be the subject of inquiry on the part of the Land Commission, and he thought it should be seriously and gravely treated by the Committee. They could not, in considering this Bill, and the circumstances under which it was presented, ignore what had been going on in Ireland for the last 18 months, and what was still going on there. It was no good to shut their eyes and pretend not to see what everyone outside the House saw very well. Everyone admitted that there ought to be discrimination with regard to the circumstances and position of the applicants under this Act. Some tenants, owing to the failure of crops, disasters to stock, and without any fault on their own part, were entitled to receive every sympathy; and if any just and wise measure were proposed to relieve them from arrears, and keep them in possession of their farms, it ought to receive fair consideration. But there were other tenants who had had no failure of crops or disasters to stock, but who, with distinct fault on their own part, had hearkened to the teachings of the Land League; and he contended that these men ought not to be allowed to stand shoulder to shoulder with the innocent tenants to participate in the national largesse. Therefore, he said, whether it was convenient or inconvenient, it was necessary that this should be a real inquiry; that the Commissioners should satisfy themselves, as they could do by inquiry carried on in the neighbourhood, whether the people who applied were those who had abstained from paying rent in obedience to the "no rent" manifesto, or whether they were of the class who had formerly paid their rents from gale day to gale day, and who, in recent years, from real or pretended terror, or sympathy, joined the League, refused to pay, and fell into arrears in consequence. Was it to be tolerated or suggested that tenants of that class had the same right to the relief afforded by this Bill as the tenants who had fallen into arrears in consequence of the failure of crops, or disasters to stock, and without fault of their own? If the inquiry were to be real and such as the taxpayers of the country had a right to expect, he ventured to say that the topics suggested by the Amendment ought to be considered and judged of by the Committee. Words something similar to these were submitted to the judgment of the House by the Government in the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. It was admitted, of course, that the process would occupy some time, and the exercise of some discretion on the part of the tribunal; but it was considered that the relief proposed should not be given without consideration of the circumstances under which the inability to pay had arisen. Was it not fair that the Land Commission should consider, not only whether the applicant was unable to pay, but whether he was unable to pay honestly, from no fault of his own, or dishonestly, because he had united himself with a criminal agitation, and from that time refused to carry out the obligations which previously he had reasonably and fairly endeavoured to discharge? If some safeguard of the kind proposed were not put into the Bill it would be both unjust and demoralizing. Could anyone conceive, in the wildest stretch of imagination, more demoralizing teaching than to say to a man—"You deliberately did not pay your debts, not because you could not do so, but because you thought you could evade the law under the *ægis* of criminal terrorism to which you wilfully bowed your head; but having fallen into arrears in consequence, we will now come in and help you, equally with the honest man, and while there are some classes to be helped who are poor, courageous, and honest, you will also be assisted who have been dishonest and cowardly?" If this were to be a real inquiry—one that would satisfy the public, must not some discrimination be shown with regard to these different classes of applicants? The only mode which had been suggested of arriving at that end was that contained in the Amendment before the Committee. If the Government could indicate some other means of discriminating between the two classes of tenants referred to, he would be ready to consider it; but, in the absence of any better proposal, he should support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Pembroke.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed only to be quarrelling with words, because he did not entirely approve of the Amendment before the Committee in its present form. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said if the Government did not approve the words they should alter the Amendment. But he (Mr. Gladstone) had stated his objection to the Amendment in the words in which it was expressed, and those were words which imposed two conditions — one being that the inability should arise by reason of the failure of crops or disasters to stock; the other, that there should be no fault on the part of the applicant. He had pointed out that it was inexpedient in the highest degree to insist that the tenant's inability should be without fault on his own part, and in doing so he had referred to the case where the moral conduct of a man had reduced him to destitution. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said the Government had not proposed anything which he approved for dealing with this matter; but, if that were so, why did not he put forward a suggestion of his own? The right hon. and learned Gentleman was clearly supporting an Amendment which he did not approve. Again, the right hon. and learned Gentleman throughout his speech had frequently used the expression—"If there is to be a real inquiry." But the Amendment had nothing to do with the reality of the inquiry; it had to do with its scope and intent only. The inquiry into the tenant's inability was a real inquiry, quite apart from the question whether or not they were to examine into the cause. He believed the right hon. and learned Gentleman would not dispute that, and, if so, it justified him in putting aside the portion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's speech which referred to the reality of the inquiry. And now he must point out that the right hon. and learned Gentleman went a little further. The right hon. and learned Gentleman admitted there was to be no inquiry into morality, so that the drunkard and thief, or the drunken fellow generally, was to have no difficulty placed in his way. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said let them enact on the face of the Bill that which they really meant to enact. If he (Mr. Gladstone) understood him rightly, what the right hon. and learned Gentleman meant was, that the man who was really unable to pay his rent at the time of the investigation, but who was at one time able to pay, and did not pay, owing to the instigation of the Land League, ought to be excluded from the benefit of this Act. He had endeavoured to understand the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and that was what he understood him to mean. He thought he was quite correct, for the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman admitted of no other conclusion. He could only observe, that if that had better appear on the face of the Bill, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had better move a Proviso, which it was quite easy to suggest, providing that in case it should appear that a man, unable to discharge these arrears——

MR. GIBSON: I have an Amendment to that effect lower down.

MR. GLADSTONE asked why, in that case, the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not wait until his own Amendment came up, instead of wasting his animated advocacy on an Amendment of which he did not approve? He would not hesitate to go great lengths with the right hon. and learned Gentleman in condemning the conduct of that class of people who held their harvests, or kept their rents in their pockets when they were able to pay them, under any instigation whatever. But even with regard to those he would draw some distinction which the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not draw, because many of the people acted under terror; and if he (Mr. Gladstone) could separate those who acted under terror and those who proceeded wilfully, he might go a long way with the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. After what he (Mr. Gladstone) had said, and after what the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself (Mr. Gibson) seemed to admit, it was evident that they ought not to proceed by the acceptance of the words now before them.

COLONEL BARNE said, that this clause was really a premium to idleness. Suppose some idle tenants did nothing but stand about with their hands in their pockets, like many of the "corner boys"—which he thought men who loitered about street corners were called—suppose they came to the Land Commissioners, and said, "they had got no money, and they had got a holding for which they were unable to pay rent," were the taxpayers of Great Britain to put their hands into their pockets and pay taxes towards the idleness of those men? It appeared to him (Colonel Barne) that some Amendment of this sort was necessary to avoid that contingency. The words at the end of the Amendment of the hon. Member (Mr. H. Allen), "and without fault on his own part," would entirely cover that contingency, and it seemed to him the Amendment ought to be accepted by the Committee. He trusted the hon. Member would press his Amendment, which should certainly receive his (Colonel Barne's) support.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, they must assume that the Land Commissioners would exercise common sense in the discharge of their duties, and if they found a gross case of fraud, they would not find it necessary to make an advance. Under the circumstances, he could not think that the Amendment was necessary.

Captain AYLMER said, he had listened to the two speeches made by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister; but he had not heard the right hon. Gentleman use one argument, or give one reason, against the Amendment. He spoke of the extent and scope of the inquiry, but he urged no valid argument against the Amendment as a whole. If the Amendment was not accepted, or some qualification put in in regard to the man unable to pay rent, the Committee would find themselves in rather a strange position. Suppose for a moment a man was unable to pay his rent, although he had met with no failure of crops and had not suffered any disaster to stock, and there had been no fault on his own part. What was the natural conclusion? He had had a fortunate time and good seasons, and still he was unable to pay. It was evident he was living in a holding for which he could never pay rent even under the most favourable circumstances. He thought that such a qualification as was now proposed was absolutely necessary in the clause to prevent cases of fraud arising.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, the hon. Member who spoke last had gone a little beyond the subject which was immediately before the Committee. The main point which the Committee would be interested in deciding was this, whether those who had held the harvest should be entitled or not to the boon which was going to be conferred. He thought this was a fair issue which was raised by the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. H. Allen). Would the Government be disposed, if it were possible to find language to express it clearly, to insert a provision that those who by any wilful default of their own found themselves now unable to pay their debts, should not be entitled to this great boon? He would suggest the adoption of some words of this kind—that those "who were unable by failure of crops and not by any wilful default of their own." He had no particular liking for those words, and he would be perfectly satisfied if the Government would accept the principle of his suggestion, and say that they would consider the point. He believed that the words "wilful default" would guard against the terrorism of which the Prime Minister had spoken.

Mr. DILLON said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had talked about men holding the harvest, and other hon. Members had spoken about the instigation of the Land League in regard to the holding of the harvest. When, however, did the Land League tell the Irish people to hold the harvest? Why, they told them to do so in 1880, after the famine—after the Members of the House of Commons had voted public money to feed the Irish people and kept them from starvation. They advised the people to hold the harvest in 1880, when this House had acknowledged, and the English public had acknowledged, that in large districts for months and months, thousands and thousands of families—he might almost say hundreds of thousands of families—were living on a few pence a-day. That was the occasion on which the Land League told the people to hold the harvest. What did men mean when they talked about this Bill coming to the help of people who had not paid their rents in consequence of the advice of the Land League? If hon. Members would recollect, they must know that the Land League never advised any tenants in Ireland not to pay their rents until last autumn. According to the provision of this Bill the tenant must have paid his rent on the last gale day, 1881, and, certainly, at that time, the Land League had not advised any tenant not to pay rent, and it had not, as it had now, spread its influence throughout Ireland. It was perfectly absurd—and it was only spoken in ignorance—to talk about the Land League either terrorizing the people or advising them not to pay their rents previous to the year 1881. It was in the autumn of 1881 that they told the tenants not to pay their rents, and it was only then for the first time that such a charge was made against the Land League. As he understood the Bill, before any tenant could claim any advantage under it, he must have satisfied the landlord in respect of the rent of the year 1881, and, therefore, it was of no avail to say that people had acted upon the instigation of the Land League.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH said, he did not think the Committee would accept the assurance of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), that there was no wilful non-payment of rent in Ireland before the date to which the Bill applied. It appeared to him (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that there was great force in the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), and therefore he would venture to move an Amendment on the Amendment now before the Committee, in order to carry the suggestion into effect. Instead of the word "fault," in the second line of the Amendment, he would move to insert the words "wilful default." The Amendment would then read—"by reason of failure of crops or disaster to stock, and without wilful default on his own part," and he thought it was one which might fairly be accepted by Her Majesty's Government, as really containing, both in its spirit and in its letter, what hitherto they had always understood to be the intention of the Government by this Bill.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "fault," in order to insert the words "wilful default,"—*(Sir Michael Hicks-Beach,)*—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word "fault" stand part of the proposed Amendment."

DR. LYONS trusted the Government, even on the recommendation of so important a Member as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), and also on the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), would not consent to turn the Bill into a system of political inquisition. Nothing could be more certain to defeat the object of the Bill and more sure to raise up fresh agitation of a violent kind than the adoption of the principle of retrospective action with any semblance of vengeance. He was not here to defend in any manner the action of the Land League. He had openly denounced the "no rent" manifesto, and he did not intend to defend the Gentlemen who had taken a violent course in Ireland during the last two or three years. He regretted their action exceedingly; but to attempt to introduce into the Bill the principle of retrospective vengeance upon the unfortunate victims of that agitation would be utterly disastrous. The great object of this Bill, if it had any political or social object at all, was that it should act as a healing measure throughout the country. He did not believe it had been framed in the best and wisest way; but still the Government were entitled to great credit for having attempted to deal with a great Irish question in the way which to them seemed best for the country. He maintained that the chief object was to inquire whether any individual tenant, who came forward to claim relief, was actually, at the time he claimed relief, unable to pay his rent. This was really the main and sole issue before them, and to attempt to mix up any other question with this would be to utterly wreck the Bill. What would be the effect if they omitted a large number of people from the benefits of the Bill? He quite agreed with what the Prime Minister had said, that a great number of persons did not pay their rents because of terror; but what became of the money in the meantime was an entirely different question. It was quite proper that a close inquiry should be made whether the tenant had now got the money or not. Many of them had misspent the money, and it was not now forthcoming. That was another question. Were the Committee to leave any considerable number of men, who were technically entitled to relief under the Bill, out in the cold? If they were left out in the cold what would become of them? They would become a prey to agitation, and feelings would arise of the most violent and unfortunate kind. He trusted the Government would stand firm on the proposal now before them, and not yield to the representation of even so important a Member as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen).

MR. GLADSTONE said, he must point out that it was quite impossible to dispose of this question satisfactorily at the present moment, and upon the present Amendment. He had come down to the House prepared to discuss any Amendment that had been before them, and, amongst others, to discuss the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson); but a question had been raised of considerable importance and of the utmost delicacy, in respect to which he should be exceeding his discretion if he attempted to give an opinion without consulting his Colleagues. Although the question might not be one of very large operation, yet the principle involved was one of extreme difficulty; and he would also observe that it was not properly before them now. The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman did not bring it properly before them, because he still left in the Bill a double condition—a condition that there should have been no failure of crops or disaster to stock, and no wilful default on the part of the tenant. The Act of 1880 offered no precedent whatever on this matter. It was an Act fully in favour of the tenant—a one-sided Act—upon the necessity of the case undoubtedly in favour of the tenant, and without any sort of compensation or consideration to the landlord. The fact that Parliament thought it necessary to limit that to failure of crops was no proof that this ought to be limited to failure of crops. Supposing it had been due to harvest employment in England, these words would prevent any relief being offered the tenant. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman would see that the question was really one deserving of the most serious examination, and that it was not fairly raised by the Amendment, even with the improvements the right hon. Gentleman had introduced in it. He hoped they would be allowed to dispose of it now, and deal with the question in another form.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought his duty to his constituents obliged him to insist upon this question being discussed and decided at the present stage of the Bill. What was it they were asked to do, if the Government would not provide that wilful default in the payment of rent should not be included in the term inability under the Bill? What was it they were likely to find themselves compelled to do, when the Bill was interpreted by the tribunals to which it had to be referred? Just this, and nothing else—that the money of the loyal taxpayers of Great Britain and Ireland would be given to those whose debts to their landlords were due, not to poverty, but to the fact that they had been members of a criminal organization. The right hon. Gentleman had told the Committee that this was a matter that it was necessary for him to consider with his Colleagues before he could decide how it should be dealt with in this Bill. Why, was it possible that Her Majesty's Government had brought in this measure without full consideration and without the knowledge that this question would arise? If the Government had listened to any one of the speeches which had been made on the second reading of the Bill, or on the Motion to go into Committee, they must have recognized throughout those speeches a dread on the part of Members on both sides of the House that the Bill might be so interpreted as to bring about a result which he should have supposed Her Majesty's Government and the whole House, except some hon. Members sitting below the Gangway, would entirely disapprove. It was absolutely necessary that they should have some definition of inability inserted in this clause of the Bill; and if Her Majesty's Government did not approve of the words now before them, he would ask them to suggest some other words that would guard them from what they dreaded. They had an example before them which none of them ought to forget of what could be done by legislation of this kind, in which the interpretation of a Statute was left to the discretion of a Court without any rules for its guidance. Did anybody suppose when the Land Act of last Session was passing through Parliament that the section of that Act relating to the fixing of fair rents would be interpreted as it had been? Would anyone assert that this Act would have become law in the shape in which it did become law; that it would even have passed through that House in its present incomplete form, if there had been the slightest idea that it would have been thus interpreted in a manner contrary to the express declarations of Members of Her Majesty's Government, who said there was no risk of the results which were now found to have taken place? And now they were told by the right hon. Gentleman, when it was asked that the benefits of this Bill should be denied to members of the Land League, or to those who had been willing coadjutors of the Land League, that the question was one which required great consideration. The right hon. Gentleman did not even tell them that he would take care that this Bill should not be interpreted in their favour; and yet he pressed this Committee to pass a clause which might have in its present shape such an effect as he had described, with no further declaration of opinion on his (the Prime Minister's) part than that this question merited the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman had said that, after all, the words of the Amendment did not cover every case.

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg your pardon; I did not say so. I said they covered a great deal more than they ought to cover.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he had misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman, who had, however, said that the words of the Bill of 1880 would not include the case of persons whose misfortune had resulted from the failure of employment in England, and, therefore, would not in themselves be perfect. Surely such a question as the precise words of a definition might, if necessary, be very well again entertained on Report. But he did hope they would not part with the question of principle now unless something definite was arrived at; and that now they saw how true it was that the Government had adopted the measures of hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Irish Benches below the Gangway, they would take care that, at any rate, this Bill should not pass the House of Commons in its present shape as a measure which commended itself to the British Parliament.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he must say he was rather surprised at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, who had discussed the matter in a temper in which it had not been discussed in the House before. He (Mr. Gladstone) did not understand why all this heat should be imported into a discussion. He was not aware of having said anything or having suggested anything to justify it. He had simply said that the question which was raised by the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was a question that was not upon the Paper, nor among the Amendments standing on the Paper for discussion to-day; that it was a matter of such importance and delicacy that he desired to have the opportunity of considering it before he ventured to give the views of the Government upon it. The right hon. Gentleman opposite then rose in great heat, and said that because he (Mr. Gladstone) had asked for time to consider the question, which he regarded as of great delicacy and importance, and which was not placed before them by the Amendment—that because he asked for time and the power of consulting with his Colleagues before he gave a final judgment, it was plain he had done nothing but accept the dictation of the Land League. Was not that speaking with heat? His right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) referred to the matter in a totally different spirit. He said that it was, in his opinion, right that those whose inability to pay their rents had arisen from wilful default on their own part, should be punished for that wilful default by exclusion from the benefits of the Act. To introduce anything final in the operation of a measure of this kind was a serious matter, and that was all he (Mr. Gladstone) stated, and, being a serious matter, he asked the House to give him the power of considering it. That was the offence which had drawn down upon him the condemnation of the right hon. Gentleman; but he must bear it as he best could. It was quite true that the question had never occurred to him and his Colleagues; it had not occurred to him in considering the numerous points of difficulty that were connected with the framing of this Bill—it had never occurred to them to examine the question whether it was worth while to introduce such words as were now proposed; but he had told the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) that he perfectly agreed with him as to the view which was to be taken of the offence of those who wilfully withheld their rents when they were able to pay them. The Executive had done their best to make those people pay their rents. He had shown conclusive reasons why they should not require as a condition of receiving relief that the parties should prove that their distress had arisen by reason of failure of crops or disaster to stock. And the right hon. Gentleman invited him to put this into the Bill, in order to strike it out on Report. [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No, no!] What was the proposal? The proposal was that they should adopt the Amendment as it stood, and consider it further on Report.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I said it might be further considered with a view to modification.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the right hon. Gentleman told them it was a matter for further consideration, and yet when he (Mr. Gladstone) wanted time for further consideration, the right hon. Gentleman would not give it to him. It was plain that the right hon. Gentleman insisted that he (Mr. Gladstone) should adopt a variety of mischievous words, in order that he might reconsider them on Report. He was not inclined to introduce into the Bill that no inability should be taken into consideration unless it was by reason of failure of crops or disaster to stock, because, although this would be, no doubt, the general description of a vast number of cases of inability to pay rent, there would be a great number of cases of inability arising from other causes which would thereby be excluded. He, therefore, wanted time to consider the Amendment fully; and certainly if he was not fit to be trusted upon a point of this kind, it was plain that he was not fitted for any of those functions which had been placed in his hands.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, the position which the Prime Minister took up was really a very extraordinary and a very embarrassing one. He could not understand what the right hon. Gentleman meant by saying that this was a point which had only just been brought before them, and that there was no Notice on the Paper. It was, of course, conceivable that in the midst of other occupations the right hon. Gentleman might not have paid full attention to the Notices that had been given on the Paper, and might not have studied what their exact meaning was; but that was no reason why the right hon. Gentleman should interpose to prevent the Committee, who were acquainted with and who did understand the point, discussing with freedom the very important suggestion which was contained in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Pembrokeshire (Mr. H. Allen), and of deciding upon it now. The precise wording of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman was, perhaps, open to some question, and was open to further discussion on Report, if necessary; but the principle upon which the hon. Member's Amendment was founded appeared to be one that was perfectly clear to anybody who took the trouble to consider what it meant. They knew perfectly well that from the beginning of all those questions with regard to compensation or the remission of arrears which they had had before them, one of the most difficult points was what was meant by inability. And it was evident from the state of the Notice Paper that many hon. Members had felt that it was impossible to leave this matter entirely loose, and to be decided according to the discretion of a tribunal—the composition of which they did not know, but with regard to which they certainly felt some slight uneasines. The hon. Member for Pembrokeshire (Mr. H. Allen) tried to grapple with this difficulty; and he placed upon the Paper a proposition affirming that it should be proved that inability to pay had arisen by reason of certain failures, and through no fault of the tenant himself. It might be that the hon. Member had not enumerated all the causes of failure which ought to be taken into account. That was very possible; and the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had suggested one which ought to be enumerated. There might even be others, which might be suggested in Committee, or which might be suggested at a later stage of the Bill; but that part of the hon. Member's Amendment was wholly distinct from the second part of it—namely, that there should be no fault on the part of the tenant himself. Did the right hon. Gentleman think that those words had no meaning in them at all? Was it possible that anybody could read those words without recognizing their meaning or their object?

MR. GLADSTONE: I referred to those words when the right hon. Gentleman was not present.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, that, of course, he was in a difficulty owing to his being absent from the House when the Prime Minister was speaking; but what he understood was that the right hon. Gentleman did not appear to comprehend fully the purport and meaning of the words which were on the Paper, because he said fault on the part of the tenant might imply bad and intemperate habits, or slovenly farming, or many other things. The Committee had those words before them, and they could judge as well as the hon. Member for Pembrokeshire (Mr. H. Allen) or anybody else what those words covered. Fault on the part of the tenant might consist in carelessness or drunkenness, and the like, and these causes must be taken into consideration; the words must also cover the fault of a tenant wasting his money or employing it to improper uses, and they must cover the case of the man who had dissipated his means by attracting to himself those associations which had the art of extracting a good deal of money from his pocket. But "without fault on his part" was a point which undoubtedly covered the case which was put by the Amendment that had been suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen); and whether it was upon the face of the Amendment or not, it was a point which must have occurred, and which certainly ought to have occurred, to Her Majesty's Government when they were framing this Bill. Was this meant to be a boon given to those who had taken no active part in the "no rent" movement, or was it not? If it was not intended to be a boon to them, it was quite reasonable and proper that the Bill should contain a provision excluding such persons from its benefits. It was not proposed to fine them, but it was only proposed to exclude them from the benefits which were to be given at the expense of other people. Who were those other people? They were, in the first place, the landlords, and, in the second place, the taxpayers of this country. He thought nothing could be more unjustifiable than that the Government should bring in a Bill of this character involving such a very novel proposition as this Bill did, without having considered the question now under discussion. The question was now, at all events, well before them; they had the means of pronouncing an opinion upon it; and if the Government thought it necessary at a later stage to make any further condition to clear up the point which was raised by the first part of the hon. Member's Amendment, they would be perfectly able to do so. It did seem to him that they were in a position now to decide the question of wilful default, and, being in that position, there was no reason whatever why a decision should not be arrived at.

Mr. HUGH SHIELD said, that if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) was anxious to take a division now, he (Mr. H. Shield) was prepared to state his opinions strongly as to the unadvisability of adopting the Amendment either in its original or present shape. By common consent an inquiry was to be made as to the circumstances of a man before he was entitled to relief under the Bill. That inquiry was to be as to his ability or otherwise to pay, and the man who came out of that inquiry successfully would come out with a certificate that he was unable to pay. What hon. Members opposite seemed to require was that if a man came out of the inquiry successfully he should come out with a certificate not only that he was not able to pay, but with a certificate of good conduct in times past, and especially that he had not hearkened to the teachings of the Land League. He did not think that such a process as that would facilitate at all the progress of the Bill. He understood the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote) to positively reprove the Prime Minister because he did not discover in the words "fault on his own part," that there might be involved in those words that reprobation of the Land League to which this House was so ready to give expression. The reproach of the right hon. Baronet was wholly unfounded. His hon. Friend (Mr. H. Allen) expounded his own Amendment, and had said not one word about the Land League; he was desirous that the men who were unable to pay their rent through failure of crops or a disaster to stock, or through no fault of their own, should receive the boon which the Bill conferred; but his hon. Friend—and he honoured him for it—did not allow himself to travel into those regions of heat into which the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) so readily plunged, and into which he was anxious to drag the Committee after him. He might encourage the right hon. Baronet and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), whose object plainly was that the men who had belonged to the Land League should not be benefited by the Bill—he might encourage them to think that this was already provided for,

for if the men had hearkened to the teachings of the Land League, what was the lesson that had been taught them?—"Don't pay your rent." If they had hearkened to that while they had money in their pocket, and the fact could be ascertained, their inability to pay their rent would be at once disproved, and they would be denied all share in the benefits of the Bill. He thought the Committee would do well to limit the inquiry. It was proper to inquire if a man had any money in the bank which he had not disclosed, or whether he had other means which he had secreted; such inquiries were perfectly relevant; but he did not think they ought to inquire whether a man had hearkened to the teachings of the Land League or not, as such an inquiry would not be only irrelevant, but grossly mischievous.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he would not interfere if he thought he stood in the way of a division; but as he saw there were several hon. Gentlemen disposed to consider the matter a little further, perhaps he might be permitted to address a few words to the Committee upon the Amendment. He objected to the Amendment, because he was anxious, like the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), that there should be a real and full inquiry, and his objection to the Amendment was based upon the ground that the words of the Amendment would fetter the decision of the Court, and, instead of extending, would narrow the character of the inquiry, and it was for that reason that it specified certain legitimate causes for the non-payment of rent, but did not exhaust, according to the impression of the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Conservative Opposition, the number of legitimate causes for the non-payment of rent. In what position was the Committee at the present time? It was, first of all, in this position, that it was asked to pass an Amendment ostensibly for the purpose of making an inquiry into the inability of the tenant to pay—for the purpose of making a real and full inquiry, and the acceptance of the Amendment that was presented to them on those grounds would defeat its own purpose. He thought the Committee would do well to recognize the scope of the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). He was in favour of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal, because it really meant what it said, and it would carry out in the fullest and best manner the professed object of hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon laid down a very simple proposition—namely, that the tenant who had failed to pay his rent by wilful default should not be entitled to the benefits of this Bill. He would like to ask the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who moved the Amendment on the Amendment, whether he wished to exclude from the benefits of the Bill a tenant of any other class? The suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had been substantially agreed to by the Prime Minister. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] He understood the Prime Minister to say that he would insert some such provision in the Bill. ["No!"] He certainly understood the Prime Minister to say that he deemed the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman worthy of mature examination; and he was not prepared at the present time to state any objection to it. He might have drawn a wrong inference from the declaration of the Prime Minister, who distinctly objected to put in the words "failure of crops and disaster to stock," or to enumerate the legitimate causes for the non-payment of rent. That being so, it seemed to him to be a waste of time to discuss the matter further. It seemed to him they were invited to carry on a discussion when the Leaders of both sides were not really decided as to the point in dispute; and he would, therefore, respectfully suggest that they should come at once to a decision on this question, or that the Amendment should be withdrawn, on the understanding that, at a later stage, the Government would declare its decision in reference to the suggestion made to the Committee by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen).

Mr. GOSCHEN said, the Government had stated that they were willing to consider this matter, and, therefore, those who were really anxious that a clause of this kind should be inserted, and receive the full consideration of the Government, could not desire that a division should be taken on the question now. It appeared to him that the great anxiety for a division was out of place when the Government were unable to state to their followers what view they would ultimately take; and, in his (Mr. Goschen's) opinion, great prejudice was often done to the object of an Amendment by forcing a division when a portion of the House preferred to have it deferred.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he quite agreed with his right hon. Friend (Mr. Goschen) that it would be well to await the final decision of the Government; but he confessed he saw immense difficulty in the way of carrying out the proposal which his right hon Friend had made. He understood that the main question before them was, whether they should introduce in this sub-section words to the effect that the tenant was unable, from wilful default on his own part, to discharge the antecedent arrears. What did this really mean? The antecedent arrears were arrears that were due before November, 1880. Well, this surely meant that the Commissioners, in order to be satisfied that the man was unable to pay his antecedent arrears, was to go back to the history of the year expiring in 1880. He believed it would be almost impossible to do that; and he believed that if they attempted to do it, they would provoke an amount of ill-feeling, and probably of hard swearing, that would make it absolutely impracticable to hold the inquiry. The object of those who were supporting the Amendment was to meet the case of those tenants who would have been able to pay their rents if they had not listened to the teachings of the Land League, and who, having spent the money, were now unable to pay. He presumed that was their object. To a very great extent it was not in many cases that those persons existed, because the successful teaching of the Land League not to pay rent and to hold the harvest applied to rent that was due after that time; and, therefore, the question was not a very practical one. No one who knew the condition of the parishes in Ireland could suppose that gentlemen could be sent out who could be able, with a degree of thoroughness, to go into an inquiry of the exact condition of affairs in 1880. He stated, when he troubled the House on the second reading of this Bill, that he thought that what happened in the course of the spring of this year had very much diminished the danger which they all acknowledged existed in that measure. He believed that most people who were able to pay rent had paid it. In some cases the people had felt they dare not pay it, and the Committee had now to deal with the arrears of persons who were really unable to pay. To attempt an inquiry as to how they became unable to pay the antecedent arrears would be almost impossible, because now so much time had elapsed. If the inquiry were to be made into the circumstances of the present year, the thing would be very different. He believed that on inquiry it would be found that many of the people of Connaught and Mayo were unable to pay the arrears because they could not get employment. How did those people pay their rack rents? Not out of the produce of their own soil, but out of the produce of English and Scotch soil; and owing to the state of the harvest in England, and the change in cultivation, they had not been able lately to earn as much as formerly. They might just as well have no Bill at all as not to consider the cases of such people; and he really thought that if they were to accompany this Bill with a kind of inquisition, as was proposed, they had better drop the Bill altogether.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had adopted pretty much the same action with regard to this Bill as he (Mr. Newdegate) had done. He had not voted on the principal stage of the Bill because he wanted to know the real nature of the measure, and this, as yet, had not been fully explained. It appeared to him that if they voted against the Government now they would place themselves in a certain minority, and would be voting on a matter which Her Majesty's Government had said they had not fully considered, and the difficulties as to which the Prime Minister had said had not suggested themselves to the Government. They would, as might be inferred from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), be paying the money of the people of England and Scotland to sanction a system of fraudulent bankruptcy. He thought he might infer this from the speech made by the hon. Member near him, and especially from that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon). Feeling that it was dangerous to be committed unadvisedly to evil principles in the matter of landed property, he should certainly vote for the deferring of the conditions of this measure until it had been duly weighed by Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, one main cause of arrears had been completely overlooked by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), and that was that for years past the tenants of Ireland had been required to pay exorbitant rents. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed a deep interest in the pockets and welfare of the English taxpayers; but the English taxpayers must remember that their pockets were not being drawn upon to pay landlords the money that was justly due to them. He thought it would be the duty of Her Majesty's Government, when they had taken further time to consider this matter, to include in the causes of failure the requirement on the part of the tenants to pay exorbitant rent.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he hoped that the speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had proved to the Committee that it would be unwise now, or at any future time, for the Government to give countenance to so mischievous an Amendment as was now proposed. His right hon. Friend had clearly shown that the arrears which were to be dealt with had accrued up to the year 1880, and, therefore, before the teachings of the Land League, or the terrorism of the Land League, had obtained sway in Ireland. There was no Member in that House who had spoken out more boldly as to that teaching than he (Colonel Colthurst) had done; but he maintained that this teaching and terrorism could have nothing to do with the antecedent arrears. He hoped the Government would not give any pledge as to the reconsideration of this question; but would take their stand on the principles laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster).

Mr. CHILDERS said, before they proceeded to a division he should like to point out that this Amendment, like many of the Amendments proposed last night and that day, had been found so very defective that, before being put, it had either to be recast or postponed. What did the Government say? It said this—that as to the first part of the Amendment, it was so entirely inadmissible as it stood, even in the opinion of those who advised something of the kind, that it could not by any possible means be adopted at that moment; and as to the second part of Amendment, the Government ought to have time to consider how they should deal with it. But Her Majesty's Government, having asked for time to consider the Amendment, the Committee was now asked to arrive at an immediate decision—it was asked to force its opinion in such a way as to put both sides of the question in a very embarrassing position. He thought that the advice which had been given by the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) was good advice; and, therefore, he hoped the Committee would not pass the proposed Amendment, but would allow the Government further time for its consideration.

Earl PERCY said, the Committee was assuredly in a very embarrassed position. The Government had asked it to defer until the Report the consideration of this question because the Government themselves had not considered it. The question was whether or not the money of the British taxpayer should be given to those who had been guilty of absolute and intentional fraud; and it had been clearly stated in that House by the responsible Ministers of the Crown and the Guardians of the Public Purse that they had not considered whether they ought to take steps to prevent the money going into the hands of those who had been nothing less than swindlers. The Committee had, no doubt, listened with great attention to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), because whatever fell from him always came with peculiar weight. To him (Earl Percy), what had been stated by the right hon. Gentleman appeared to form one of the strongest arguments that could be urged against the measure, for the right hon. Gentleman had said it was almost impossible to prevent the money of the British taxpayer being expended in an improper manner by being given to persons who really did not deserve it. If, then, the Committee were in this position—that the right hon. Gentleman said it was impossible to prevent a gross misapplication of the public funds, and the Government said they required further time to consider whether or not they should even take into view the desirability of such an expenditure as the Committee were asked to defer the further consideration of to the Report, the best plan, as it appeared to him, would be for them to adjourn, so as to give time to the Government to fully consider their position.

MR. HENEAGE said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) would not press his Amendment, as it was evident that if he did so the Committee would reject it. If the right hon. Gentleman would withdraw his Amendment the Committee would then proceed to a division on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Pembrokeshire (Mr. H. Allen), and the matter could be brought up again on the Report.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, what appeared to him to be essential was that they should on that occasion have the decision of the Committee on the principle that tenants who were wilful defaulters should not receive benefits under this Bill. He would withdraw his Amendment on condition that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) would bring up his words as an Amendment to the Bill.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he had merely thrown out a suggestion for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He had listened with great interest to the debate; but he was not prepared to embody his suggestion in an Amendment at that moment. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly right in his opinion that the principle of the decision of the Committee should be taken upon the principle that the tenants who were wilful defaulters should not be benefited under the Bill. The other part of the recommendation he considered satisfactory; but, at the present stage, he was of opinion that both Amendments should be withdrawn.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that if the proposal contained in the Amendment were accepted, it would double the work of the Land Commission, and materially lengthen the time of their sitting. It was stated last night from the Conservative Benches that hon. Members opposite wished to see the Bill in operation as quickly as possible. If, however, the Amendment were adopted, it would be necessary to have two investigations instead of one. They would have men coming forward to prove that in 1879, owing to the prevalence of rot or foot-and-mouth disease, they had only got one-half of the money for their flock of sheep that they obtained the year before. It was well known that the loss in some instances, in this way, had been enormous.

MR. H. ALLEN said, he was quite ready to withdraw the Amendment he had moved, after the undertaking which had been given by the Prime Minister that the matter would be considered before the Report. He had only one word to add. It had been asked what was intended by the words "without fault on his own part," and the interpretation which had been put upon the words was certainly not the one he had had in his own mind. What had always been in his mind was that the fault on the part of the tenant should be an agricultural fault. For instance, if a man chose to refrain from sowing his land, he should not then be able to recover; and he certainly had not suggested anything so absurd as an inquiry into the moral character of a tenant in any other respect. As far as he was personally concerned, he was quite satisfied with the undertaking given by the Prime Minister, and he was ready to withdraw the Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that he cannot withdraw his Amendment until the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has withdrawn his proposed Amendment of the Amendment.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA desired to say a few words before the Committee divided. He believed he understood the matters at issue as well as most hon. Members, and he was of opinion that it would be more merciful to the tenants of Ireland, and to society in general, that the Bill should be thrown out altogether rather than enter upon a course of refinement like that which had been suggested, and which the Prime Minister had promised to take into consideration. He did not intend to cast the slightest reflection upon the right hon. Gentleman for saying, on the spur of the moment, that he would take the matter into consideration, because he knew how difficult it was for the right hon. Gentleman to realize suddenly what it was he ought not to consider in connection with Amendments of this kind. But the right hon. Gentleman might find himself beset with embarrassments, and he warned Her Majesty's Government that if the Bill was only to become law after it was surrounded by a number of refinements as to the mode of procedure, they would be laying the groundwork for a comprehensive failure which, instead of pacifying, would continue the disturbance of Ireland.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 261; Noes 184: Majority 77.—(Div. List, No. 248.)

Original Question, "That the words 'by reason of failure of crops or disaster to stock, and without fault on his own part,' be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Mr. GIBSON moved, in page 1, line 21, after "arrears," to insert "and was unable to discharge the same when they accrued due, or were usually payable." The question raised by the Amendment was one which was, to some extent, involved in the topic which the Committee had just been engaged in discussing. If this were a Bill which proposed to deal, by way of loan, with the relief of distress, and with the question of arrears, it might be approached in a somewhat different manner from that which challenged so much criticism when the proposal was to pay off the arrears by a gift from the National Exchequer. He thought it was desirable that before any tenant received money by way of gift to pay off arrears, the Commission should be satisfied of his incapacity to pay—that was his incapacity to pay at a date which should be fixed. He presumed that if no particular date were fixed in the Bill, it would be a matter for the determination of the tribunal whether the man was unable to pay at the date of the application, or at the date of the adjudication of the case. That, of course, would be a matter that would be open to grave dispute; but it was not the point of his Amendment. When it was proposed, by way of gift from the National Exchequer, to pay off the debts of other people, it was not enough to say that at the moment of the application the tenant was unable to pay. It was reasonable and fair, as a precaution in the interests of the taxpayers, to say that a person whose debts were to be paid off in such an extraordinary way should be required to prove that he had not been able to pay or discharge his debts at the time when they accrued due, or were usually payable. In other words, this was an Amendment which said that the taxpayers were not to be called upon to pay the debts of a tenant if that tenant was able to pay the rent of 1879 or 1880, at the time it accrued due. Would it not have an element of absurdity as well as of injustice about it to say to a tenant who had in his pocket, when the two gales of the rent of the year 1880 accrued due, ample means to pay off those two gales of rent, and deliberately told his landlord, as was done over and over again, in many counties in Ireland—"I have the money in my pocket; I could pay you if I pleased, but I won't pay you unless you make some substantial reduction," that he should not be called upon to pay the rent of that year? The tenant at the time the rent accrued due, or when it was usually payable, had the money in his pocket or in the savings' bank, and to say to that tenant—"You elected, then, for your own purposes, against every principle of honesty, and yielding to appeals made to your greed, to keep the money in your pocket and refused to pay, as you had hitherto done, your just and honest debts," and then to allow him to say—"I have now got rid of that money which I ought to have paid as rent; I have divested myself of my property, and now I come helpless and penniless to the State, with an appeal for relief out of the National Exchequer," was manifestly absurd and unjust. He must say that a teaching more thoroughly demoralizing, more thoroughly calculated to encourage dishonesty in the future, and to discourage honesty, it was absolutely impossible to conceive or imagine. He had no desire to repeat any of the topics he had glanced at in dealing with the previous Amendment. The arguments in favour of them had been incidentally largely presented to the minds of the Committee, and it was not necessary to repeat them.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 21, after the word "arrears," to insert the words "and was unable to discharge same when they accrued due or were usually payable."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he would at once, in order to save time, say that this was an Amendment which the Government could not accept. It related to the same matter as the Amendment which the Committee had already rejected; but so far as the subject-matter of the Bill was concerned, he was bound to say that this Amendment appeared to him far more objectionable than the Amendment of the hon. Member behind him (Mr. H. Allen), and which raised difficulties that were comparatively slight. The object of the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be better done by words directly intended for the purpose. That, however, was not his main objection to the Amendment. The argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman went entirely to one limited point — namely this, that it was desirable that the Court should know that the tenant was not only unable at the time of the application to meet the rent, but that he was unable at the time each of the two gales of rent accrued due in the year 1880, or became customarily due. That was the argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and a legitimate one from the right hon. and learned Genleman's point of view. The Bill said that, as a condition of proof, the Court should be satisfied "that antecedent arrears of rent are due to the landlord" —antecedent to the years 1880 and 1881 —and the right hon. and learned Gentleman required that it should be shown to the Court, not merely that the tenant was unable to discharge such antecedent arrears, and not at all that he was unable to discharge the rent of the years 1880 and 1881, when it became due, but that in each and every year when the rent accrued due before 1880, the tenant was at each period of each year unable to pay the arrears. Under the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman all the old famine arrears would start up, and it would be positively necessary under the clause for the tenant to prove that in regard to each gale of rent which accrued due, even if there were 20 of them, the tenant was unable to pay it. If he was unable to prove to the satisfaction of the Court that he was unable to pay arrears which accrued due 20 or 30 years ago he would be excluded from going to the Court. He did not think that that was the meaning of the right hon. and learned Gentleman; but the adoption of his proposal would have that effect. At any rate, it was quite clear, without going into any details at all, that the Government could not accept an Amendment of that kind.

Mr. GIBSON asked what the Amendment was that the right hon. Gentleman himself intended to propose?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that his Amendment would be proposed for another purpose altogether; but he could not move it as an Amendment now. It went to a point which the Government had always admitted to be quite a reasonable point—namely, the question whether a guiding rule was to be recorded for ascertaining the tenant's inability. He should be inclined to leave that to the common sense and experience of the Judges. At the same time, he thought there was a general impression in the House that it would be well to make some provision to this extent, and, undoubtedly, the Government could not object to it on principle. In the first place, on account of any step which would drive the tenant out of his holding, because that would be at variance with the whole purpose of the Bill, which was not to fasten him to his holding any more than to drive him away from it, but to leave him free to stay or leave. Another result which they would object to was any provision which would place the tenant in such a state of restricted means that he could not make a living out of the holding. His right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War, on a former occasion, on behalf of the Government, used the familiar phrase, which would really be a good phrase to introduce into the Bill if it were possible to do so, that they were going to deal with the farm or the holding as a going farm, and they would not do anything that had a tendency to deprive it of the character of a going farm. His proposal was to insert, in the same place as the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, after the word "arrears," certain words which would make the sentence read thus—

> "That it would have to be proved before the Commissioners that the tenant was unable to discharge antecedent arrears without the loss of his holding or deprivation of means necessary for the cultivation thereof."

That was the Amendment he intended to propose, and the Government believed that it would distinctly direct the mind of the Court to the assets of the tenant, and at the same time limit the operation of the clause, so that there should be no compulsion of sale or any deprivation of the tenant of the means for the cultivation of his holding. He would not enter into details upon the subject now; but that was the nature of the Amendment he proposed to insert.

Mr. GIBSON said, it would be premature and entirely out of place to discuss the Amendment of which Notice had to be given by the right hon. Gentleman. He wished, however, that it had been put upon the Paper. He saw very clearly that the Amendment was one which would require much consideration, and it introduced words which would not settle controversy. It did not, in the slightest degree, remove his desire to take the opinion of the Committee upon the Amendment which he had moved.

Mr. PARNELL said, that, before a division was taken, he wished to say that he disapproved of the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and of any Amendment of the character suggested by the Prime Minister, because it would render the Bill, which there would already be some difficulty in working, still more unworkable; and it might also tend to raise expectations in regard to the beneficial operation of the measure which might prove irritating and unsatisfactory in particular districts. He had no wish to express any further opinion upon the Amendment which the Prime Minister had just read to the House. It would be out of Order to do so; but certainly the tendency of the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) would be so very largely to widen the area of the inquiry that he did not think the Committee would accept it for a moment. It would extend the area of the investigation in such a way, and would require the tenant to prove so much, that he did not imagine any of them would live long enough to see the termination of the inquiries which the Court would have to enter into. The Amendment suggested by the Prime Minister was open to a similar objection, but not to the same extent. He should much prefer to leave the question to the rough good sense of the Court, in the hope and belief that substantial justice would be obtained. It would be impossible to obtain more than substantial justice, because the essence and efficacy of a Bill of this character depended upon the speedy application of the measure. If the Bill could not be worked quickly as it stood, all the tenants whom it was desired to benefit would be ejected or their interests sold up. Therefore, he objected to all of these Amendments, whether in favour of the tenant or of the landlord, which would open an additional area of investigation.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he thought it was most important to consider how the Bill would work if a series of Amendments of this character were inserted. Hon. Members should take into consideration that one of the necessary ingredients of the passing of any case before the Court was that the landlord must practically obey the decision of the Court, and in some way or other be brought to agree that the tenant was not solvent, and that what was being proposed to be done was the best thing to be done under the circumstances. He wished the Committee to bear in mind what would be given for an agreement between the landlord and the tenant, so that when the case came before the Court it should give rise to no difficulty whatever. The Irish landlords were giving, as it were, a hostage for their opinions, because they were consenting to deprive themselves of something, and they would be liable to severe penalties, as well as the tenant, if they attempted to deceive the Court. He, therefore, hoped the Prime Minister would discourage all fine-drawn Amendments, and leave the inability of the tenant to pay the arrears, at the time they accrued, to be readily ascertained by the Court on its own responsibility without hampering its action. These repeated Amendments, if adopted, would force the Court to entertain questions which would only involve delay in the working of the measure.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 161; Noes 233: Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 249.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 21, after the word "arrears," to insert the words "without loss of his holding, or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

And it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman reported Progress; Committee to sit again *this day.*

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT—OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I beg to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he is able now to give us any further information as to the operations off Alexandria?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; since the meeting of the House we have received two telegrams. The first was sent from Alexandria at 4.30, and was received here at 5 P.M. It is to this effect—

> "Meks, as well as all forts on the sea front of the Peninsula, silenced. Action between unarmoured ships and Marabout ceased 11.40. *Monarch* and *Penelope* now engaged with batteries inside harbour. *Invincible* unengaged, lying off Meks."

The second telegram, which was received at 6.10, is as follows:—

> "Action ended 5.30 afternoon."

This came from the same source as I have mentioned before—namely, from the secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, who is on board the telegraph ship off Alexandria.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Has the hon. Gentleman any information as to whether any of Her Majesty's ships have been struck, or whether any casualties have occurred?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have read all the information we have received. I presume we shall probably soon receive telegrams from the Commander-in-Chief himself, which may give the information desired.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Can the hon. Gentleman say whether the Egyptian flag has been lowered?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have given all the information in my power.

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT—OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Before the House resumes Business, Sir, I would ask the Government whether they have any further intelligence from Alexandria beyond what was announced before the suspension of the Afternoon Sitting?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir. The following telegram has just been received:—

> "Alexandria, 7.50 P.M.—The following casualties in the fleet. Killed—In the *Alexandra*, 1; in the *Superb*, 1; in the *Sultan*, 2; in the *Inflexible*, 1—total, 5. Wounded—In the *Alexandra*, 3; in the *Sultan*, 7; in the *Superb*, 1; in the *Invincible*, 6; in the *Inflexible*, 2; in the *Penelope*, 8—total, 27. Twelve officers and men landed from the *Invincible* under cover of the guns of the *Condor* and the *Bittern*, and destroyed with dynamite heavy guns in Mexs."

That is the only further information we have received.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Does the hon. Gentleman know whether any officers are among the killed and wounded?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No; I presume not. The telegram says —"The following casualties in the Fleet." So I presume it is an exhaustive list.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Is there any information with regard to the number of Egyptians wounded?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have read all the information we have received; but, obviously, we should not know the effect on the shore.

PARLIAMENT—ORDER—MORNING SITTINGS—THE 6.50 P.M. RULE—PRECEDENCE OF AMENDMENTS.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he rose to a point of Order. He understood that among the Regulations that guided the Business of the House was one that prevented any controversial matter being entertained after 10 minutes to 7 at a Morning Sitting, and another practice was to allow Amendments to be moved in the order in which they appeared on the Paper. His hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) had a number of Amendments, which had been printed on the Paper for some days past; and the Amendments of his hon. Friend and his own raised questions of great importance, and affected the position of tenancies outside the provisions of the Bill as it stood. His Amendment had been some time on the Notice Paper, when the Prime Minister suddenly proposed an Amendment, the discussion of which would prevent his Amendment being put. This Amendment which the Prime Minister foisted suddenly on the Committee was an elaborate Amendment in manuscript, altogether without Notice, and put from the Chair so close to 10 minutes to 7 that few could know whether it was really in Order or not. When he came down to the House he found that the Amendment of the Prime Minister, put at 10 minutes to 7, was inserted as the first Amendment; and, consequently, if that Amendment was discussed, the whole of the subsequent Amendments to the same part of the clause standing in other names would be excluded from consideration. He would venture to ask whether it was in Order to put this Amendment of the Prime Minister's at a time when nobody in the House could say whether or not it was really later than 10 minutes to 7?

THE CHAIRMAN: Whether on the Paper or not, the Amendment would come first, and the position of the noble Lord's Amendment is the same; but the 10 minutes to the hour had not been reached when I put the Amendment, and I thought it would be for the convenience of the Committee to know exactly what the Amendment was. For obvious reasons, and as the noble Lord knows, the Minister in charge of the Bill has precedence in his Amendments; but if he agrees to postpone his Amendment he may do so.

MR. GORST said, but as to putting an Amendment after 10 minutes to 7?

THE CHAIRMAN: I was careful to see that it was not 10 minutes to 7.

Lord George Hamilton

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 213.]

Progress *resumed.*

Amendment again proposed,

In page 1, line 21, after the word "arrears," to insert the words "without loss of his holding, or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHILDERS said, he desired to make a few remarks on the subject of the Amendment of his right hon. Friend. The question whether it was necessary to insert any words at this point, after Sub-section (*c*), had been discussed on a previous stage of the Bill; and it was understood, the point having been raised on both sides of the House with reference to the possibility of difficulty arising as to the inability of the tenant to pay his arrears in consequence of his having property in the nature either of the selling value of his tenancy, or of stock on his farm, that it should be carefully considered by the Government; and they undertook to give it their consideration, and state the result on this stage of the Bill. Only a few words were necessary upon the point, because it was fully discussed on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; but the question was this. In the absence of any words instructing or directing the Commission as to the meaning of the words "inability to pay," a great injustice might be done to the tenant, because it might be assumed he was the owner of—as he in every case would be—either of the tenant right or the saleable value of the farm; or if he was also the owner of a certain amount of stock on the farm, unless some direction was given in the Bill as to the intention of the Legislature, the whole of that property might be deemed to be property which the tenant ought to convert into money in order to liquidate arrears on his farm, and the position of the tenant would thus be really no better at all, and he would be utterly unable to continue his business of farming. He need not say that any such construction was mischievous, and would defeat the object of the Bill. On the other hand, if a tenant had the full value of the saleable value of his farm, and had also stock on his farm, and would be able to raise a sufficient amount of money, without injury to the carrying on of his business, to discharge a moderate amount of arrears, it would be manifestly unjust that he should be considered, in the words of the clause, a person unable to discharge his arrears. Therefore, it became necessary to say—which the words of the Amendment expressed, and which, he would venture to say, was not only the view of the Government, but which must be, and was shown to be in a previous debate, the general view—the medium between these extreme propositions. To give an instance. Suppose a tenant had a farm valued at £30 in Ulster, and he had a tenant right of the saleable value of £150 or £200, and that the farm was well stocked, and there was no mortgage upon it—clearly it would be quite proper that this farmer should not be able to obtain the benefit of the Bill if he owed a year's rent or so, for he would be perfectly well able to raise £30, £40, or £50 on the value of his farm and stock, without interfering with the means necessary for the cultivation of his land. If, on the other hand, a farmer had only a saleable value on the farm, or a tenant right worth only half that amount, or if he had already mortgaged that value for a considerable sum, and his stock was small, and he was called on to pay £30, it was quite clear he could not, without interfering with the conduct of the farm, pay these arrears, and that he ought to come within the provisions of the Bill if the Act was intended to have any practical working. This was a practical question, to which the Amendment offered a practical solution, meeting the two cases, on the one side, where a man could divest his farm of part of his stock or surrender a part of his tenant right; and, on the other hand, where, if he did so, he would be unable to carry on his farm. The Government therefore proposed the Amendment, the words of which had been carefully considered, and he did not think it would be easy to express the view of the Government in a more clear and simple manner, and he hoped the Committee would adopt the Amendment.

MR. HENEAGE asked whether, in the event of this Amendment being put from the Chair, his Amendment on the Paper would be precluded from being moved; and whether the whole question of a tenant's interest in his holding could be raised on this Amendment? His Amendment had been placed on the Paper for three days, and, though he had been in communication with the Government, they had moved their Amendment at the last moment without any notice to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's Amendment is a little way ahead yet, and I would like a little time to consider. I would rather not answer the question now.

MR. HENEAGE said, but what was he to do? If the question were settled now, then he would be precluded afterwards; and, in that case, he must certainly oppose the Government Amendment, which he had no wish to do.

MR. GIVAN said, he also had an Amendment similarly relating to tenancies; and he wished to know in what position that would be placed?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendments have only come before me five minutes ago. I just want a little time to consider the bearings of them.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had listened with great attention to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, and he understood him to say it was necessary this provision should be inserted, in order to give the tenant an opportunity of continuing in his occupation; but he failed to see there was any protection against any right of action which an ordinary creditor possessed against the tenant under similar circumstances. This provision would preclude the landlord from taking any step which might result in turning out the tenant from his holding; but it did not preclude any ordinary creditor from pressing the tenant at law, obtaining a judgment against him, and compelling the tenant for a sum, less probably than the sum owing to the landlord—compelling him either to sell his holding, or part with his stock or crops. He wanted to know, before pressing the subject further, what security the Government supposed this was against all creditors, and how the tenant could remain in his holding when pressed by these for his liabilities?

MR. CHILDERS said, if the question was addressed to him, he could only make the reply that this Bill merely dealt with the question of arrears of rent, and not in any way with other debts on a farm; they would remain in exactly the same position in which they were now.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that was an extraordinary statement to make. This was a proposal to enable a very large class in Ireland, as it was understood, to continue their undertakings with the hope of maintaining themselves and their families. The Government and the House knew that nearly the whole of the men who were in debt to their landlords were also in debt to a great many other persons. The evidence gathered by the Bessborough Commission showed that where a man was in debt for three years' rent to his landlord he was also in debt to shopkeepers, bankers, and others, to an amount equal at least to the landlord's debt. Now, it was understood this proposal would save the tenant so far as the debt to the landlord was concerned; but it would not save the tenant from the action of his other creditors. They would be at full liberty to take any steps they pleased to recover their debts, even if those steps resulted in turning the tenant out of his holding, and depriving him of the means of livelihood, swallowing up his stock, or whatever means he had of continuing his livelihood; in point of fact, pronouncing that very sentence of eviction which the Bill was intended to avoid. He confessed he failed to see what justice or charity or consideration there was in extending this measure of protection to the tenant only, so far as the landlord was concerned. The landlord would suffer, but the tenant would not be secure.

Mr. GORST said, he might also point out that the proposal would encourage what in Bankruptcy proceedings would be called a fraudulent practice. Suppose a tenant owed two years' rent to the landlord, and was unable to pay this as well as his debts to shopkeepers and other persons, inasmuch as the landlord would by the Bill be prevented from recovering his rent; while the shopkeepers would not be prevented from recovering, the tenant would be in this position—that he would have to use all his available resources, including his tenant right, if necessary, in order to pay all the other creditors in full; and, having paid all his other creditors in full, he would be able to come before the Land Commission and make out a case of inability to pay one unfortunate creditor, and, in that way, would obtain a grant from the Consolidated Fund for the purpose of compounding with his landlord. The hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), interrupting with an interjection, said—"What is the harm?" and it seemed to him the harm was that it was contrary to the natural ideas of justice. Here was a man confessedly unable to pay everybody, and why should all the other creditors be paid in full, being able to put a pressure on the tenant to force the payment, and why should the landlord be the only unfortunate creditor, not only not paid in full, but forced to accept a composition paid out of the Consolidated Fund? That would be the natural result of this measure.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he desired to recall the attention of the Committee to the fact that the Bill before them was one dealing with arrears of rent. The Bill they were considering was a Bill to make provision respecting certain arrears of rent in Ireland, and the hon. and learned Member said if the object of the Bill were carried out it would put the tenant in the position of a fraudulent debtor.

Mr. GORST said, he said nothing of the kind. He said it would induce the tenant to do that which, in Bankruptcy proceedings, would be called a fraudulent practice.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that what they were considering was this. The tenant, being deeply indebted to the landlord, this provision was proposed to enable him to earn the money to pay his debts so far as he could, and for that purpose the State would advance a sum as a gift. The very fact of enabling the tenant to remain on the land, not, as the Prime Minister pointed out, by anchoring him there, but to allow him to earn the means of paying his way, not only with the landlord, but his other creditors, was by no means a fraudulent practice in Bankruptcy proceedings; it was to enable the man to pay his way in the world that was the ground for the introduction of the Bill. If the Committee were to travel outside the lines of the Bill they would embark on a sea of speculation whereof no man could see the other shore. They were dealing with a known class of debts and debtors; the Bill came before the House, and was read a second time on these lines, and it was now too late to go back on those lines laid down for the consideration of the Committee and enter upon matters entirely foreign to the Bill. On those lines, it was provided that the Court appointed to investigate the circumstances should decide whether a tenant was one for whom the Bill was designed as being unable to pay his arrears of rent; and it was a general impression in the Committee that it was desirable that some line should be laid down as an instruction to the Court as to how they should proceed; and, as the Prime Minister said, it was perfectly idle to continue a man in his holding with no means of carrying on his farming. There was an old saying in Ireland, "Samson was a strong man, and Solomon a wise one; but neither of them could pay their rent if they had no money." What was intended was to subsidize the tenant by a gift from the State which would enable him to pay his way in future. It was for the advantage of the community that this should be carried out. Suppose a tenant were held able to pay, if he could pay by selling out all his resources by which he carried on work, that would defeat the object of the Bill. The object was that the man should continue to pay, and on those lines the Amendment was proposed, that the tenant should be left with the means of making an honest livelihood, paying all his creditors in future. The Amendment must commend itself to the good sense of the Committee. If they were to travel outside their object into unwise speculation as to what the tenant might owe, then they might as well give up the Bill at once.

MR. HENEAGE asked, had the Chairman now had time to consider the question put to him?

THE CHAIRMAN: I have examined the Amendments, and I am of opinion that the hon. Member can put his Amendment; but the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) will be precluded.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, it had been attempted to limit the scope of the discussion in an extraordinary manner. It seemed to be thought by the right hon. Gentleman that the question of the position of the tenant, in regard to other creditors than the landlord, was outside the limits of discussion, and that it was irrelevant to suggest the possibility of the tenant owing money to the usurer or the shopkeeper. What did the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War tell the Committee was the meaning of the Amendment? He said if a man was in the possession of a farm with a valuable tenant right, and if that tenant right was not mortgaged, then he would be compelled to borrow money on that to pay the landlord; but if the tenant, through misfortunes or any other cause, had mortgaged his tenant right up to the eyes, if he had mortgaged it to its full value, then the State would intervene, and assist the tenant to remain on his mortgaged holding, helping him to pay his landlord out of the Consolidated Fund. No answer had been given to his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who pointed out that the operation of the Amendment would be that the State would help the tenant out of the Consolidated Fund, and would enable the tenant to pay his other creditors in full, while only paying the landlord in part—perhaps in small part. A great many Amendments urged from the Conservative side had been met by the Government with the argument —"Your Amendment may be founded on principles of justice; but, in order to carry it out, you must complicate the working of the Bill, and thus practically do more harm than good." But had not the Government now put forward an Amendment which would greatly add to the complexity of the working of the Bill, compelling the Court to decide an exceedingly difficult and complicated problem—namely, the amount of capital required to work a farm? Now, in those parts of England where farming was carried on upon a more elaborate system, no doubt anyone with experience could tell the amount of capital required for a farm, say, of 300 acres; but could anyone say what would be required on one of the small holdings in the West of Ireland? These were not worked on scientific principles, and it was impossible to state definitely the amount of capital required. He imagined that in the West of Ireland no holdings probably were worked with what in England would be considered sufficient capital. According to English and Scotch ideas, better buildings, more stock, more manure was required than it was the practice to use in that country, in order to carry on farming properly. Now, on what principle was the Court to decide these matters? Was it to be on the Scotch principle, and was the Court to say no tenant should be required to sell any part of his stock unless he had left such stock as a Lothian farmer would require? If so, he could only say that even the best stocked farm in the most prosperous times in the West of Ireland was extremely imperfectly provided with the necessary capital for working it. So much as regards Ireland; but had the Committee gone into the consideration of how this proposition was likely to be received by the taxpayers of England? It was well known, especially to those connected with agricultural constituencies, to what condition the English farmer had been reduced by the last four or five bad years. It was sufficiently grievous that he should be told that he was to assist out of his taxes in paying the just debts of other people; but if this Amendment were carried his grievance would be much greater, for it would be telling him that not only would he assist in the payment of the just debts of other people, but the debts of people who had property of their own amply sufficient to pay those debts. How would the English farmer receive a statement of this kind, he probably having been paying his rent for years past partly out of his capital? It was too well known that there were cases where the farmer had found it difficult to maintain on his farm a sufficient amount of stock for working purposes, and had found it difficult to get advances from the local bankers. To these struggling men came the proposition that they should pay something in taxes to the Irish farmer, and that the Irish farmer was not to have his capital or his stock touched, and was not to dispose of his property in any way; but he was to be kept on his holding, and not required to go to any of the sacrifices which his unfortunate brother on this side of St. George's Channel had to make. He agreed with the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) that unless there was an Amendment in this direction there would be a great deal of complexity. If they were to have a Bill of this kind at all there was a great deal to be said as to introducing an Amendment of this kind; but the fact of having to introduce such an Amendment showed what an exceptional and vicious principle there was in the Bill, and he confessed he could not, as a Representative of the British taxpayer, consent to an arrangement which would not only compel the English taxpayer to assist in paying the Irish tenants' debts to his landlord, but would compel the English taxpayer to pay those debts, even when the debtor had sufficient assets in his possession to meet those claims.

Mr. GIVAN said, he regretted that so much was said in this discussion of an Irish Bill of the pressure that would be likely to fall on the English taxpayer, because he thought it had been demonstrated already that the Church Surplus Fund would almost meet the amount of the advance that the public would be called upon to make. And there was another reason why he regretted this. It was the object of the Bill to give relief to the Irish farmer in his present unfortunate condition; and the effect of this relief, it was anticipated and hoped by Her Majesty's Government, and those who wished well to Ireland, would be to put down crime, disorder, and outrage, and to restore peace to the country. Now, at present a standing Army was maintained in the country at the expense of the British taxpayer; and was it not better to pay out of the Public Exchequer a sum of money towards settling arrears, accompanied by peace and prosperity, than to keep up a standing Army there, which could only produce irritation and discontent all over the country? He regretted that this Amendment of the Prime Minister's did not go far enough, because he considered that in estimating whether or not a tenant was able to pay antecedent arrears, regard should be paid to the tenant right being absolutely protected. It had been said by the Secretary of State for War, in his observations, that a tenant might mortgage his tenant right for the purpose of getting money to pay his pressing creditors. And the result would be to start the tenant anew in the debt of some usurer, who ultimately, by process of law, would sell the tenant right, or keep him paying an exorbitant rate of interest, which, in the working out of the Purchase Clauses of the Act of 1870, had the effect of entirely stopping the whole of the intention of the Government in passing those clauses. Of course, the Amendment now before the Committee would render it impracticable for him to move his Amendment subsequently to protect the tenant in his tenant right, and such stock as was necessary for the working of his farm; but with regard to what had been said by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) as to the position of shopkeepers and others to whom the tenant might be indebted, he had only to say, as was said by the Attorney General for Ireland, that such considerations were not within the scope of the Bill; but, so far as they were within the scope of the Bill, surely, when the tenant was relieved of the weight of his arrears to his landlord, he would be in a better position to satisfy his other creditors. He was greatly amused at the man of straw the hon. Member for Hertford had set up for the purpose of knocking down again, in estimating what capital would be required for the working of a farm. They were not going to Scotland to know what capital small Irish farmers required; but they were going to appoint men in Ireland who were intimately acquainted with the amount of capital that was absolutely necessary, and who were thoroughly able, from their knowledge of the condition of small farmers in Ireland, to administer this Act. Surely they would infer that the Government would select for the administration of this Act men of common sense and competence. He considered the Amendment a very moderate one, and regretted it did not go far enough.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD could not help thinking that the Attorney General for Ireland had somewhat misstated the Amendment, which, in his opinion, seemed to alter the whole character of the Bill. As the condition stood, it would have been the duty of a Judge to determine whether or not the tenant was unable or not to discharge his antecedent arrears. The effect of the Amendment was to make the duty of the tribunal, not to determine this question, but to determine whether the tenant was unable to discharge his antecedent arrears, keeping in his possession the farm, and retaining his saleable interest in it, and whatever might be necessary to work the farm. The Bill was to enable certain advances to be made on certain conditions, one condition being that the tenant was unable to discharge his arrears; and he (Sir Hardinge Giffard) invited the Attorney General for Ireland to tell him whether the words of the clause, unqualified or unlimited by this Amendment, would not involve the necessity that the tribunal should determine, before an application should come into force, that the tenant was unable to discharge his antecedent arrears, and whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman would contend that if these words were inserted the same duty would be existing on the tribunal? He was sorry to detain hon. Gentlemen opposite, but this was not altogether a new sort of provision. We had something of the sort in England. In 1869, when imprisonment for debt was abolished, there were saved out of this abolition those cases in which, after an order should be made, the Judge should be satisfied that the debtor had the means of payment, and, having the means of payment, would not pay. That was an investigation which went on in every County Court now upon a judgment summons when an order had been made; and it did appear a somewhat singular thing that a farmer, in asking State aid in order to keep on his farm, should be entitled to receive it, if he did not exceed a certain standard of possession of property, or possession of saleable interest in land; it did seem strange that a farmer in Ireland should be entitled to State aid, although he had property which, according to the Bankruptcy Law, he would be compelled to distribute amongst his creditors. This provision was made solely against one particular creditor—namely, the landlord, and it was not intended to protect the debtor generally. A tenant's interest in land was saleable, his farm stock was saleable, so this Bill, intended as a relief to tenants, was covertly an attack upon landlords.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, that very much depended upon this clause whether the Bill would tend to good or evil. This Bill was, no doubt, a very exceptional Bill. The principle of it was one which was generally disliked; but the expediency of the Bill he was bound to admit, and having admitted that, he thought the greatest care ought to be taken in order to guard against the evils which everyone had foreseen if this Bill were abused, and to try to make it run in those lines in which it would be difficult to abuse it. With regard to this Amendment, he had tried his hand, as he had no doubt many hon. Members had, to draw up words as would provide for those cases they feared. It seemed to him that they could not possibly ask that the man should sacrifice his tenant right in procuring the means for payment of his rent; and, on the other hand, they could not allow a man who had an actual cash value in his tenant right to say that he had no assets in that tenant right. It was impossible to deprive a man of the means of cultivating his farm, and to take away his tenant right; but if his tenant right was of such value that he could mortgage it, not to the usurer, but on a fair rate of interest, it became necessarily one of the things which were to be taken into consideration by the Court. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had talked of the rough justice of the Court. He (Sir Joseph Pease) thought they would have to leave a great deal to the rough justice of the Court. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had asked on what principle the Court was going to judge? He believed the Court would have to be driven back to common sense. The Prime Minister had pointed out that the whole question before the Court would be, what a man could part with, retaining his farm, and what he must keep on his farm in order to cultivate it, and avail himself of the good which this Bill was intended to do him. They would have to trust a great deal to the Court, in whose common sense they would have to confide. It was an absolute absurdity to suppose that they could place a man on his farm and cut off his arrears, and then take away either his tenant right or those things which he required on his farm for the purpose of working it, on the ground that the tenant right and his implements and stock were assets.

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, he must enter a protest in the strongest terms he could command against the manner in which this Amendment had been sprung upon the Committee. It had been brought forward, without being placed on the Paper, without Notice, and at a time when not one-third of the Members of the Committee were not even aware of what was now being discussed.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Gentleman would remember that this Amendment was introduced in deference to what appeared to be the wish of the House. The Government had not the slightest desire to force the consideration of it, if the Committee did not wish to do so.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked if he was to understand that the Amendment was not to be pressed at the present time?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the matter was in the hands of the Committee.

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, in the absence of any assurance to the contrary, he must assume that the Amendment was going to be pressed. The terms of the Amendment were diametrically opposed to those which were announced by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) recently as presumably the opinion of the Government. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster pointed out that the tenant right ought to be, and was fairly, chargeable with such charges as were now proposed to be taken off the tenant. He felt the country and the Committee would appreciate the reason why this Amendment had been introduced, and that it was for the purpose of cutting the ground from under any Amendment of a similar nature which had already appeared on the Paper, and, by now affirming the principle as to whether or not the tenant right was to be charged, prevent every Amendment of a similar nature being brought forward. Hon. Members must have observed, during the progress of this discussion, the persistent manner in which Members of the Government, and those speaking in support of the Government, had entirely ignored the true manner in which those arrears had accrued. The Prime Minister himself had often said that the general cause of arrears in Ireland was the failure of crops.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The arrears affected by this Bill.

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, he took it that the arrears generally to be affected by this Bill were the arrears in Ireland, and those arrears were put down by a Member of the Government last year at a sum not exceeding £700,000. The arrears that were to be affected by the Bill in the present year were put down by the Government at a sum not exceeding £2,000,000. That being so, and the statement of the Government being that the arrears had been principally caused by the failure of crops, he should like to know how the Government accounted for the difference between £700,000, the estimate of last year, and £2,000,000, which it was now proposed should be the amount, when there had been no failure of crops during the interval which had elapsed between the making of those calculations; but when, on the contrary, there had been one of the finest harvests with which Ireland had ever been blessed. The true quarter to which they must now look for the cause of arrears was the quarter in which the Government were now looking for support in the passing of the Bill. He should not go into that question at present, as it would probably arise further on. What were they about to do by this Amendment? They were going to say to the tenant—"If you cannot pay your debts to the landlords without selling your interests in the farm, or your stock, or your implements of trade, we will not compel you to do so; but, at the same time, we will leave every other creditor you may have in possession of his full rights and powers over you. The only one we will prevent from asserting any right whatever is the man whose rights have hitherto always been considered paramount." By the Act of last year the Government created a saleable interest of the tenant's right, which they said was to increase the security of the landlord's just claims. By this Bill it was proposed to leave the bankrupt tenant in possession of that interest which was created for him, and it was proposed to absolve him from any obligation to pay his debts so far as the landlord was concerned; it was proposed to whitewash him with one hand, and to tar-and-feather with the other the man from whom the interest was taken last year, and diverted to the tenant. It was proposed that the creditor from whom the interest of last year was taken was now to be the only one who was not to enforce his right against that interest. Now, in carrying out the principle enunciated last year, he asked, was this right or just? Was it right that a man who committed an act of political and moral bankruptcy should be enabled the following week to sell property which Parliament had created for him, and which was now in his possession, notwithstanding that by this Act he was declared to be unable to pay his lawful debts? By this Act the ordinary creditor—the shopkeeper, the money-lender, and the banker—would be left in possession of all rights and powers of recovering his debts which he now possessed at law, and could seize upon the property which had been taken from the landlord and given to the tenant. Possibly there were many hon. Members who were not aware that in the absence of other property applicable to the payment of debt in Ireland, the interest or goodwill in a farm could be sold to the creditor. That was being done almost every day. They gave the ordinary creditor all these powers, whilst they said to one solitary creditor, whose rights had hitherto been considered to be superior to those of anybody else—"We will take away from you the right of recovering a shilling of the amount due to you;" and they said this notwithstanding the fact that from that very person they had taken his property and transferred it to the tenant. What sort of justice, he would ask, was this? What justification could there be for such a proposition? With regard to the tribunal which was to decide these questions between the landlord and the tenant, it was a tribunal which the Prime Minister had said, within the last day or two, commanded the confidence of the country. But there were two sides to every question, and although the tribunal might command the confidence of that side in whose interest it was working, it certainly did not command one grain of confidence on the other side—on the side of those in whose interest it was not working. The Bill as it stood at present provided that the tribunal to adjudicate in these matters should be a single member, possibly of one of the Sub-Commissions. Why, they would probably not find a single landowner in Ireland who, if he were asked about it, would say that he would be satisfied to allow the matters at issue between himself and his tenant to be decided by any one of these single individuals. These creations of the Land Act were to be extended for the purposes of the present measure; and, so far from their commanding the general confidence of the country, he (Mr. Tottenham) should say that the general opinion with regard to them upon one side certainly was that they were a mockery of justice and a parody on a judicial tribunal. He hoped the Committee would not agree to the Amendment.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he desired to put one or two points before the Committee in regard to this Amendment, which had been moved by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government. Perhaps it was not possible; but if it was, no doubt it would be greatly for the convenience of the Committee that they should ascertain what was the general view of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the part which the tenant right was to play generally in the estimation of the assets, and he (Mr. Goschen) said this quite as much from the point of view of the tenants as from the point of view of the landlord. He had ventured to suggest the other evening that it was better that this should be defined in the Bill, than that it should be left entirely to the discretion of the Commissioners; and he was bound to say that it appeared to him that his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister had given effect to that idea in the Amendment he had proposed, in suggesting the introduction of the words "without loss of his holding." Those words differed from the original draft of the Bill in this—that they distinctly laid down in favour of the tenant that his ability to pay was not to be considered if his tenant right was so small that the selling of it would inflict upon him the loss of his holding. He took it that the Amendment was drafted in favour of the tenant. He did not say on that account that it was an Amendment that ought to be opposed; but what he did say was, that they should distinctly understand where they were. The Bill as drafted did not recognize tenant right as an asset in considering ability or inability to pay; but if the words of the Prime Minister were inserted, it would possibly be the duty of the Commissioners to compel the tenant to sell, because as long as he had a tenant right it would constitute ability to pay. If he was not mistaken, therefore, the words of the Prime Minister were necessary, not in order to limit, but in order to guide the Commissioners, not to take into consideration the tenant right as part of the assets, but, on the contrary, to exclude it, and to provide that no tenant was to lose the benefit of the Bill in consequence of the existence of a certain tenant right. He did not know whether his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister disputed the justice of this interpretation; but that was how he (Mr. Goschen) read the Amendment—"without loss of his holding or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof." These were the words to be taken into consideration by the Commissioners before they decided whether or not a man was able to pay his arrears. His (Mr. Goschen's) view with regard to these words would be influenced to a very great extent by the attitude which he should expect Her Majesty's Government to take with regard to the other Amendment that stood upon the Paper. He was quite sure the hon. Member who spoke last (Mr. Tottenham) was mistaken when he thought this Amendment had been put down by Her Majesty's Government in order to exclude other Amendments which stood upon the Paper. He (Mr. Goschen) was convinced that nothing of the kind had entered the minds of his right hon. Friends on the Front Ministerial Bench. On the contrary, he believed they would be prepared to give every facility for the bringing on of Amendments, and every attention to Amendments when proposed. He should be prepared to admit himself that the one object of the Bill was to settle the Land Question, and to prevent evictions; and he granted to the fullest extent that if the tenant right in every case were to be taken into consideration as an asset, it might so affect the operation of the Bill as to make it nugatory and inefficient for the purpose for which it was intended. Therefore, he was prepared to admit the argument, if it should be made on the part of the Government, that if they were in all cases to take the tenant right into consideration, they would too much limit the operation of the Bill; but, on the other hand, he thought they were equally entitled to ask Her Majesty's Government, if they assented to words which committed them to a very important principle, that when the value of the tenant right was so large that it constituted an actual asset, it should be taken into consideration, and should be realized, and the taxpayers of the country should be relieved, the surplus being given to the tenant. He thought the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government would admit that he

(Mr. Goschen), and those who thought with him, were fairly entitled to put this question to the Government—If they assented to words of this kind, that no tenant was to be forced to lose his holding, through the realization of his tenant right, what safeguards, on the other hand, would Her Majesty's Government be prepared to accept, so as to prevent the burden upon the taxpayers becoming unnecessarily heavy? He did not think he had explained with perfect clearness the last part of his argument; but what he meant was this—that when the tenant right was so small that it would simply mean eviction if it were taken from the tenant, it should not be considered as an asset, as he did not desire that the tenant should lose that tenant right for the purpose of diminishing his chance of availing himself of the benefits of the Bill; but, on the other hand, where the tenant right was large enough to constitute a real asset, it would be wrong on the part of the Committee not to take it into consideration. He, therefore, ventured to suggest to Her Majesty's Government that before considering the further Amendments which stood on the Paper, they should make some statement as to their general attitude on this question. The Committee should know whether, if they accepted this Amendment of the Prime Minister, they might at the same time look forward to the Government accepting Amendments in future which would have the effect of realizing the surplus value, if he might so express himself, of the tenant right as an asset?

MR. GLADSTONE said, the speech of the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham), he was sorry to say, impressed him with the perfect hopelessness of any attempts which Her Majesty's Government might make at conciliation in regard to opinions such as those the hon. Member entertained. According to the view of the hon. Member for Leitrim, everything that the Government proposed to do was to be interpreted in the worst sense. All that the Governhad done, and all that they proposed to do, was an unmixed evil. His right hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Goschen) approached the question in a totally different spirit. He (Mr. Gladstone) had not the smallest objection to raise to the spirit in which his right hon. Friend regarded the matter. In fact, he (Mr. Gladstone) wished to approach it in exactly the same spirit. If he did not agree entirely and absolutely with the right hon. Gentleman's construction of the Amendment, that was a matter for fair difference of opinion; but in the right hon. Gentleman's spirit and aim he entirely concurred. He did not, however, agree with him as to the precise construction to be put upon the Amendment proposed, because his right hon. Friend seemed to think the Amendment was proposed in the interest of the tenant. That was not the case so far as the tenant was concerned. He (Mr. Gladstone) owned that, in his opinion, they would do wisely to forego all attempts at definition, and perhaps he was influenced in some measure by the recollection of the unfortunate issue of such attempts last year. The Government had not felt justified in closing the door against them; but he would point out to his right hon. Friend that the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw) had not objected to the Amendment because of its being in favour of the tenant, but he had taken exception to it as constituting a deduction from the import and efficiency of the Bill. In the opinion of the Government, if the Amendment could not be properly described as an Amendment in the interest of the tenant, neither could it be properly described as an Amendment in the interest of the landlord—it was neither the one nor the other. As a matter of fact, it was intended to express the meeting-point of the two interests—it was intended to embody in words simply and impartially the spirit and intention of the Bill, and if it failed in that so far, it was a fault and a flaw which they were bound to admit and thoroughly to remedy if they could. It seemed to the Government that the effect of the Amendment was to lay down certain limits to the province of the Commissioners in regard to determining inability, which limits were not to be found in the Bill at the present moment further than were absolutely implied in the word "inability" itself. Those limits were, he thought, well understood by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Goschen), and he did not think the right hon. Gentleman had shown the Committee that if the Amendment before it were adopted there was any great necessity for anything further. He did not mean by that to infer that the mind of the Government was closed against the acceptance of any Amendment. They felt that really between persons who accepted the principle of the Bill there was very little room for difference as to the Amendment with which they were now dealing, in regard to its spirit and aim and its proper limits. If the intention of hon. Members, by moving Amendments in Committee, was to defeat the main principle of the Bill, that, of course, was quite a different matter; but he conceived that they were proceeding in Committee, thoroughly recognizing the fact that the measure had received a second reading. Her Majesty's Government could be no parties to anything that could impair the principle of the measure. The Amendment before the Committee, first of all, pointed to the loss of the holding, and said that the Commissioners were to consider a tenant as unable, or in a condition of "inability," to discharge his arrears to their full amount, by submitting either to the loss of his holding, or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation of it. These two, on the one side, were the positive objects which Her Majesty's Government considered essential to the Bill—first, that the tenant should not be driven to part with his holding; and, secondly, that he should not be driven to the scarcely less objectionable alternative of remaining on his holding without the means necessary for its proper cultivation. These were the two purposes on the one side, and so far as they went, no doubt, his right hon. Friend was right in saying that this Amendment was an Amendment in the interest of the tenant. But his hon. Friend the Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw), with the astuteness that belonged to him, had perceived with truth and justice that in their reference to the tenant's loss of his holding there was a reference to the tenant right as a possible asset. There could be no doubt about that. The Government said that a tenant might be considered unable to discharge his arrears if he could only do so by losing his holding—that was to say, by selling his tenant right, and the tenant right was at once brought into view as a possible asset. He (Mr. Gladstone) was bound to say, in regard to the Amendment of which the hon. Member had given Notice, proposing that under no circumstance should any liability be incurred in respect of the tenant right, that the Government were not prepared to accede to the principle. They did not think it reasonable or fair. He (Mr. Gladstone) could do no better than quote the instance given the other night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who took the case of a man whose rent was £20, and whose tenant right was estimated at 10 years' purchase—namely, £200, and whose arrears were supposed to be £40 or £50. It would not be according to reason and according to justice to the taxpayers of the country, or to any parties interested, if they were to say, in such a case as that, that not one shilling should be raised upon the tenant right in order to pay the arrears. He had taken a strong case, but it was the case which had been selected by his right hon. Friend (Mr. John Bright) for the purpose of illustration, and he (Mr. Gladstone) believed it at once struck the House by its justice and fairness. He adopted it fully as expressing the view of the Government, that there was a point at which the tenant right should, if need be, be made the subject of an advance. It ought not to be an encumbrance of such a nature and extent as to endanger the tenant's continuance in his holding. The Government had contrived to find words—he could assure his right hon. Friend who had just sat down that it had caused Her Majesty's Government a good deal of pains to put them together—but they had contrived to find words which he believed were as fairly balanced as any they could adopt. They indicated no change whatever in the view of Her Majesty's Government in regard to this matter, but simply indicated the unfolding and putting into expressed words that which had been in their minds, and with regard to which they had thoroughly and perfectly understood one another. It would not be open to objection on principle to point to the tenant right as a possible asset, but to point to it as more than a possible asset would be highly objectionable. The tenant right of these tenants in arrear was not based upon the general rent; and excepting in Ulster, and on comparatively few estates where the Ulster Custom or something analogous to it prevailed, the tenant right was but a very indefinite affair. The Government distinctly affirmed the principle that they would not exclude the tenant right from consideration; but they could not affirm the principle that it had invariably to be taken into consideration, because they believed it to be a fugitive asset so uncertain in its value that if it were taken into account in many cases it would cause the defeat of that which the Government regarded as the chief purpose of the Bill. Without unduly wishing to press the Amendment upon the Committee at the present moment, yet it did appear that these were words which, so far as they went, were good words, and should be accepted. But, at the same time, he did not say that in order to give good effect to the wishes of Parliament, it would not be possible to further assist and develop these words by some additions. He did not say that they would be prepared to accept any Amendment on the Paper as thoroughly satisfactory for that purpose; but this Amendment was for the purpose of showing that it was intended by the measure to give a man a reasonable chance of becoming the free tenant of his holding, and that it was not intended that he should be driven either to the loss of his holding or the loss of the stock necessary for its cultivation. He reserved for future consideration the question whether it would be wise to say that the saleable value of a holding might, if the Commissioners should think fit, be taken into account as an asset in determining the extent of the man's ability to pay, or of his inability.

MR. MACARTNEY said, that when the Land Bill was under consideration last year, one of the strongest arguments used by the Government to induce the House to consent to the passing of it was that in Ulster they had tenant right. It was said that tenant right possessed many advantages, one of the greatest being the security it gave to the landlord for the payment of the rent due to him; and it was pointed out that if they gave this tenant right in the rest of Ireland they would give the landlords a security which they did not then possess. Well, that security was given last year, but by the Bill this year it was to be taken away. He could imagine a case which would well illustrate the point before the Committee. Let them take what was not very unusual in Ireland, a holding valued at £30 a-year upon which there were five years' rent due. Such cases were not very unusual; in fact, he knew of them upon his own property. This Bill said to the tenant—"You pay one year's rent, that is £30; the Government will give you another, making £60; and the landlord will give you a receipt in full for the whole amount." And that £60 which the landlord had been paid would be less than the tenant would be perfectly certain to get under the usual Ulster Custom by the sale of his tenant right. In the county where he had property the tenant right was frequently worth £30 an acre—£22, £23, £25, and up to £30 an acre. It was not an unusual thing for the tenant, in addition to the £150 he owed his landlord, to owe £150 to other creditors, making in all £300, which amounted to about half the value of his saleable tenant right. They were told that the tenant right was to be considered by the Court as a picture—that was to say, it was to be hung up against the wall, and was to be looked at and admired and valued, but was not to be taken down and used; or, in other words, it was to be used only so far as to enable the tenant to raise money on it, and not so as to deprive him of it altogether. But the tenant had already raised the money on it, and the people who were in the habit of lending money to the tenantry as well as to the landlords were now beginning to draw in their horns; indeed, it would be difficult even to get the gombeen man to lend money on a farm where the rent was five years in arrear. And it must not be forgotten that in addition to five years' rent due in 1881, there would probably be before the case of the farmer was decided in the Court two more years' rent due, which would make seven years. The Government said the landlord was not to have the power of demanding that this estate should be sold for the payment of the debt to him; but in Ulster the tenant right had always been considered a saleable asset for the payment of rent. They said the tenant was not to be deprived of that which he required for the cultivation of his farm. But what was it that he required? They surely could not mean ploughs, harrows, spades, wheelbarrows; they must mean something else, for these articles were of very small value. They must mean cattle and horses. These were things which were valuable assets as well as the tenant right. They might have a man with a farm worth £600, with five cows worth £10 or £12 each, with a horse worth £20, and with a good crop; but before the claim under the Bill was made he would have disposed of the crop. The question might be asked of him, "What have you done with your crop of flax?" and his answer would be, "How could I feed my family? I had to sell it to provide them with food." Then the question might be put, "What did you do with your crop of oats?" and the answer would come, "Oh, I owed my neighbours some money, and what I realized by the sale of my oats I paid to them." The Court would have to consider all these points. Here was a man with the usual means of paying his rent, and who ought, if he neglected to pay his rent, to be sold out without the slightest commiseration, because he had property and was able to discharge the debt to his landlord—he was a man who should be regarded just as the landed proprietors were in the time of the establishment of the Landed Estates Court. They had property, and their creditors got their estates and away they walked. But since the establishment of the Landed Estates Court ideas seemed to have marched very rapidly. He was not saying that the tenant right was in any way to be considered as an asset if it was not to be sold—what was the use of taking into consideration the property remaining in the possession of a debtor if it was not to be taken as something by which his debts were to be discharged? They did not expect that the Irish farmers had large sums of money in the bank. Where, then, were their creditors to go if not to the property that they had accumulated, whether in the form of tenant right or goods? All other creditors but the landlords would be able to realize in the ordinary way, and they would not hesitate to proceed against tenants who were in their debt. The tenants would be certain to pay these people; and, therefore, the effect of this Bill would be that the tenants would rob the landlords, to a great extent, for the benefit of their other creditors.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, if the Government pressed this Amendment he should not oppose it; but he confessed that he was rather sorry it had been introduced. He thought it was one of those cases in which, in a very difficult matter, they were forcing on the Committee words to define what was right and just to be done for the tenants throughout Ireland. The circumstances of the case were most difficult; and, in his opinion, it would be impossible to find words which, while appearing to meet the difficulty in some parts of Ireland, would not increase it in others. The question as to whether the tenant right should be considered as an asset varied very much in different parts of Ireland. In Ulster, no doubt, it was an asset, and had been looked upon as such for a long time, both by law and custom, in that Province; and although it did not apply so much to small farms it was, no doubt, a real asset. The Amendment, when looked upon from an Ulster point of view, seemed rather strong. It said that the tenant right was not to be looked upon as an asset if the sale of it would interfere with the continuance of a tenant on his farm, and that was a very strong thing to say. Supposing a man paid £30 a-year rent, and had an estate worth £300—and the tenant right was often worth a great deal more in proportion—it would be a strong thing for the Committee to lay down that in a provision regarding the payment of rent that asset ought not to be interfered with, if such interference would prevent the tenant from cultivating his farm. He was not quite sure that that was the proper thing to say, and he believed there was a great deal in what had been said upon this subject—namely, that if they gave the sanction of the law to that interpretation of tenant right it would diminish the value of that right to the tenant, as it would be by no means easy for him to raise money on mortgage, say, from a bank or other persons. If they went outside Ulster to the South and West where tenant right did not exist, or was a very shadowy one indeed, the case was a very different one, and his impression was that they had much better leave it alone. The Court would have to consider whether a man was able or unable to pay, and would take into account all his property, and whether the property was really valuable. Where the property was valuable it ought fairly to be considered, but where it was shadowy no Commissioners in their senses would attach much value to it. He could not help thinking, both in the interest of the landlord and the tenant, that they had better leave the thing to be decided by the Commissioners according to the circumstances of the country. No doubt the Land Act might make tenant right in some districts, although it had not done so yet. When it had done so, he certainly thought that it would be a property which ought fairly to be considered. The Amendment proposed had been objected to on both sides, both by landlord and tenant; and he (Mr. W. E. Forster) was not at all sure that it was not objected to with some degree of justice.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, there was one remark made by the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down that he did not think they who sat on the Conservative side of the House, and who lived in Ireland, could agree with. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to leave a great deal to the discretion of the Court which would have to administer this Bill; but the hon. Members to whom he was referring had rather a painful experience of the use the Court made of its discretion. There was very little doubt as to what the intention of Her Majesty's Government was in passing the Land Act of last year; but certain as was their intention it was equally clear that the Sub-Commissioners had not given full effect to it. With regard to the Amendment, he wished to interpret it in the most friendly spirit, and he might say he believed it to be an attempt on the part of the Government to give practical effect to the expressions contained in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) the other night with regard to tenant right. The Prime Minister must find himself a little out of court in discussing this Amendment, when he remembered that during the early part of the evening he had objected to a proposal which had been made because two words in it were in manuscript. Well, the whole of this Amendment was in manuscript.

MR. GLADSTONE: It is now in print.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, it might be in print now, but it was not when it was moved. He quite admitted that it was one of the most difficult and complicated matters that any Legislative Assembly could be called upon to discuss. What he ventured to remind the Committee of was the main argument urged during the whole of the discussions of last year, and, he might say, during the discussions of the preceding year, on the question of land tenure and the establishment of tenant right; and it was this —that though there might be economic objections to the division of property between landlord and tenant, yet when the landlord had security in the tenant right for the payment of rent he was enabled to allow exceptional consideration to the tenant. That was the argument used from first to last by the Government; and when, in 1880, they introduced the Compensation for Disturbance Bill a very remarkable proposal was made by that, which threw a little light on the present Amendment. The Compensation for Disturbance Bill was a proposal to prevent evictions; and the Government added a very important clause to that Bill, which would have had the effect of preventing evictions, the proposal being to give to the tenants in the scheduled parts of Ireland a tenant right that previously had not existed. The object in giving the tenant that tenant right was to enable him to realize his interest in his holding for the payment of the rent due to the landlord. ["No, no!"] Well, he had the document before him, and he would rather be guided by that than by the opinion of the Prime Minister. There happened to be in the House at that time an authority on the question of tenant right—namely, the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Mr. Law), who, in the discussion of the Bill of last year, said the Court was to consider whether or not a reasonable proposal had been made by the tenant to the landlord, and if the proposal were unreasonable no compensation would be given, but if it was reasonable compensation should be given. He would just read two sentences from, perhaps, one of the most important authorities to be found in Ireland on the subject of tenant right. Mr. Law said he had to remind the House, on the second day of the debate, that no Court would hold that a landlord had acted unreasonably in evicting a tenant for non-payment of rent where he allowed him the option of selling his tenant right. Now, under the Act of last Session a tenant had a greater tenant right than he had in 1880, or than it was then proposed to give him. He had hoped that one of the results of giving tenant right would be that this question of arrears would have settled itself. It was pretty evident to everybody living in the North of Ireland, where tenant right had existed to a greater extent than in any other part of the country, that if the Government, instead of making the present proposal take the shape of a gift, made one to take the shape of a loan, all these difficulties would have been avoided, because the great advantage of tenant right was that it gave good security for the payment of the rent. The question the Government had had to consider was, what were they to do with the tenant right—whether or not they were to consider it as an asset? There were one or two large estates that he (Lord George Hamilton) was acquainted with where the tenant right far exceeded in value the fee-simple of the landlord; and it was obvious that in cases of that kind it would be grossly unjust to exclude the tenant right from consideration as an asset? But then came this difficulty — that, supposing they excluded altogether from consideration this asset, what would the tenants in the North of Ireland say? He undertook to say that the enormous mass of tenants in the North of Ireland had an interest in their holdings that far exceeded the amount of their arrears, and, consequently, none of them would come under the operation of this Bill. Let the Committee consider the case of a tenant who had, by his idleness and neglect, dissipated his tenant right, and the case of an industrious tenant who had cultivated and improved his holding. The former would come to the Court and demand assistance, saying—"My tenant right will not cover the amount I am in arrear;" while the industrious tenant, whose tenant right exceeded the amount of his arrears, would not come under the operation of the Bill at all. It seemed to him (Lord George Hamilton) that the effect of such an arrangement as that upon the tenantry of Ireland would be of the worse kind. It seemed to him that it would be necessary for the Government—and he said it with all respect—to insert fresh clauses in the Bill, by which they would give to tenants in the North of Ireland, who could offer good security, advances of money at a low rate of interest to enable them to pay off their arrears. If such a proposal as that were made, he had no doubt that many landlords, especially in the North of Ireland, would only be too glad to compound with their tenants and effect a settlement. He was afraid that the Amendment before the Committee would not effect the object the Government had in view, as it would simply put a limitation on the Court in estimating the tenant right as an asset. If the Amendment were inserted in the Bill it seemed to him that the Government should also adopt the Amendment of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), because that Amendment was in the sense of a direction to the Court that they should take into consideration the saleable interest which the tenant had in his holding. That would be a clear direction to the Court, and the Court would take into consideration the tenant right. It seemed to him that unless the Government were prepared to adopt an Amendment equivalent or similar to that of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) the present proposal had better be left out of the Bill altogether. A proposal had been made and had been ruled out of Order, and he believed the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had put another on the Paper practically to the same effect—that the tenant right was not to be taken as an asset for the payment of arrears of rent. Well, he believed there was no other proposal that could possibly be made that would be more detrimental to the interest of the tenant than that, because, if any such view were sanctioned by Parliament, what position would the landlord be in? He would be in this position—he would find that the security the tenant had previously been enabled to offer him for the payment of his rent no longer existed. Whenever bad seasons occurred, not having a prior claim upon the tenant right, he would be forced to evict the tenant and make him sell his tenant right.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, everybody admitted that this was an extremely difficult point; but he thought the difficulty the Government had to grapple with in defending their fortress—to use a simile with which their minds were now pretty familiar, in consequence of the warlike operations in Egypt—was on account of the shots that came from behind themselves. It seemed to him (Mr. Mitchell Henry) that the words proposed were perfectly apt and expressive words, and extremely conclusive and useful. If the Bill were passed without them, it would be perfectly open to the Commission, or to those who administered the Act, to enforce the sale of the tenant's holding, and to apply the produce of the sale of the tenant right to the arrears, which would actually be to defeat the primary object of the Bill. The words before the Committee seemed to him to express precisely that which Parliament wished to accomplish. Parliament wished to prevent the loss of the tenant's holding, and it also wished by this Bill to prevent the tenant from being deprived of the proper means of cultivating his holding. But if these words were left out of the Bill, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) himself should have great fear of the operation of the Act, and especially in consequence of what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had heard the right hon. Gentleman's words on the subject of the sale of the tenant's interest with the greatest dismay, because if the doctrine the right hon. Gentleman had laid down were to prevail, and the value of the tenant's interest was to be taken tentatively and without qualification, the result would be that, instead of settling the tenants in their holdings and making their tenancy permanent, there would be a fresh impulse given to eviction. These words of the Prime Minister, therefore, were exceedingly grateful to him, who, in common with his Friends who represented Ireland on both sides of the House, wished to see the people of Ireland settled once more in their own homes and able to maintain themselves in decency and comfort. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) seemed to him, notwithstanding all his experience, to have failed to master the condition of the tenants in Ireland. It was not the fact that there was no tenant right except in Ulster. There was a tenant right in existence both in the South and in the West of Ireland; and there was hardly a tenant who gave up his holding in either of those two portions of the country who did not obtain for his interest in that holding a very considerable sum of money. It was perfectly true that that tenant right had not proceeded in the South and West to the extravagant extent to which it had proceeded in the North; but tenants in the South and West had obtained either from their neighbours or from their landlords on giving up a holding five or six years' value of such holding. He himself had repeatedly given it to his tenants when they had given up their holdings. They had expected this consideration with quite as great confidence as any tenants in the North of Ireland could have done, and, of course, the object in purchasing these holdings from the tenants who wished to leave was to enlarge the boundaries of those who were left, and make them more capable of supporting the tenantry. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) had spoken of tenants being five years in arrear, and that in Ulster, of all places in the world, and of there being an additional two years to be placed against the tenants before this Bill became operative. Well, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) denied entirely that there was any considerable number of tenants in Ireland who owed five years' arrears. If tenants had been allowed to accumulate five years of arrears it had been upon very badly-managed estates. It had been observed that that was what had brought them to the present difficulty—that the people had not managed their estates properly. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had too great a respect for his hon. Friend to believe that he could have many tenants who were situated as he had pointed out, and he felt sure that if the hon. Member would look at his rent-book he would find that there were very few who owed him as much as five years' rent. But even if, on the hon. Member's estate, there were some individuals who owed such an amount of arrears, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) could say with confidence that there were very few in the rest of Ireland. The point to which he wished to direct the attention of the Committee was this, that this Bill only affected tenants of a very low class in Ireland—that was to say, tenants whose rating was not above £30. The majority of these tenants, he was perfectly convinced, were unable to pay their arrears; and were the Government going to assist them effectually or not? If they did not assist them, the result would be that they would be evicted, and there would be a worse state of things existing in Ireland than had existed hitherto. He hoped the Government would adhere to their Amendment, because it would be a direction to the Commissioners who were to administer the Act, and would show that it was not the intention of Parliament that the tenant right of holdings should be taken into account to such an extent as to cause the eviction of tenants. Tenant right was like latent heat—it did not practically exist until they released it—and to say that any number of tenants in Ireland had been in the habit of borrowing money on their tenant right was to state that respecting which the Royal Commission on which he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had had the honour to sit for the past three years had received no evidence whatever. A tenant did not know the value of his tenant right until he was ready to leave his home and his holding, and then he got what those who had to assess the value chose to give him; but it was an unheard of thing in the North of Ireland, or almost anywhere in Ireland, for the tenant to borrow money on his tenant right; and, therefore, if they were going to place a value on the tenant right on that assumption they would be adopting a different course from that which had been taken in Ireland for years past.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he saw no provision in this Bill that would render it obligatory on the part of the tenant to make an effort to obtain a loan such as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had suggested he ought to obtain, supposing his tenant right to be a tenant right of considerable value. A man might say, "I cannot get the loan, and I will not attempt to obtain it." It appeared to him that the Amendment would permit a man who owed arrears to remain in undisturbed possession of his tenant right and of his farm, and it seemed to him to be a very undesirable thing that such a principle should be adopted. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) wished to know whether, under this Amendment, that charge could properly be made by the landlord?

Mr. PARNELL said, that question raised one of the difficulties incident to the new light thrown upon this Bill by the statement the Committee had heard. As the Bill was drafted, it would undoubtedly be necessary for the Court to take the tenant right into consideration as an asset. If that were so, certainly it was necessary to insert some definition in the Bill of such a character as to exclude the tenant right from any consideration; and he could not but think that it would be very much better for the Prime Minister to have determined to adopt this course rather than the alternative course of permitting the Court, in some cases not definable, and in which it would be impossible to lay down certain rules, to take this tenant right into account. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) had just asked a very pertinent question. Supposing a landlord told the Court he was willing to advance money for the payment of arrears on the security of the tenant's interest in his holding, that, of course, would put the tenant in a position to pay his rent, and the arrears would be wiped off. The tenant's interest would have been mortgaged to the landlord. Supposing, in six months or 12 months, the landlord called upon the tenant for payment of the loan so advanced, and, failing the payment of the loan, turned the tenant out, of what benefit would the Arrears Act then be to the tenant? If the question put by the right hon. Gentleman was answered in the affirmative, that at once opened the door for the wholesale evasion of the Act. Looking at the nature of these arrears and the nature of the Bill—looking at it as an exceptional measure which could not be strictly defended by the rules of political economy, and brought in to meet very exceptional circumstances in Ireland—he thought it would have been better to have entirely exempted the tenant right, the right conferred by the Act of 1881 no longer being charged in respect to arrears which had accrued during the very bad seasons, and which in most cases were arrears due to rack rents. That would have been a sounder policy, and would have removed the difficulty of defining how far the tenant right should be considered as an asset. It appeared to him that this was a hopeless task for the Committee to enter upon, and it would be impossible to lay down any rule as a guidance to the Court in this matter. The Amendment of the Prime Minister appeared to admit that the Bill, as drafted, permitted the Court to consider the tenant right as an asset, and to say that it should not be considered in such a way as to deprive the tenant of his holding or of the means of cultivating it properly. At the same time, the Amendment implied that the tenant right might be pledged—that was to say, that if the Court saw that a tenant could fairly obtain a loan upon his holding upon not unreasonable conditions, he ought not to be permitted to have the benefits of this Bill, and that would leave open the question of how far the Court might direct the interests of the tenant to be pledged as a security for the loan, while it prevented the loss of his holding and of the means of cultivation. He objected to this exclusion of the tenant's interest as an asset, and thought it would have been better to have left that element out altogether, and to have allowed the tenant to start clear by getting his judicial rent fixed, after he had proved his inability to pay, apart from any ability he might be supposed to have of being able to borrow on his tenant right. Under the present proposal injustice was done to the tenant in regard to borrowing, for, no matter how unjust the arrears of rent might be, he was not to be allowed the advantages arising from the Bill in order to partially wipe out the arrears; neither was he to be permitted to have the advantage of a gift from the State for the payment of one year; but he was to be compelled, not only to forego a gift from the State, but to repay all the arrears, even supposing they amounted, as in the case instanced by the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), to arrears for 13 years. No matter whether the arrears arose from the famine, the tenant, if he could borrow money on the security of his tenant right, was to be compelled to borrow in that way, although he might practically swop the whole value of his interest, and render worthless that which the Act of 1881 was supposed to confer. He did not think that was the intention of the Government when they brought in this Bill, but that it was their intention, having regard to the circumstances under which the arrears had accrued, to make a gift to the landlord of one year's rent, and then to compel the tenant to pay another year's rent, so that the tenant might start clear without the necessity of borrowing on the security of his interest. There was very great difficulty in laying down a rule as to the line of demarcation between tenants who were to be compelled to borrow on their holding and those who were not. He did not see how this could be done by this Bill, and he should prefer the tenant right being excepted from consideration altogether, and the tenant allowed to start free under the judicial rent to be fixed by the Court. However, as something must be done, he hoped that proper safeguards would be inserted to limit, as far as possible, the number of tenants who might be deprived of the benefits of this Bill. He did not know that it would be of much use to move any Amendment, as the Prime Minister had announced his intention not to accept an Amendment; but as he had an Amendment on the Paper he would propose it.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, after the first word "of," to insert the words "or without pledging."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the said proposed Amendment."

MR. GLADSTONE: I am very glad to hear the general tone of the speech of the hon. Member. The hon. Member has put one case in regard to tenant right, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite has put another, and both of them, in my opinion, are perfectly right in their respective cases; but they look at the question not as a whole, but from one extreme. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) says you may estimate the tenant's interest in the saleable value of the holding in such a way as to swamp that interest—that is to say, to make the burden of his debt such that he will not be free even if he continues in the holding, because on the slightest disturbance of his position—say, by a bad harvest—he would be placed in a position of necessity, and be unable to meet his liabilities. That is perfectly fair, and no such case ought to be allowed; and, in our opinion, we have excluded such a case by the words which say that he is now not only not to be deprived of his holding, but he is not to be deprived of the means of cultivating his holding. Let me take another case—let me suppose the case of a man with a farm of £10 rent and a tenant right of the value of £50, and in whose case his nominal arrears run up to £30 or £40. To charge that amount on the tenant right would swamp his interest in it. It would not nominally turn him out, but it would leave him in almost a hopeless condition, and it would not be in the spirit of a provision such as this to charge that upon a tenant right which might be worth £50. What am I to say to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who takes a very different case, not a case where arrears would form an overwhelming portion of the tenant right, but a more common case, where the arrears only form a moderate portion of the tenant right? We take a case in which the tenant right is manifestly or almost certainly £200 and the arrears are £50. I do not say it would be necessary to pledge the tenant right; it might not be necessary to base a positive transaction on the knowledge of the tenant right existing. The tenant might have a tenant right and yet might be evicted; but that is without pledging the tenant right, or without constituting anything in the nature of a mortgage. People will lend money to those who they know can pay without knowing the specific relation between the amount lent and the sources to which they will look for payment, and therefore I should say a little more than the right hon. Gentleman. He asks, suppose a landlord is willing to accept a charge on the tenant right, is he to be excluded from taking that away? I would deal with it a little more broadly. If the Commissioners, on examining the value of the tenant right, find the proportion of arrears is moderate in proportion to the tenant right, it is their business, without any inquiry into any question between the landlord and tenant, to say they cannot entertain the case, and he is not one of those who are unable to pay. That is such an instance as the right hon. Gentleman suggested.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he thought the speech just made showed the inconvenience of this Amendment being sprung on the Committee when the Committee were about to take into consideration the whole question of a tenant's interest. He did not object to a single word in the Amendment, provided it came as a Proviso to the Amendment he had proposed. The Prime Minister had only quoted the first few lines of an opinion given by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster upon this point. The right hon. Gentleman had said, suppose a man had a farm of 20 acres worth £20 a-year, the tenant right would be worth £10 or £5 an acre. Would it not be unreasonable to say that the Government should advance money and the tenant right should be untouched? He (Mr. Heneage) thought it would have been wise for the Government to have waited until there had been a thorough discussion on the question of tenant right. There was very little he should quarrel with in the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), for he did not wish the tenant to be deprived of any right under this clause, but thought a tenant's interest in his holding should be available as a mortgageable asset. The Bill was not brought in on economical principles, and altogether it might be described as an immoral Bill. He did not say it was wrong on that account; it was only a corollary to the Bill of last year, which was brought in to meet exceptional circumstances. He voted for it in that light, and he wished the question of arrears had been taken up in the Bill of last year and dealt with at the same time. But it was not fair that the money of the taxpayers of England, or the property of Ireland, should be given to tenants who had money of their own, and that that money should remain untouched. It was hardly possible to avoid discussing the question of tenants' interest upon this Amendment. His proposal, which he had yet to propose, was, that where the tenant had not sufficient interest to pay the rent due, and also to provide the means of cultivating his holding and to remain upon it, then it should not be taken into account. But if the man had sufficient interest in his holding to pay, that interest should be made available, and the Government should lend money to the tenant at reasonable interest. Such a tenant ought to be able to pay interest; and otherwise it might as well be said that a tradesman in England might decline to pay his rent because all his capital was locked up in stock.

The CHAIRMAN: There are a number of Amendments upon that which have not yet been discussed.

Mr. HENEAGE said, that what he complained of was that the Committee were asked to vote for an Amendment which was not objectionable in itself, but would be very objectionable if placed in the Bill without any other Amendment stating that the tenant's interest was to be considered an asset. He would, therefore, ask the Prime Minister to withdraw the Amendment for the present and allow the whole question of tenants' interest to be discussed, and then he would vote for the Amendment.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he would not discuss the morality or the immorality of the Bill. He was surprised that the hon. Member should vote for the Motion that the Speaker should leave the Chair. Neither did he approach the question as opposing the principle of the Bill. That principle had been accepted by the House, and the Committee were endeavouring to carry out the views of the Government in this particular matter of the consideration of the tenant right as an asset. It seemed to him that the Government, as had been already stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), had only carried out part of the views they had stated to the Committee. The present Amendment would carry out what was said by the Secretary of State for War on more than one occasion; but it would not at all carry out what had been stated by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was quite willing to admit that, looking at this matter from the point of view of those who were in favour of the principle of the Bill, the Government were right in proposing that an Amendment should be inserted in the Bill by which a tenant should be safe from loss of his holding or deprivation of the means necessary for cultivating it; but he would ask the Prime Minister to carry into effect what he had said in his last speech. He had said that the tenant right had been brought into view as an asset; but he went beyond that point in his last speech, and almost suggested words by which it might be made clear that the views of the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell) were not to be carried out in this respect. He himself was ready to accept the words which the Government proposed to insert in the Bill; but he would wish also to see them accompanied, as they ought in fairness to be accompanied, by other words such as the Prime Minister had suggested to carry out what the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had said on the debate on the Motion that the Speaker should leave the Chair. Then the Committee would have what, he thought, they were bound to have—namely, the insertion of a guidance to the Court in this Bill. He differed entirely upon this matter from the opinion expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), quite irrespective of the fairness or unfairness of the Land Act of 1881. He thought nothing was more reprehensible than that, when complicated questions were debated and utterly opposing views were expressed, the Committee should shrink from settling such questions and leave them to the interpretation of the Courts. It seemed to him that legislation carried out upon that principle could not but be mischievous.

MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot quite agree with the hon. Member behind me as to the inconvenience of our not taking the course of proposing words of our own which will advance us a considerable way. We have been spending the evening on the discussion of this Amendment, and I do not believe it to be the general wish of the Committee that the words of the Amendment should be withdrawn. The clear wish is that there should be words added, not at this particular place, but it should be understood that when we come to the proper part of the Bill, which we think will be more convenient, words shall be introduced in a separate section. Her Majesty's Government, wishing to unite as far as they can with the feelings of the Committee, are perfectly free to make a proposition to introduce the words—

> "For the purposes of this Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account as an asset."

That would distinctly throw on the Commissioners the duty of distinguishing, as they must distinguish, between the cases in which it would be perfectly reasonable, as has been pointed out by the hon. Member for the City of Cork and others. I am not going to move those words now, because I think they would be more conveniently introduced in a subsequent clause; but I think they will satisfy the desire, which appears to exist, for something specific with regard to tenant right to be expressed in the Bill.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he considered the suggestion of the Prime Minister most important, as bearing on the question before the Committee. He should have had some objection to vote for the words of the Prime Minister unless it was certain that other words would be inserted in the Bill. He sympathized with the object of the Government in this measure. He was sure that many Members took the view that the tenant right ought to be considered an asset, and at the same time they did not wish to defeat the object of the Bill. It appeared to him at the first sight that the Prime Minister had met the Committee very fairly upon this point by suggesting words providing that the interest of the tenant should be taken into account as an asset. That was a point to which he thought many hon. Members would have objected; but if it was understood that the Commissioners might consider the tenant right as a saleable asset, then he thought they might vote for the Amendment proposed by the Prime Minister—namely, that it was not to be pushed to the point of depriving a tenant of his interest.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he thought the words proposed by the Prime Minister should have rather more consideration than they could have now, because he thought they would go far to defeat the object of the Bill. Hon. Members had talked very freely about making loans and lending money on tenant right—an hon. Friend behind him had talked of making loans of this kind at a reasonable rate of interest. Well, he would venture to say that there would be hardly a case which would come under the Bill in which it would be found that the owner of the tenant right was able to pay a charge in respect of his tenant right in the shape of interest. He would put a case in a general way in this fashion. The maximum rental to which this Bill would apply would be £30, and they might take it as a rule that the amount of profit the tenant derived from his holding was about equivalent to his rent. A payment of £30 to the landlord they might take it would represent a profit of £30 or £35 to the landlord. That would be about 12*s*. a-week. The tenant right might be worth £200, and English Members would naturally say that was a valuable asset; but how could it include any profit to the tenant?—it was only a sum invested by him in the right to earn his living. He paid it for the purpose of getting employment. The root and bottom of all this tenant right in Ireland was the want of general employment in that country. In England this sort of thing did not prevail, for if a man had £200 or £300 in land he would realize it and invest it in more remunerative operations. In Ireland it was not possible for a man to do that; and his (Mr. Magniac's) contention was that if they forced these tenants to borrow a year's rent, in order to pay a year's rent due up to 1881, they would so load him with a charge upon a minimum of sufficiency for existence as to render him a pauper. If a man only had 12*s*. a-week and had to pay out of that 1*s*., or 2*s*., or 3*s*., it would have a ruinous effect, and, to his (Mr. Magniac's) mind, it would result in defeating the objects of the Bill by bringing the poorer tenants to a state of pauperism. As he understood it, the object of this measure was to enable the Irish tenantry to avoid being thrown into a condition of pauperism and distress, and thereby to prevent discontent and outrages. [*A laugh.*] If hon. Gentlemen opposite thought the question of preventing outrages a laughable matter, he (Mr. Magniac) must say he did not agree with them, and would contend that this was a subject upon which every Member, however imperfectly informed, might be able to bring to bear some little information, or some new suggestion which had not been mentioned before. He ventured to say that every shilling a week they charged these poor tenants the nearer they would bring them to pauperism; and as they wanted to put these men in the position of being able to earn their living, and to avoid the necessity of having to sell their tenant right—being in that way driven to emigration to some more congenial place—he trusted that every effort would be made to keep them from having unnecessary charges imposed upon them. If they were going to fritter away the tenant right by charging the tenant with the interest of a loan upon it, there was no doubt they would be defeating the object of the Bill, and the measure might as well be abandoned. What would happen if they abandoned the Bill; would not hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House interfere in favour of the landlords? The House had heard a great deal last year about the landlords not getting their rents, and could anyone desire to abandon the landlords in the position in which they were at present? He ventured to say that to do so would be a frightful catastrophe to the landlords and their families. They had heard a great deal about political economy and about the British taxpayer being violated; but the British taxpayer was used to being violated—he had been violated on the subject of public loans; he had been violated on the subject of loans to landlords. What did hon. Members do every time they passed the Estimates? Why, they made the British taxpayer pay a large sum for the purpose of tenant right in the Army; they did that every year, and he had no doubt they would continue to do it for a great number of years to come. He would urge the Committee not to so frame the Bill as to prevent its being able to bring about peace and tranquillity in Ireland, which he sincerely hoped would be its effect. They should deal with the question in a liberal spirit, and not parsimoniously, and he trusted that the Committee would refrain from frittering away the boon which it was proposed to give to the tenantry.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON said, he perfectly agreed with the remarks of the hon. Member who had just spoken, and he was afraid, from the tone the debate was taking in connection with the question of arrears, that if the measure became law, it would pass in such a shape as to afford very little relief indeed to the struggling tenant farmers of Ireland. He confessed he was very much disappointed at the whole tone of the debate on this question to-night. He had no hesitation in saying, from his knowledge of the North of Ireland, that if the value of the tenant right in the small holdings throughout Ulster was taken into consideration in dealing with arrears due from the tenants, no relief would be afforded to the struggling peasantry. It was said that Parliament was going to pass this measure in order to meet a great and a grave difficulty; but he could see that the House was going to fritter away the Bill, so that when it became law it would be of no greater value than the Arrears Clauses of the Land Act. He would say to the Committee—"Face the difficulty of the Arrears Question in Ireland in a broad and generous spirit, and let the question be finally settled." Undoubtedly, if the value of the tenant right in the small holdings in Ireland, especially in the North, were to be taken into account, he declared, as an Ulster Member, the Bill would be perfectly useless.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, he wished to say just one word upon this question, with regard to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). The right hon. Gentleman seemed to imagine that small holdings were not worth so much in proportion as large holdings; but he (Mr. Macartney) would point out this—that on his own property last year a small farm of 16 or 17 acres was held by a widow at a rent of £3 15*s*. The woman considered that too much, and said that at such a rent she could not make a living on the farm. They had, therefore, entered into a voluntary agreement under the terms of the Land Act, and the rent had been reduced to £3; but a few weeks afterwards the holding was sold by the widow to a neighbour for £80, and that in spite of the fact that she had previously said that at the original rent she could not make a living.

Mr. BRAND said, he thought the Committee ought to deal with this question in a broad and liberal spirit. He was quite certain of this—that if they excluded from the operation of the Bill all cases in which there was any value of the tenant right existing, the measure would be utterly valueless, for it could only apply in cases where the tenants were entirely bankrupt and insolvent. He would put it to the common sense of the Committee whether, if the Bill only applied to tenants who were entirely bankrupt, it would be any use at all to deal with a class of people who, when the operation had been effected, would be in no better position, so far as the cultivation of their holdings were concerned, than they were before their arrears were paid? He would put it to the Committee that in the majority of cases in Ireland, excluding the cases of insolvent tenants, there was just sufficient value in the tenant right to meet the arrears. If, therefore, they were to consider the tenant right as an asset in these cases, the whole of the tenant right would be absorbed in paying the arrears. The tenant right would be equal to the debt which the tenant owed to his landlord, and if they were to compel the debt to be paid by the tenant right, this Bill might just as well have never been introduced. What would be the effect? Why, a tenant would have to cease cultivating his holding—he would be sold out; he would have to part with his holding. The object of the Bill was to continue a tenant in his holding in cases where he had an amount of tenant right, and only that amount of tenant right, which would enable him to pay the arrears without being able to continue the cultivation of his holding. He (Mr. Brand) could quite understand hon. Members opposite opposing that view of the case. They said if a tenant was in such a condition as he had described, they ought to follow the economical rule, and require the man to clear out, and make way for someone who would be able to farm the holding in a more satisfactory manner. That might be true in an economical sense; but they had to take this into consideration—that they had passed the Land Act, by which they had given increased benefits to the tenants of Ireland, and that having been done, they were bound, as far as they could, to see that every tenant in Ireland reaped the benefit of the increased advantages given to him by this Act. He (Mr. Brand) imagined that they should draw, as far as possible, in the words of this Bill, a clear distinction between those tenants who were thoroughly able to pay, and who, it might be said, had "held the harvest"—and he imagined those who were able to pay, and who had "held the harvest," were dishonest tenants, and would, in most cases, be found by the Commissioners to be solid men and able to pay their arrears—they must draw a distinction between these cases and the cases of tenants who were either insolvent, or who had only just a sufficient amount of the value of the tenant right to enable them to continue cultivating their holdings after the Land Commission had paid their arrears of rent.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that perhaps he might state at once that he entirely agreed with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, that if the effect of the Bill was this, that any tenant who had either tenant right or saleable value at his disposal were compelled to get rid of a large portion of it, or be deprived of the means of cultivating his farm, the object the Government had in view would be altogether defeated; but that, they had explained over and over again, was not their object.

Mr. BRAND said, he did not argue against the Amendment, but only against its extension.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he entirely agreed with his hon. Friend as to his object; but the difficulty was this. The Government had proposed words in the Amendment, the object of which was perfectly plain. The words were, after the word "arrears," to insert—

> "Without loss of his holding or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof."

His hon. Friend very properly said that was the principle of the Bill; but then the Government had been asked what course they would take when they came to consider the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), who wished to express distinctly that under any circumstances the tenant right should be taken into consideration. The Government had stated that when they arrived at that part of the Bill, or, rather, after the 2nd sub-section of the clause, they would put in words which were somewhat different to those proposed—namely, the words—

> "For the purposes of this Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account as an asset."

This was a totally different thing from suggesting that the value of the tenant right should be swamped. If the tenant's interest were swamped, the tenant would be unable to carry on his farm. The Government said distinctly that it ought to lie with the Commissioners to say whether, without loss of his holding, or without being deprived in any degree of his power of cultivating it, the tenant was a man who could raise a sufficient amount of money to pay off his arrears. He would ask the Committee to pass this Amendment, and when they came afterwards to the end of the 2nd sub-section they could discuss the words he had indicated in the sense in which the Government proposed them, and not at all in the sense pointed out by the hon. Member.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he might point out that they were bound to take the words, not only as they had been proposed, but as they had been accepted by his hon. Friend the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), and by others who had taken the same view of the matter; and that was certainly a view which would entirely alter the Amendment first proposed by the Prime Minister. His hon. Friend the Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) and his hon. Friend the Member for Stroud (Mr. Brand) both agreed in the view that the second set of words proposed by the Government entirely altered the position of the case and the original Amendment. In voting upon the Amendment before the Committee hon. Members were not pledging themselves in any way, and the Government were not pledging themselves in any way, to stand by the later words.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, he agreed with the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) with regard to the tenants, and he must say that he thought that if the Government had acted by way of loan instead of gift, many of the difficulties which had arisen would have been obviated. If they were to say that where a man had a considerable property at his back, it was not to become available for the payment of his just debts, they would be advocating a principle that was dishonest and immoral, and one that would very much dishearten honest men who, notwithstanding what had fallen from the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had in bad times pledged their tenant right to meet the just demands of their landlords. The Government would be placing in the hands of the honest tenantry an engine—he would not use the expressions with regard to it that had been made use of in other quarters—but they would be placing in the hands of the tenantry a motive power for agitation against the Legislature of England which it would be very hard to suppress, if they were to be left out in the cold. If tenant right was excepted from the payment of just debts, they would be bringing about a state of things in Ulster from which there would be no recovery for a long time.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that the view put forward by the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) in the remarks he had just made seemed to him to amount to this—that they ought to feel quite at their ease on the point, as a discretion would be left to the Commissioners. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to admit that if the Amendment was acted up to to the very letter it would utterly destroy tenant right in Ireland.

MR. CHILDERS said, that he had said the very contrary. He had said, with regard to the Amendment before the Committee, which he hoped would be adopted, that it was not possible to give it that interpretation.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that, nevertheless, it seemed to him that what was given by the Prime Minister with one hand it was now proposed to take away with the other. The fact was that the Commissioners were to be allowed discretion in this matter, and they were to put that charge on the tenant right only where they thought it reasonable. But it would be found in practice that it would be impossible for the Commissioners to resist the pressure that would be put upon them to give the landlord his arrears out of the value of the tenant right. The landlords would apply for what they considered their rights, and if it was found that the tenants had anything of value in their possession, the landlords would put pressure upon the Commissioners to make good their claim out of it. It therefore seemed to him (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) that to put this Amendment into the Amendment of the Prime Minister would be to deprive the right hon. Gentleman's proposal of all its merit, and to endanger the success of the Bill.

MR. HEALY said, he rose to ask Her Majesty's Government whether, in view of the Amendment they were going to propose, they intended to repeal the 3rd sub-section of the 1st section of the Land Act? The Land Act said that if a tenant were to sell the landlord should have the right of pre-emption. He (Mr. Healy) wished to know, if the Sub-Commissioners considered that they might take the tenant right as an asset, whether they were to fix the value of the tenant right, and to cut it down if they chose? In a case on the estate of the Earl of Dartrey the value of a tenant right had been fixed at £150; but on an appeal the Judge had cut the tenant right down to £70, so that the tenant lost £80 by the transaction. Were they by this Bill going to allow the tenant right to be thrown in as an asset, and then to give the landlord the power to go before the Judge to get the value of it cut down? Whenever the tenant right was set up to auction, not merely in cases where the tenant had applied for a judicial rent, and applied for the benefits of the Land Act, but in all cases whatsoever, the 1st clause of that Act was forced upon the tenant whether he willed it or not, and then what happened? Why, there was a dispute between the landlord and tenant as to the value, and then the fatal power was given to the landlord of pre-emption—the Court stepped in and fixed the value of the asset.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the argument that the hon. Member used could not possibly apply in the case of this proposal. They had made a proposal that, on recognition of inability of a tenant, he should never be considered able to pay if ability implied parting with the tenant right. The Commissioners might form for themselves a general estimate of the tenant right, and that, might be an abstract estimate, having nothing to do with the sale, because forcing a sale would be absolutely precluded by the words they proposed to accept in certain cases.

Mr. PARNELL said, he very much doubted whether the sale of the tenant right would be precluded if the Committee agreed to the Amendment of which the Prime Minister had given Notice.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) insist upon his Amendment?

Mr. PARNELL: Yes.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 42; Noes 323: Majority 281.—(Div. List, No. 250.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. PARNELL said, he wished to suggest to the Prime Minister that he should consider, in the interval between the discussion upon the section he had mentioned, the desirability of limiting the application of that section to tenants of below £10 or £15 valuation.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, the Prime Minister seemed to give an assent to that suggestion, and therefore the Committee ought clearly to understand the point. What he understood to be the position with regard to this Amendment was, that it was an Amendment proposed by the Prime Minister, and one to which, by itself, many Members would have objected. If it was accepted, it would only be accepted as part of an arrangement, the second part of which was to come in the words to be suggested by the Prime Minister; but if there was any doubt as to what these words were to be, or whether they were to be limited as suggested by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, that would quite disturb the present understanding.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The whole of this proceeding, on the part of Government, is to meet the views of the Committee; and, secondly, it would be absurd to absolutely preclude ourselves from any modification of the proposal which might appear to be consistent with the spirit. We have considered to some extent whether we should have any provision of this kind. I do not wish to be precluded from giving a further consideration to the question.

Mr. GIBSON said, he wished, then, to know where the Committee was at present? He understood that the Prime Minister had said that he was willing to propose an Amendment in a subsequent portion of this clause, in order that the saleable value of the tenant's interest might, if the Commissioners thought it reasonable, be taken into account as an asset. That was tolerably clear, though it was open to criticism; but if it was to be cut down by considering whether it should be subject to a maximum, it might be frittered down to nothing. He thought there should be something like a statement made in order to guide the Committee on the action they were now about to take. The Government had had every possible opportunity of coming to a determination, and he supposed they had considered the words which they now intended to propose. Was the Committee to understand that these words would be placed on the Paper to-night without qualification? If so, that would be satisfactory; but he desired to point out an element which might fairly be taken into account by the Government. The Government had intimated that they wished to give power to the tribunal to consider when the saleable value should be taken into account as an asset. "Asset" was a word which was generally used in considering the administration of an estate; but here they were considering the particular administration of a particular property between a landlord and tenant; and if the interest was to be taken into consideration as an asset—its value on one side as a saleable asset, and, on the other, the value of the landlord's right, plus the interest of other creditors—that might leave the landlord in a questionable position. He would suggest the desirability of making it plain that the interest was only to be taken into account as an asset in taking the account between the landlord and the tenant. If the proposal went any further than that, it would practically give no relief to the landlord, and become a source of confusion to the tenant.

MR. GLADSTONE: The suggestion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman is worthy of consideration, and the Law Officers of the Crown will, I am sure, give it their careful attention.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it was perfectly clear that the Committee could not possibly settle one Amendment when voting upon another. He was prepared to give the Government his support in regard to this Amendment; but he did not yet see the bearing of the other Amendment, and it must be understood that that Amendment was not settled, but might be subjected to modification or amendment hereafter.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. E. STANHOPE, in proposing an Amendment, said, he desired to look at the principle of grants, not from the narrow point of view whether it would be agreeable to the tenant or agreeable to the landlord, but on the much broader ground of how far it would be of advantage from an Imperial point of view, and whether those who had to contribute the funds for the purposes of the Act had not a right to demand that if they contributed, the money ought to be used for purposes which were not temporary in their nature, but would be of permanent advantage to the tenants, and to the landed interests of Ireland generally. There had been abundant statements as to the condition of the poorer tenants in many parts of Ireland, and he would not again quote the cases which had been so often cited; but a statement of the Land Commission itself had been laid before the Committee, and he found that The O'Conor Don and Professor Baldwin said there were large districts in Ireland where, if the tenants had to pay any rent at all, it would be impossible for them to live and thrive. If hon. Members had read Professor Baldwin's statement they would have been much struck by it, because that gentleman pointed out the absolute necessity of grappling at once with the main cause of Irish discontent. He said the main cause was the poverty of the tenants in certain parts of the country, and while that continued it would be impossible to get rid of agitation and discontent. How did the present Bill propose to deal with that class of cases? In the first place, the Prime Minister said the Bill did not propose to deal only with those who were unable to pay their rent, but with those who were unable to pay because they had been deprived of their means of livelihood. That was a considerable widening of the scope of the Bill; but he wished the Committee to consider how that enlargement was likely to be considered by one class who were very largely interested in it—namely, the tenant farmers in England. They had had five or six successive bad seasons, and during two or three seasons they been unable to employ in the usual way harvesters coming from Ireland. Now, they were going to be told by this Bill that, although they had not been able to employ these men for their own purposes, nevertheless they would have to pay them, and to contribute a sum of money for them, although they—the farmers of England—had not employed them for any purpose. How was it proposed by the Bill to deal with the classes of whom he spoke? Why, it was proposed to clear off, by a process described in the Bill, the arrears of rent due to the landlords, and to do no more; and the result would be to leave the tenants, after the arrears had been paid off, to drift back as quickly as might be to exactly the same position as they now stood in. Was it proposed to clear off all their encumbrances? By no means. The encumbrances or obligations which they were under to other creditors of other descriptions would remain exactly as they were before; and the main result, in his opinion, would be this—that the Irish tenant would have afforded to him, by paying off and getting rid of these arrears, a greater borrowing power in other directions, or, in other words, greater scope would be afforded to the operations of the money-lender, and in a very few years the condition of the tenant would be no better than it was now. This could only be described as a mere hand-to-mouth policy, which did not look at the future of the tenant and deal on a statesmanlike and permanent basis with the difficulties which existed. He would not propose to withdraw from these unfortunate men any of the benefits which they were likely to receive—very far from it; but he would propose only that if any money was to be offered for their benefit, it should be applied in a manner likely to bestow more permanent benefits upon that unfortunate class. Of course, one direction in which that could be done would be by offering greater facilities for emigration. That, however, was not the scope of his present proposal, and he only touched on it to say that a very high authority, from whom he had quoted before—he referred to Professor Baldwin—had told them that it was their duty to grapple with the causes of Irish disaffection, and to apply permanent remedial measures, and had also told them that 80 per cent of these unfortunate people would go away and commence life afresh in other countries, if they were only given the opportunity of so doing. The present Bill simply proposed to pay something to get rid of the debt due to the landlord; but if they looked at the permanent condition of these tenants, it was of no use whatever to get rid simply of the arrears, and to leave afloat all the other debts of the tenant, which must undoubtedly, within a very few years, afford a new ground for agitation, and a scope for new arrears. He knew he should be told, in the first place, that any inquiry such as he proposed in the Amendment he had placed upon the Paper would lead to delay. He quite agreed with all they had heard from the Prime Minister as to the advantage, if this Bill was to come into operation at all, of having a quick inquiry. There was a great deal to be said in that respect; but, at the same time, he felt even more strongly in his mind that it would be desirable to incur even a little delay, if only they could be sure that, as a consequence, they would arrive at something which would be of real and permanent benefit. However, he would not admit for a single moment that there would be any delay caused by his proposal. They had already the Land Commission in Ireland, upon whom the administration of this Act would rest; and the Land Commission already had ample information before them. The very facts he had mentioned were taken from the evidence laid before the old Commission, presided over by Lord Bessborough, which Commission had suggested that a certain part of Ireland should be dealt with in a different way from the rest. Therefore, all that he had to say was that the Land Commission should bear in mind the statements which had been made with regard to these districts, and should not apply in districts where a permanent remedy was needed—a remedy which could only give temporary relief from embarrassments, and which would land the country in permanent difficulties, and compel the making of fresh demands year after year for more relief. He begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 21, after "arrears," insert "and that there is a reasonable prospect of his being able to continue to cultivate such holding, and to pay a fair rent."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHILDERS: The object of the hon. Gentleman is, no doubt, a good one; but I would ask the Committee to consider for a moment what it is that he proposes to do. By the present Amendment he proposes this—that in addition to the other requisites which should enable the tenant to come under the operation of the Bill, the Commissioners should consider that there is a reasonable prospect of his being able to continue the occupation of his holding, and to pay a fair rent. He has quoted the language of Professor Baldwin to show that certain holdings in the West of Ireland could not be profitably carried on by the tenant, even if that tenant paid no rent at all. But what is the remedy proposed? First, that the Commissioners should decide what is a fair rent, and if the rent is a fair one, there is, of course, *primâ facie*, a prospect of its being paid. But then it is proposed that the

Commissioners, having decided what a fair rent shall be, shall then consider whether the particular person can pay it or not. Well, Sir, is it conceivable that after the Commissioners have fixed what would be the equivalent of the judicial rent they shall be called upon to consider the character of the individual who holds the farm, so as to see whether he can pay what is settled to be a fair rent? I can only say that it appears to me to be absolutely impossible to throw such a task upon any body of men; and, if that is so, however much we may desire that the question of emigration should be considered, that certainly is not the way in which any practical advantage would be gained towards that end. I therefore hope that this Amendment will not be accepted.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I think the right hon. Gentleman has not appreciated the force of the remarks made by my hon. Friend; and I believe he has followed a plan with regard to this Amendment which, I am sorry to say, the Government have followed with regard to several others. That plan is that the Members of the Government should take the actual words of the Amendment as if on special demurrer, without going to the main principle involved in them at all. My hon. Friend has struck a point which I have always thought is radically wrong in the Bill of the Government. It is not a matter of detail at all, and ought not to be treated in that slight and off-hand way in which the right hon. Gentleman tries to laugh off a question of grave importance. He says my hon. Friend has referred to what Professor Baldwin no doubt did say, that there are a great number of persons in the West of Ireland who could not afford to live on their holdings even if they had no rent to pay at all. That is quite true, but that is not the only thing; and I am afraid that the right hon. Gentleman, if he has read it at all, has forgotten what the evidence of Professor Baldwin was. Professor Baldwin did not refer simply and solely to poor people in the West who could not afford to live on their holdings even if no rent were charged against them at all; he went a great deal further, because there is distinctly a most unfortunate state of things in existence; for there are people in holdings in Ireland, not only in the West, but elsewhere, who are indebted to their tradesmen, very often to the extent of seven, eight, nine, and even ten times the amount of their rent, and it is cases of that kind that are contemplated by my hon. Friend as well as the case of poor holdings—cases, namely, where a man is struggling with difficulties and owes money, not only to his landlord, but to his tradespeople. Now, the question is whether in such cases you are going simply to pay the landlord his arrears of rent and stop there. Would not that be ridiculous, if it is absolutely clear, from the state of general bankruptcy in which the tenant is placed, that it is absolutely impossible for him to continue in his holding? That is a question of principle; it is not simply a question of the mere wording of an Amendment, or only of people who live in the West. It affects a much larger number of people who cannot live on their holdings; it is a serious matter and should be seriously considered. What is to be done in the case of a tenant of this kind, who really is in a state of insolvency on account of the amount of money which is due from him to the persons who have lent it to him at exorbitant rates of interest? Do you benefit his position or not by providing that the State shall advance him one year's arrears of rent?

MR. GLADSTONE: I must say that the complaint made by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down appears to me to be a very singular one. He says that when the House, after having had opportunities of considering every question of principle, is in Committee upon the details of a Bill, and when hon. Gentlemen propose words to be inserted as Amendments in the Bill, the present Government have a vile and vicious practice of considering those words and commenting upon them, and finding fault with them, and showing that they are inadmissible, and that, under these circumstances, they are even so irrational as to ask the Committee to reject them. I sympathize from the bottom of my heart with the right hon. Gentleman. I should like to know his manner of doing business; and what would be the case if we adopted the opposite method, and if, instead of considering the words proposed by some hon. Gentleman, we flew off upon the general principle and considered the matter in the abstract. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman would say that that was a most abominable practice, and that if the Government, instead of considering the words proposed in Committee, flew off into the region of principle, there was no catching hold of them. I do not think it would be wise to allow the Commissioners to go into an examination of the general state of the prosperity of the tenant, and to form a separate judgment on the merits of each particular tenant, and then, after fixing the judicial rent, to arrive at the conclusion that a body of the poorest people are to be excluded on account of their poverty from the benefits of the Act. Why, the Bill has for its object the relief of poverty, so as to give it a chance of holding its head above water. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment has told us, on the authority of Professor Baldwin, that there were many who were willing to go from the country if they only had the opportunity. This Bill will just give them that opportunity, because it will produce money from public funds, and because the landlords will have a great power as to the direction of that money. The landlord will in many cases get money where he expected to receive nothing at all, and where, but for this Bill, though he might have evicted the man, he never could have got anything at all. The landlord will also have the power to demand from the tenant a year's rent, and if the tenant owes money to his tradesmen he will not go to the landlord to produce one year's rent in order to satisfy him. The landlord will have immense power in facilitating or opposing the tenant's application; and if the landlord is in favour of emigration, he will have great power of influencing in that direction. But, whether that power is exercised or not, it is impossible for us to accept these words, which my right hon. Friend has been so injudicious and unfair as to consider as they stand. Nor can we agree in any form of general principle that there should be a general inquiry into the whole aspect of the conditions and prospects of the tenant. Such a task would, in our opinion, be immeasurable, and we could not undertake to impose it upon the Commissioners.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he did not think what had been said was quite justified. What happened generally was that, when a particular form of words was proposed, the Government suggested that had that form been different they might have thought something of it. But the Government never themselves suggested any form that would be acceptable to them, and hardly any Amendments from the Opposition side of the House had been accepted in any form whatever. Of course, if the Government were determined that they would, under this Bill, pay, or assist in paying, the arrears of everybody without any discrimination, he could say no more; but he welcomed with great satisfaction what the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had said with regard to emigration—namely, if he had not misunderstood him, that the Bill would open the way to a very large amount of emigration from the West. This Bill was to give that opportunity, and he (Mr. E. Stanhope) hoped that when the Irish Land Bill was introduced next year they would find that it made further proposals for facilitating emigration. He would not trouble the Committee to divide on the Amendment he had proposed.

Mr. PARNELL wished to say, as emigration had been mentioned, and as he and his Friends were accused of opposing schemes of emigration, that he quite agreed with the Prime Minister that this Bill would decidedly have a tendency in the direction of facilitating emigration, because it would supply the tenant with something to sell and with something to emigrate with. He had never opposed emigration in a proper form. He had always said that if Irish tenants offered to emigrate he would be perfectly willing that they should do so, and that the State should assist them, not merely with the actual cost of sending them out, but with something over, so that on their arrival in the New World they should not be put down with no opportunity of getting on—with nothing before them but to lead the lives of day labourers in the Eastern States.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY moved to insert, at the commencement of line 22, the words, "such matters having first been duly proved upon oath." He had thought it necessary to raise this question, because the point had been referred to earlier in the evening by the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore), who expressed a hope that the tenant should not be required to give this class of evidence upon oath, and there had been no intimation on the part of the Government at the time that they disagreed with the hon. Member. A great many of those who sat on the Opposition side of the House considered that signs were not wanting to show that the Government were disposed to be content with an extremely low standard of proof of the inability to pay. He and his Friends thought it should be kept high.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 22, to insert the words, "such matters having first been duly proved on oath."—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, it was the intention of the Government that the Land Commission should frame rules, and power was taken in the Bill for the purpose—for the way in which the application was to be made and the investigation conducted. It was intended that under those rules it should not be compulsory, but should be optional as to what part of the evidence should be taken on oath. Much of the investigation would, no doubt, consist of the comparatively formal examination of books, &c., where an oath would not be necessary; but in other matters it might be necessary to have the sanction of an oath. Possibly the hon. and learned Gentleman would be content with that assurance.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY wished to know whether there would be an oath in all cases where oral testimony was taken?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, it would depend entirely the character of the evidence to be given. Where it was unsupported an oath might be required.

Mr. BRODRICK said, he thought the assurance offered was not very satisfactory. There was a disposition on the part of the Government to show an extreme laxity with regard to the means of arriving at a knowledge of the inability of the tenant, and to make the investigation one of a purely formal character. He hoped the Amendment would be pressed, unless it was understood that oral testimony should be taken on oath.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he had already stated that, as he understood it—and he believed he was in a position to give an engagement—where the oral testimony was of such a character that it must have some sanction of credibility, the only sanction that could be given was the sanction of an oath. The only object the Government had in declining to accept the Amendment was this—that in an investigation of this kind there must be a large class of evidence which could not and ought not to be taken upon oath.

Mr. GIBSON wished to make a suggestion which would make the matter clear. He recommended the acceptance of the Amendment, with the addition of the words, "where the taking of evidence upon oath is practicable." Their experience of the working of the Land Act had been such as to prevent them from taking upon trust any other Act. In their opinion, they had been misled as to the way in which that Act would be administered, and he would not lend himself for a single second to keeping anything open which he could possibly close.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the Government accepted the principle which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had laid down; but he thought it would come better in a separate clause than in this one.

Mr. BULWER wished to point out that there was no necessity to administer an oath where the evidence relied on was documentary; but the Committee must bear in mind that no man could administer an oath unless authorized by Act of Parliament, or some equivalent authority; and the tribunal, in this case, could not administer an oath unless it was provided for in the Bill.

Colonel NOLAN said, he thought it quite right that the tribunal should have power to impose an oath, but strongly objected to its being imposed in every case, because it would only make the proceedings more formal and expensive, and would dribble away a great deal of the credit which the Irish people ought to have for the Bill.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, that after the assurance given by the Government he was quite willing to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Captain AYLMER moved, in page 1, lines 23 and 24, to leave out "or for the benefit of." He thought this Amendment would cause some doubt as to whom the money was to be paid to. The words of the clause were "payment for the benefit of the landlord;" but Clause 10 laid down that "landlord" should mean "any person for the time being entitled to receive the rents or profits of such holding." He could not understand how any other person could receive the arrears of rent; and the landlord was the person so entitled as defined by that clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, lines 23 and 24, leave out "or for the benefit of."—(*Captain Aylmer.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that was merely a technical matter, for if the landlord did not receive the money an order would be made for the proper payment.

Captain AYLMER could not understand the necessity for putting in the words, "Any person for the time being entitled to receive."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he had no doubt he should receive the support of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) in the Amendment he proposed, and which he would ask the Committee to accept upon its merits. He had no great fancy for this Bill at all, because he was an English taxpayer, and he thought it doubtful policy to call upon the English taxpayers to pay debts for any class of people, especially landlords, and more especially Irish landlords; because it seemed to him that if a balance was struck, it would probably be found that the landlord owed a great deal to the tenant, and the tenant nothing to the landlord. His Amendment was conceived with the object of doing as strict justice as possible, and providing, at least, that the landlords should not receive more than they were properly entitled to, having regard to their relations with their tenants. What the Bill would do, if his Amendment was accepted, was very clear. The rack-renting landlord might have charged for many years £40 for a tenancy worth £20, or, perhaps, £15; that would be £25 per annum too much. There was a case coming before the Land Court in which it has been judicially proved that such rents were greatly in excess of the fair and legitimate amount. The Bill gave an advantage to the man who rack-rented. Such a man, perhaps, had a farm worth £10 or £20, and for a number of years he had put at least £10 into his pocket each year that belonged to the tenant. Consequently, his rent, when it was paid from the Public Exchequer, ought not to be calculated on the basis of £20 or £30, but upon what was a fair sum. It might be said that there would be some difficulty in arriving at what a fair sum was; but he thought that might be arrived at by a rough-and-ready process; Griffith's valuation, or 10 per cent above Griffith's valuation, might be taken, as that was about the extent to which the rents were being reduced by the Land Court.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 25, after the word "arrears," to insert the words "or if it be further proved that the tenant has in previous years paid a rent in excess of what was fair, one half of such antecedent arrears, less the amounts which have been paid as rent in excess of what was fair."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he thought that, at this time of the night, especially after the extremely indulgent manner in which the hon. Member had treated the Committee, he need not speak long. It had been stated, especially by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), that the Government were disposed to tamper with the rights of property; but he thought they would be acting with very great injustice if they accepted this Amendment, for that would be laying down a rule which would imply a distinction between two classes of property. The hon. Member must be prepared all-round, and if he recognized a case in which the rent had been lowered by the Land Commission he thought he was bound to recognize those cases in which the rent had been paid. He ought to have added to his Amendment, "Plus the amounts which have been paid as below what was fair." But to that he

(Mr. Trevelyan) should as much object as to the original proposal. The real ground upon which the Government objected to this Amendment was, that this was not a penal Bill against rack-renting; the Government did not intend this Bill to punish crime; but by passing this Amendment they would, so far as it could be done by a single Amendment, strike at the rights of private property by declaring that the Government did not recognize the legal right of the landlord.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 23; Noes 186: Majority 163.—(Div. List, No. 251.)

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.—[BILL 140.]

(*Mr. Lyon Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. COURTNEY said, it was the intention of the Government to ask that this stage of this Bill should now be taken. The Prime Minister had already stated that he desired this Bill to pass the second reading, and then to be committed *pro formâ* in order to be reprinted and circulated. The discussion upon the principle of the Bill could be taken subsequently, and that course had been agreed to by every hon. Member having an Amendment to the Bill, except one hon. Member, and he hoped the House would agree to the proposal.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he did not wish to make the least objection to the question, under the very peculiar circumstances in which they now found themselves; but he must protest against a Bill of this importance being committed *pro formâ*, and without there being a regular debate on the second reading.

MR. COURTNEY said, he hoped the Bill might be substantially considered next week.

Second Reading *deferred* till *Thursday.*

BEER (ADULTERATION) BILL.

(*Colonel Barne, Mr. Hicks, Mr. Storer.*)

[BILL 82.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel Barne.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, it was impossible that the second reading of a Bill of this character could be passed without remark. It was a Bill to prohibit the sale of any beer which was not made from hops and malt made from barley, and to impose a penalty upon anybody who sold beer made from any other ingredients. Long before the repeal of the Malt Tax beer was freely made of sugar, and this Bill for the first time proposed to draw a distinction between beer made from sugar and beer made from hops and malted barley. It was desirable that some arguments should be adduced before the House assented to an alteration of what had been a long practice. He failed to see why the hon. and gallant Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Colonel Barne) did not show the House why the Bill should be accepted. He supposed some arguments could be adduced against the use of ingredients other than those mentioned in the Bill, though, it must be remembered, there was already a stringent law to prevent beer being adulterated. Beer made from sugar might be as pure as that made from hops and barley; and therefore, on the ground of adulteration, there should be no restriction placed upon the sale of the one kind as against the other kind. He was utterly at a loss to know on what ground the discrimination in favour of beer made from hops and barley could be based. Suppose a person sold beer which was not made from malt, but made from sugar. As he was instructed, there were no means of discovering whether beer was made from the one or the other ingredient. The Inland Revenue were supposed to find out what ingredient had been employed; but it was quite impossible for them to do so by means of analysis. The Bill introduced a novelty in legislation, and it was one which, in his opinion, could not be accepted; and therefore he would move that it should be read a second time this day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

COLONEL BARNE said, the Bill required no explanation. In the first place, the Bill was brought in in order to give an opportunity to men who wanted a pure glass of beer to get it. If men liked to drink beer made from other substances than hops and barley they could do so; but if they preferred beer made from hops and barley they could do so. The majority of the people of England liked to know what they drank. The Bill was a popular one; for the majority of the Chambers of Agriculture and a vast number of Working Men's Associations had approved of it. He met a meeting of working men last year, and explained to them the object of the Bill. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, the Secretary of the Central Association of Working Men's Clubs, was in the chair, and a resolution was unanimously passed approving of the Bill. The Working Men's Clubs in his own county —Suffolk—which he had the honour to represent in Parliament, had approved of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) said there was a certain novelty in this legislation. He would remind the hon. Gentleman that up to now tradesmen selling coffee mixed with chicory had been obliged to state that they were doing so. Now, he believed, the Government were about to introduce a Bill making it legal to adulterate coffee with chicory. The hon. Gentleman said, also, there was a penalty attached to the sale of beer that was not made from malt and hops. In point of fact, there was none attaching to a publican unless he did not put up a notice in his bar to the effect that his beer was adulterated. If a publican put up in a conspicuous place in his bar that there was no *coculus indicus* in his beer he would not be fined.

MR. COURTNEY said, *coculus indicus* was now prohibited to be used.

COLONEL BARNE said, that was so; but a publican was not obliged to declare that his beer did not contain any of it; so that, at the present time, beer with all sorts of stuff in it besides barley and hops could be served out in public-houses. If a working man wanted to drink beer which contained *coculus indicus* he could do so even under this Bill. No interference with the liberty of the subject was proposed; but, at the same time, if a man liked to drink a glass of pure beer, the Bill would insure his getting it. Then, again, the hon. Gentleman said the Bill imposed the duty upon the Inland Revenue of finding out that beer was adulterated. It did nothing of the sort. What a man who fancied that beer was adulterated would have to do would be to take some of the beer to the nearest analyst and find out, if he could, what was in the beer. If the man found that the beer contained anything it ought not, he was able by the Bill to get part of the penalty, which was £20 for the first offence. There were a good many people in this country who were in want of £10 or £20, and they would be glad to earn it through the medium of this Bill. He believed that the Bill would effectually stop adulteration of beer, and, therefore, he trusted it would now be read a second time.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 47; Noes 77: Majority 30.—(Div. List, No. 252.)

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading *put off* for three months.

BEER DEALERS' RETAIL LICENCES ACT (1880) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Chaplin, Colonel Kingscote.*)

[BILL 229.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Short title, extent, construction, and commencement).

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT proposed to leave out, in line 5, from "Act" to the end of the clause. His object in moving the Amendment was that the Act should come into force as soon as it became law.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

ISLE OF MAN (OFFICERS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Courtney, Bill to amend "The Isle of Man (Officers) Act, 1876," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Courtney and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 238.]

MEDICAL ACT (1858) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Lyons, Bill to amend "The Medical Act, 1858," *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. Lyons, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, and Mr. Gibson.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 237.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 12*th July,* 1882.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Royal Assent*—Public Health (Fruit-Pickers' Lodgings) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 23]; Places of Worship Sites Amendment [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 21]; Boiler Explosions [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 22]; Petty Sessions (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 24]; Election of Representative Peers (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 26]; Highway Rates and Expenditure [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 27]; Prevention of Crime (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 25]; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 8) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. xcvii]; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 11) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. xcviii]; Gas Provisional Orders [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. xcix]; Water Provisional Orders [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. c]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. ci]; Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (West Ham, &c.) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cii]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. ciii].

Their Lordships met;—And the Royal Assent having been given, by Commission, to several Bills—

House adjourned at half past Twelve o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 12*th July,* 1882.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Weights and Measures Act (1878) Amendment* [231].

Referred to Select Committee — Agricultural Tenants' Compensation* [26].

Committee—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [213]—R.P. [*Third Night*].

Considered as amended — Third Reading — Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment* [229], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (MILITARY AFFAIRS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If any remonstrance has been received from the Porte respecting the bombardment of the Alexandria forts, and if the terms of the remonstrance will be contained in the next papers issued respecting Egypt; also, whether any remonstrance has been received from any other Power?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, no remonstrance has been received from the Porte since the bombardment; but a remonstrance in advance was received. It stated that our fire would not be returned by the forts. In point of fact, however, it was returned. No remonstrance has been received from any other Power.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether the Consuls General of the Powers in Egypt protested against the bombardment?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Not so far as I know, Sir. The hon. Gentleman had better give Notice of the Question.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: May I ask if there is no truth in the note mentioned in a telegram in the newspapers as having been received by Musurus Pasha, which, I presume, has been communicated to Her Majesty's Government, in which the Porte refers to the extreme gravity of the fact of the bombardment, and requests its immediate cessation in order to avert more serious consequences?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I said that a remonstrance had been received in advance which was sent out before the bombardment began; but that no remonstrance had been received since the bombardment began. I dare say we shall receive one in the course of the day.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: May I ask if the hon. Baronet can inform us, whether the bombardment has been renewed this morning, and whether it is known what is going on at the present time?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Of course, that is a Question for my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty; but I believe he has no official information on the subject. I have, however, seen a private telegram in the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I understand that the hon. Baronet has some information; but he refers me to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty, who, he says, has no information.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, we have received no official information; but I have seen a private telegram in the House. I cannot say, however, whether it is from an authentic source. It is dated Alexandria, 10.40 this morning, and states that the Admiral fired three shots at that time at a Moncrieff gun which had been remounted in the course of the night, and at the third shot the firing of the gun ceased.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Have any instructions been sent out for ceasing fire?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The instructions were read by me to the House word for word the other day.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty will read all the telegrams he has received.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We have no information on the subject of the Question asked by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote); but we have this telegram, dated Alexandria, July 12, 12.40 A.M.—

"Attacked batteries this morning, silenced forts, landed party from *Invincible*, burst three guns, and spiked six in Meks Fort.

"Casualties in the Fleet.

"*Inflexible.*—Killed, Wm. Shannon, carpenter; wounded severely, Lieut. Jackson; wounded slightly, Wm. Houghton, private R.M.

"*Alexandra.*—Killed, Walter Fisher, A.B.; wounded severely, John Myers, A.B.; wounded slightly, Thos. Palmer, captain of forecastle, George Talbot, private R.M.

"*Sultan.*—Killed, Chas. Collins, A.B., Robt. Marshall, A.B.; wounded severely, James Dexter, boy; wounded slightly, Albert Jutson, A.B., Jas. M'Carthy, A.B., Robert Pacey, A.B., Jas. Tussell, A.B., Thos. Poigndestre, A.B., Joseph Gomes, boatswain's mate; Samuel Fuller, leading seaman.

"*Superb.*—Killed, George M'Claine, gunner, R.M.A.; wounded slightly, George Webb, ship's corporal.

"*Invincible.*—Wounded severely, Redmond M'Guire, boy; wounded slightly, Mr. Wm. Lumsden, midshipman, — Chaseira, stoker, John Yolland, A.B., John Gill, ordinary seaman, J. W. Moore, private R.M.

"*Penelope.*—Wounded severely, John Wheadon, leading seaman, Wm. Woon, captain of the mast; wounded dangerously, Henry Dawson, leading seaman, Levi Holley, boy, Alfred Jackson, boy; wounded slightly, Lieutenant Davies, Wm. Lee, A.B., Wm. M'Analley, A.B."

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I will renew my Question, and will ask, whether since the bombardment any remonstrance has been received from the Porte or from any other Power?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as reported, that Sir Beauchamp Seymour has prohibited merchant vessels from passing through the Suez Canal; and, whether such prohibition is general, or limited to British vessels, and, in any case, by what right such prohibition can be given? He would venture to ask, in addition, whether there is any truth in a report that torpedoes have been laid, or attempted to be laid, in the Suez Canal?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, so far as the Foreign Office knows, it is not true that Sir Beauchamp Seymour has prevented merchant vessels from passing through the Canal. What we believe him to have done is, to have cautioned British vessels that they would pass through at their own risk. The Question of the hon. Member only appeared on the Paper this morning, and it had not reached the Foreign Office when I left at midday. It is extremely difficult to answer Questions on foreign affairs on such short Notice. With regard to the torpedoes, we have not heard of any being laid in the Suez Canal.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I must apologize for having put the Question in such a hurry; but during bombardments things go rather fast.

MR. MACFARLANE: May I ask whether the Egyptian or Turkish Government have any vessels of war in the Red Sea?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I cannot answer that Question without Notice. All information on the subject of the movements of ships of war is sent to the Admiralty. There is always at least one Turkish vessel of war in the Red Sea.

MR. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If it be correct that Admiral Seymour has requested masters of British merchant ships not to enter the Suez Canal during the continuance of hostilities at Alexandria; what measures Her Majesty's Government have adopted for the purpose of convoying British shipping now on the way to and from the East, viâ the Canal; and, if he will be good enough to inform the House what arrangements have been made with other European Powers for ensuring the free navigation of the Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, a portion of this Question has already been answered by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who stated that the masters of British vessels had been cautioned that they would go through the Suez Canal at their own risk, and were informed as to what was going on. With respect to the arrangements with other European Powers for insuring the safety of the Suez Canal, all I can say is, that we have made to other European Powers such preliminary communications as it appeared to be our duty to make.

MR. G. W. ELLIOT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If there is any understanding or agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the representatives of other Governments assembled at the Conference at Constantinople which limits or prevents the landing of British troops in Egypt; and, whether he will lay upon the Table the text of the understanding agreed upon?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to the matters before the Conference, I must refer to what has been already stated by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on several occasions, and say it is not in my power to make known officially what has been done.

MR. BOURKE: Are the proceedings of the Conference still going on?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes, Sir.

MR. GOURLEY said, he wished to know what arrangements had been made with other Powers as to vessels passing through the Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not able to make any additions to the answer I have already given respecting that Question.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Sir, there is a little discrepancy between the answer given by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and that given by the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The hon. Baronet said that there was no official information in regard to Sir Beauchamp Seymour's action, but that he presumed that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had cautioned British vessels.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I did not say what the hon. Member says. I said that, so far as the Foreign Office knew, it was not true that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had prohibited merchant vessels passing through the Canal; but what we believed him to have done was to caution them that if they passed through they would do so at their own risk. We do not know the actual text of the intimation that has been made.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty has received information that a caution has been given; and, moreover, it has also been stated that there has been a further communication to the effect that if the Canal is clear—and we have not the least reason to believe that it is otherwise—there is no objection to vessels proceeding through it.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I do not know whether it is of any use asking the Question; but I presume that the Government have no information as to the present position of affairs in Alexandria, and particularly as to the position of the Khedive? I will also take this opportunity of saying that before the House rises at a quarter to 6, I will ask, whether the Government have received any further information?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. The right hon. Gentleman will not be surprised to hear that, as we have no detailed account from the Admiral or the British authorities even of our own proceedings, we have no information whatever at present as to the state of things in Alexandria, or as to the position of the Khedive.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: I wish to ask, whether the Government has, not any accurate information, but any estimate as to the number of persons killed in the Egyptian forts?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No information on that subject has reached us. All the information we have received has been placed before the House.

Mr. GOURLEY said, he wished to make some remarks, and to conclude with a Motion. In consequence of the answer which he received from the Prime Minister, he felt it his duty again to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he could not now, in the public interest, inform the House and the country what the policy of Her Majesty's Government really was with regard to the present condition of affairs in Egypt? At a great crisis like this, when Questions had been repeatedly asked about it, he thought it was the duty of the House to demand, at the hands of the Government, some information with regard to their policy. He had listened to all the answers to the various Questions that had been given from time to time; but the Government had always guarded themselves by saying that it would be against the public interest to give the information asked for. What he wanted to know was, whether the policy of the Government in the action which they were now taking was for the purpose of protecting British subjects and British interests in Egypt; or, in other words, whether their policy in bombarding the forts of Alexandria was for the purpose of protecting only British and French bondholders? If the latter were the policy of Her Majesty's Government, he wished to know how did it happen that the French and English Governments had presented a joint Note in regard to joint interests, and that at a critical moment the French withdrew from the policy indicated in the Note presented by the two Governments? If it were right that the French should withdraw and avoid bombarding the forts of Alexandria, he thought our Government ought also to have taken Parliament into their counsels before proceeding to extreme measures. If the Government took upon themselves the responsibility of proceeding with such grave measures, the end of which they were unable to see, unless they had in their minds some definite policy to guide their future action, the time, he thought, had come when the Government should tell the House and the country what they really meant by their present action. He moved the adjournment of the House.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON rose to second the Motion, and said, it appeared to him that the time had come when those who felt deeply the position in which the country was placed—the position of degradation and dishonour, he would say—should speak out, and, if they did not speak then, that they should be held responsible for what he considered the national crimes that were being committed. The House knew how the matter had been conducted for weeks past. They had been—to use the old well-known expression—drifting into war, and they had been drifting with their eyes open. He felt that some of them were to blame for not having spoken out more distinctly before this great evil was committed. But they certainly had had no encouragement to do so. The system had been to ask some Question of a Minister, who declined to give an answer; and then, next day, to ask another Question of some other Minister, who again referred to the Minister who had before refused to answer. This had gone on until they found themselves absolutely at war with Egypt, and yet there was no information as to what they were fighting for, and no declaration of war, so far as he knew. [An hon. Member: We are not at war.] It must not be supposed he was wrong in stating that they were at war with Egypt, because the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated yesterday, in "another place," that they were at war with the *de facto* Government of Egypt. That was a very serious position in which to find themselves. It was a position which entitled them to demand a straightforward and distinct declaration from the Government as to what they were shedding the blood and spending the treasure of the country for, without Parliament having been consulted, and without any explanation of reasons having been given why they had gone into that enterprize. As far as the House of Commons was concerned, the responsibility rested upon the Government, and the Government alone. He remembered many years ago, in the Crimean War, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, when he was denouncing the Government, said—"These hands are clean. No blood of our countrymen is on these hands." Some of them would take care that it should be the same with them, and they protested against what took place yesterday, and he said deliberately it was an act of international atrocity. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen might call "Oh!" as much as they liked; but he would repeat the words—it was a cowardly, a cruel, and a criminal act. How did they lead up to it? Look back at the past few weeks. They sent their Fleet into those Egyptian waters. What for? To overrule the people of that country and to establish a Government which they were in favour of, but which there was no evidence at all to show that the people of Egypt themselves were in favour of. What should they have thought if the Germans had sent their Fleet into the Thames and demanded the dismissal of his right hon. Friend the Minister for War? They would have had riots in England. All the disreputable people would have risen, as well as a good many that were not disreputable, against such an insult, and they would have had a similar massacre to that which they now alleged was the cause of their proceeding to the extent they had. And what had been the result? An abandonment of all the principles of non-intervention, of which we heard so much when the Ministry were in Opposition. They had managed to ruin Egypt for years to come. Europeans were flying for their lives from the country, and the news had come now that the Suez Canal was stopped up. ["No, no!"] He understood so; he might be wrong, but he understood that merchant ships had been warned not to go through the Canal. [An hon. MEMBER: Except at their own risk.] Well, then, amongst all the evils they had done, they had managed to impede the navigation of vessels through the Suez Canal to a certain extent; and—he was not over-stating his case — having done all those things, having got rid of all the Europeans and ruined them, they were now setting to work upon the natives to shoot those that were left. He could not conceal his indignation at England being dragged into these proceedings. Where was the Concert of Europe they used to hear so much about? What had become of that? What was the news of yesterday? That the French Fleet were steaming majestically out of the harbour of Alexandria, a more rational and Christian course than that taken by our ships. He had, moreover, another charge to bring forward. At what time had all these things been done? They had been done absolutely when they had a Conference sitting upon the affairs of Egypt, and had referred the whole matter to their deliberation. Hon. Gentlemen would remember that only a few short years ago hon. Gentlemen on the other side went into a Conference, and they came down to this House and asked for a Vote of £6,000,000, when up rose the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and asked—"What! are you going into a Conference with shotted guns?" That was exactly what they were doing now. He did not want to put it too strong; but what was it all for? So far as they could make out, they got a statement from the Prime Minister not so long since to the effect that the policy of the Government was the maintenance of all established rights in Egypt, whether those of the Sultan, those of the Khedive, or those of the people of Egypt. Then there was a postscript like that to the lady's letter—"or those of the foreign bondholders." The single statement, however, that they sought "the maintenance of all established rights and the provision of due guarantees for those rights," was a description of the policy of the Government; and if that was their policy, never had there been such a total and miserable collapse in the history of politics. The Sultan, the new ally of the right hon. Gentleman, was satisfied with Arabi Pasha, and had remonstrated against the atrocity we committed yesterday, and the Khedive had taken Arabi Pasha into his Government. As to the rights of the people of Egypt, it was a nice story indeed that they were protecting those rights when they were sending guns to massacre the people wholesale. Why could not the right hon. Gentleman take the same course in this case as he had taken in others? He could say to Austria, "Hands off!" He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) wished that some Power would say to us, "Hands off!" Why should we, who lived in a free country, interfere with these poor Egyptians and prevent them having the Government they wished? A "military despotism!" forsooth, as Earl Granville said. Were they to go about and attack all military despotisms? What about Ireland? Were they to fight the Egyptians because they liked a military despotism? Then, the foreign bondholders, the latest clients of the right hon. Gentleman—and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) did not think the right hon. Gentleman had done much for them—did not imagine that the ruining of Egypt was likely to add to their prosperity. But he objected to the blood of a single British soldier being shed on their behalf. He asked the Government really to consider the position in which it was placed. Was it too late to take some steps to get out of this miserable position in which they were placed, no doubt, as they would say, by the proceedings of their Predecessors? That was the excuse for everything; but could not the Government get out of this policy? He did not expect the Leaders of the Opposition wished them to get out of it; he dare say they would support the Government; for this was very much their policy, which they had no right to condemn. The Government might also get the support of certain Members on the Ministerial side of the House whom he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would call the "Cotton Jingoes." ["Names!"] He had not got a list of their names. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman who called out for them might be one; but he could tell the Government that if they pursued this policy, he felt perfectly confident that they would lose the confidence of the working men of England, who did so much for them. ["No, no!"] "No, no!" cried their thick-and-thin Supporters; but let them test it. Let the Chancellor of the Exchequer make a campaign of the large towns of England, and call upon the working men to fight for the *status quo ante*, and he would find that the working men were not in favour of this policy of gunpowder. Remember, they were true in the Cotton Famine; they were not "Cotton Jingoes;" when their living depended upon getting cotton, they were true to freedom in the States of the North, and against any interference in a military way. They were true to the Prime Minister; they put him into power; let him recognize the fact. He knew they were true to him in the Mid Lothian campaign, and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would say, that just in proportion as the Government had been true to the policy and principles then enunciated, so had they been successful in earning the confidence of the country, and just as they had departed from them had they landed themselves in disaster and discredit. It was once said by Mr. Cobden that most Englishmen had as much religion as would carry them to the Cape, and then they gave it up. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) hoped it was not so, and he hoped it was not to be said that our statesmen had just as many principles as would carry them to the Treasury Bench, and then they gave them up. He said deliberately, and in doing so he challenged either Tory or Liberal to contradict him, that no Tory Government could have done what the Liberal Government did yesterday in bombarding those forts. If such a thing had been proposed, what would have happened? They would have had his right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department stumping the country, and denouncing Government by ultimatum. They would have had the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India coming down and moving a Resolution, condemning these proceedings being taken behind the back of Parliament. They would have had the President of the Board of Trade summoning the caucuses. [*Laughter and cheers.*] They knew it was true what he was saying. They would have had the other right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (the Chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster) declaiming in the Town Hall of Birmingham against the wicked Tory Government; and as for the Prime Minister, they all knew there would not have been a railway train, passing a roadside station, that he would not have pulled up to proclaim non-intervention as the duty of the Government. [*Renewed laughter and cheers.*] Well, now, he said again it was perfectly abominable to see men whom they had respected, whom they believed in, whom they had placed in power, thus turning round on every principle they had professed, carrying out a policy that was abhorrent to every lover of justice and of right; and he asked and implored them, if it were not too late, to reconsider their position, and to carry out a policy more in accordance with common sense, and common justice, and common humanity.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Gourley.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend who has just sat down (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) has, in the capacity of Seconder of the Motion, undoubtedly eclipsed the Mover (Mr. Gourley), who was content with a very humble manifestation in comparison with that which has just been made. In reply to the Mover, I have only to say in one sentence that undoubtedly it is not for the exclusive or special interest of the bondholders of Egypt—and, indeed, it is almost wholly without reference to them—that the proceeding of yesterday was taken; and that with respect to the Government of France, it would be impertinent on my part were I to discuss the reasons which have led them to decline taking part in the measures adopted by Her Majesty's Government. It is enough for me to say that that which the French Government did they were perfectly competent and entitled to do, acting within their own right, as we, on the other hand, were in acting within our right. We were responsible to our respective Parliaments and countries; and it would be a great mistake—and this is the only further remark I need make on the subject—if the hon. Member were to suppose that the difference of action at a particular juncture implied any change, and especially any unfriendly change, in the relations of the two Governments of England and France. I now come to the speech of my hon. Friend the Seconder, and I am afraid it will not be easy for me to dispose of that so briefly. He has traversed a very wide field; but I was glad to see that, although he was deeply impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, yet he did not disdain to avail himself of the assistance of those facetious faculties with which we are so familiar. He, doubtless, thought that the intermixture would afford an agreeable relief to the gravity of his general charges; and my hon. Friend must also have perceived, with satisfaction, that he succeeded in eliciting the most lively cheers from those to whom he is most opposed upon every question of this kind, not on account of their concurrence with him, but on account of the breadth and severity of his charges against Her Majesty's Government. I leave him with perfect contentment in the enjoyment of that satisfaction; and although I object to almost every sentence of his speech, I have so much respect for his motives that in replying to him I shall endeavour to avoid every word that would seem to partake of severity, rebuke, or ill-will. I must, in the first place, protest against a complete historical misconception which has taken possession of the public mind. My hon. Friend says we have drifted into war in Egypt, as we drifted into war in the Crimea. There is not a more singular instance on record of the manner in which a particular phrase obtains currency in defiance of facts than the constant and everywhere established use of the word "drifting." What is the history of that word in reference to the Crimean War? It is simply this, that at the moment when the war was on the point of breaking out, when all diplomatic correspondence had ceased and the whole policy of the Government in its endeavour to prevent the war had failed, Lord Clarendon was asked, I think by Lord Lyndhurst, in the House of Lords, what was our actual condition at that moment. Lord Clarendon said—"All correspondence and all practical attempts for the maintenance of peace have ceased, and we are at this moment, if I might so say, drifting into war." That drifting into war was strictly confined to the two or three days which intervened between the policy aiming at peace and the policy which led to war. My hon. Friend says we are drifting into war in Egypt, and that explanation may be just as truly applied here. Nothing has happened in this matter except on the fullest deliberation and on the full and exclusive responsibility of Her Majesty's Government. With regard to the original intervention in Egypt, that is not a matter on which I can enter at the present moment. It is not for me now to explain how far the steps taken by Her Majesty's Government are links in the chain which runs back to the period of the former Administration; but if that be so, and if my hon. Friend considers me—and he is quite justified in doing so—as most specially responsible, in the Office I have the honour to hold, for what has now taken place, it is not because I am friendly on general principles to intervention such as has taken place in Egypt. He seems to think that I am a general apostle of non-intervention. I do not, however, see why he should say so; he has quoted nothing that bears out that view. On the contrary, if he will take the trouble to recollect, all my objections to the conduct of the late Government for a certain time—in the year 1876 and the year 1877 — were, he will find, expressly founded on the charge that we had not had intervention enough. A change in events then took place; and as to my opinions with regard to intervention in Egypt, happily, they are on record, and if my hon. Friend will have the goodness to turn to a speech made by me in 1876, of which I may hereafter have again occasion to remind the House more particularly, he will see how I planted my foot down at the very first point with respect to intervention in Egypt, and indicated the consequences to which it might probably lead. However, that is a bye-matter which touches only myself. My hon. Friend says "we are at war with Egypt." I do not admit that we are at war with Egypt. ["Oh, oh!"]

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: With whom, then, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, are we at war?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not admit that we are at war with anyone. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen seem to think that statement ridiculous. [*Laughter and jeers.*] That is the position I hold, and the position which I am prepared to defend when the time for argument comes; but not by laughter and jeering, which I think unsatisfactory methods of defending a grave proposition. The events which have happened are very grave. I am not speaking in flagrant contradiction to the facts of history when I say that analogous cases have occurred within my own life and within my political memory. My hon. Friend and other hon. Members will, perhaps, recollect a remarkable event which cost some bloodshed, but which was, perhaps, a cheaper exit from a desperate struggle than could have been found in any other way, and which sealed the freedom of Greece. But after the Battle of Navarino, in which the Turkish Fleet was destroyed by the joint action of France, England, and Russia, it was not stated, nor was it the fact, that we were at war with Turkey. Therefore, it is no such paradox as the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) and his Friends, who think proper to jeer at me, may suppose it to be; and I would recommend to him a little study of the analogous cases which have occurred in the history of International Law before he gives vent to what I may call his untutored ridicule. My right hon. and learned Friend (Sir William Harcourt) reminds me that the analogy went even further than I had supposed at the moment, for that—as I now recollect—a Conference was sitting at Constantinople at the very time the Battle of Navarino was taking place. My hon. Friend asks me what has become of the Concert of Europe? What has become of the Concert of Europe is exactly what has become of the navigation of the Suez Canal. It is in force. We are not aware that we have done anything to weaken it. We have not departed from it; we do not know that anyone else means to depart from it; and we have not the least reason to suspect that anyone else supposes that we have departed from it, or done anything to impair it. The navigation of the Suez Canal is, so far as we are aware, where it was, and the Concert of Europe is where it was, so far as our information goes at the present time. My hon. Friend says we have given no distinct information as to what we are fighting for. There would be no great difficulty, if this were the time to state it, in saying what we are fighting for. I think, however, that he is inaccurate in saying that we have given absolutely no information of what we are fighting for, because we have stated in the most distinct and categorical language that we are fighting for the security of Her Majesty's Fleet, which was menaced in the harbour of Alexandria by a continuous and deliberate course, denied, but still steadily pursued and persevered in, of erecting fortifications which might have arrived at a point which we could not limit or define, and which would have been one of serious danger. That was the immediate object of the attack. If my hon. Friend asks me whether the action will have any other consequences, I will tell him there is one other consequence, larger, wider, more difficult to grasp, or to state than he thinks—a most important consequence that I anticipate, though I do not say whether it would have justified the act. I have, however, given the justification of the act; but there is an important consequence of which I think my hon. Friend will not deny the gravity. Does my hon. Friend bear in mind the massacre which occurred at Alexandria a few weeks ago? Does he bear in mind that that massacre remains down to the present moment wholly unexamined and unavenged? Does he estimate the effect which a massacre of that kind—unavenged, unexamined, subjected to a pretended examination only, which was a mockery, a delusion, and a snare—would have had upon the security, not only of all Englishmen and all British subjects, but of all European people throughout the whole East? Can he reflect with satisfaction upon that; and can he come to the belief after he has examined these great and difficult questions, and computed their consequences, can he feel great confidence and certainty that his is the only just and only true mode of looking at these matters? My hon. Friend asks, what we should have done if the German Fleet had arrived in the Thames and had made certain demands in regard to the Government of this country, calling in particular for the dismissal of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War, who, I am very glad to see, is not in his place, because he has been spared the shock to his feelings of resisting the attack in full force of my hon. Friend. He asks, what would have been the consequences if the German Fleet had arrived in the Thames and made the demand for the dismissal of the Secretary of State for War? I will not undertake to say what would have been the consequence; but I will undertake to say what would not have been the consequence. It would not have been the consequence that my right hon. Friend would have become the dictator of the country, and would have taken into his virtual custody and possession the person of Her Majesty the Queen. I have very little more to say. I have desired to confine myself within the limits of necessity in noticing these great matters, because I think all must feel that this is not the moment, whatever the proper time may be, when it would be right to attempt to enter on a discussion upon the very important event of yesterday. I may say, without quoting any authority, for I have none to quote, that a private telegram has arrived—as is probably within the knowledge of some whom I address—sent at half-past 1 o'clock to-day by Alexandrian time, or two hours earlier than our time, representing that a flag of truce had been sent from the land and was on its way to the Commander of the Fleet. Upon that, however, I do not dwell, because I cannot guarantee its accuracy; but there is one point more of my hon. Friend's remarks which I must venture to notice. First, he said that we were seeking to rule the people of Egypt, and then that we were executing a wholesale massacre of them. Now, the bombardment of the fortifications of a great town is, I admit, a serious thing on account of the absolute impossibility of being certain that no damage will be done by it to the town itself. But I am sure that the skill and humanity of a British commander would reduce that risk to a minimum. Yet I would venture to point out that such a risk, though essentially arising out of an operation justifiable in itself, does not indicate an intention to rule the people of Egypt, still less to massacre them. Sir, we look upon the present condition of things in Egypt as the prevalence of something which is not adequately described even by the unfavourable phrase of a "military despotism;" but it is not entitled to be called that, because a military despotism means, at any rate, a regular and regularly organized Government, acting by some kind of law. That which prevails in Egypt at the present moment, however, is simply a state of military violence, without any law whatever; and the question whether that state of military violence is agreeable to the people of Egypt is one which has not yet been answered, and which cannot well be solved while that state of military violence is maintained. We know that it is in defiance of the orders of the Sultan; we know that it is in defiance of the wishes of the Khedive; we know that it has unnecessarily and wantonly mixed up with problems not difficult of solution as to the internal state and institutions of Egypt —mixed up with them the dreadful question of a military tyranny over all ranks and all orders of the people. We know that we have abjured every selfish object and purpose in this matter; and my hon. Friend may rest assured that it is not the people of Egypt, nor anyone among them; but it is those who are oppressing the people of Egypt who are the sufferers by the operations conducted so effectively, and, I believe, so considerately, and with so much real honour to this country yesterday by the British Fleet. I will not now, Sir, enter into the question whether we were justified in taking measures against this military Government, because it is a military Government. That is quite a separate and distinct question, wholly out of view at the present moment. I am now only meeting the charge of my hon. Friend, that what we have in view is the massacring of the Egyptian people; and I limit myself to saying that the measure of yesterday was not a measure of hostility to the people of Egypt, or, strictly speaking, to anyone else; but was strictly and only a measure of self-defence, and one the sufferers from which were not the people of Egypt, but those who, as we believe, against the will not less than against the interests of the people of Egypt, have established a system of military violence in that country. I have carefully abstained on this occasion from what might stir up debate by challenging any opinion likely to raise matters of difference in this House; but respect for my hon. Friend, and the gravity of the case before us, has obliged me to make these observations.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, an expression which had been used by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) appeared to him to call for some notice. The hon. Member was in the habit of enjoying his pleasant country abode in Cumberland, free from the difficulties, and the dangers, and the hazards of life in foreign countries, and yet the hon. Member had made use of an expression which practically comprised and applied to the commercial classes of this country. He had said that this action of the Government was fostered or fathered by the "Cotton Jingoes." He (Mr. Magniac) did not happen to know what a "Cotton Jingo" meant, nor did he know what the hon. Member meant by it; but he knew the hon. Member meant to apply that as a sort of epithet of opprobrium to the commercial classes.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON rose, apparently to disclaim the intention imputed to him, but

Mr. MAGNIAC said, his hon. Friend was quite able, and would have the opportunity subsequently, of explaining what he meant; but, whatever explanation he might give, he (Mr. Magniac) thought the way he had pointed out would be that in which the epithet would doubtless be construed by the country. He took the liberty of telling him that this was a commercial country, and that its great commercial pursuits were conducted with an integrity, a zeal, and an energy which many hon. Members who lived in the country had very little opportunity of witnessing. He protested in the strongest possible manner against the hon. Member making use of such epithets to further the attack he had made against Her Majesty's Government. He did not intend to enter upon the discussion of the general questions of Egyptian policy, because he thought it was wholly premature to do so; but he could not allow the language to which he referred to pass without a protest at least from some Member of the House.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he quite agreed that that was not a proper or convenient opportunity of going into general matters connected with the Egyptian Question. The Prime Minister had certainly opened up various points which might, and would, no doubt, hereafter call for detailed discussions as to the conduct of the Government during the recent negotiations; but he thought that those who entertained the opinions of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) were bound to take the first opportunity of protesting in the strongest and most solemn language they could use against the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, which, in their opinion, was in direct violation of all those principles of policy that brought the Liberal Party into power. Whatever might be the ingenuity of the right hon. Gentleman as regarded his arguments, he (Mr. Rylands) felt the course that the Government were now taking was one of political immorality, and even of unjustifiable violence. He believed it was a course opposed to those high principles that the Prime Minister enunciated in Mid Lothian—principles that were not to be frittered away by mere microscopical distinctions, and which had taken root in the public mind. He believed they would find that much of the enthusiasm evoked by the illustrious champion of the rights of all nations in favour of those high principles had been a good deal chilled. They would find in every constituency thoughtful men, who might ask in what respect did the present policy of the right hon. Gentleman differ from the policy of Lord Beaconsfield? He appealed to the Prime Minister whether, if the late Government had adopted his present policy, he would not have raised up the whole country against it? He (Mr. Rylands) had often thought what was the difference between the late and the present Government. Of the late Government, he thought it might fairly be said, "They did evil; and that continually;" but of the present Government, with equal truth, it might be said, "When they would do good evil is present with them." He thought they had nothing to do with the course the Government of France might take; they had to do with their own Government. The Prime Minister had taken, very rightly and truly, the entire responsibility on the part of Her Majesty's Government. The House of Commons had at present no responsibility for the blood which had been shed; that as yet belonged entirely to the Government. The Prime Minister, with the wonderful power which he possessed, drew a vivid picture of the Alexandrian massacre unavenged, and indicated that if it had not been avenged, we should lose prestige throughout the East, and the Europeans would be in danger. ["Hear, hear!"] The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department cheered the remark. But if that was their ground of action, why did they not announce it at Alexandria? They had never whispered a word about the bombardment being a consequence of the massacre until that moment. Why did not the Government allow their policy to be distinctly understood? The statement about the massacre was entirely an after-thought. ["Oh!"] Up to the present, the Government had always told them that this bombardment was in consequence of our Fleet being in danger—that innocent Fleet which had gone to Egyptian waters and had planted broadsides of enormous guns right opposite to Alexandria. It was the old story of the wolf and the lamb. We had our enormous guns pointed at Alexandria, and they ought to have been received in favour as objects of interest at Alexandria. But as soon as earthworks were put up by the Government of Egypt, not knowing whether, at any moment, the ships might not begin to fire, it was said that these earthworks threatened our innocent vessels. He believed it would be found, when a full examination was made of the Papers, that this country, by its intervention, had stirred up recent events. When we sent the Fleet to Alexandria in the first instance, it tended to create a feeling in Egypt which had its outcome in the massacre which occurred. He did not wish to go into general questions, but only to say that so far as he could judge from the Papers he thought Her Majesty's Government were seriously responsible for the present state of things, believing that they had taken a course which was most unjustifiable—he thought he should be justified in saying a wicked course—in opening fire upon Alexandria. They had done not only immediate injury to the Egyptian people, but he ventured to think that when they fired the first shot it was like the letting out of water. Nobody could tell what would follow. They might well ask the question, "What next, and next?" The right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues seemed to think that they had been bombarding a weak country; but he (Mr. Rylands) was afraid the range of the question might be extended and bring in other nations; but whether it brought in other nations or not, it was sure to give rise to grave political evils, and unsettle the condition of feeling in Europe, and it might possibly endanger the peace of the world.

MR. O'KELLY said, that the Prime Minister based the action of this country upon the supposed danger to the Fleet. But it was notorious that the Fleet was in no danger from the guns of Alexandria, for our officers knew perfectly well beforehand the capacity of the guns in the forts, and that no one of them could possibly have done any serious damage to the Fleet. It was well known that the Egyptians had no fuses for their shells before the forts were attacked. Under these circumstances, it was a mere pretence to say that the bombardment was undertaken from fear of danger from the fortifications of Alexandria. The bombardment was not an act of war; it was simply an act of assassination upon a large scale. Again, if the massacre at Alexandria required punishment, the Government should have tried to induce the Egyptian Government honestly to punish the men responsible for the massacre; but it was a strange thing that the Fleet should have been ordered to fire on the very soldiers who had protected the Europeans at Alexandria. For his part, he did not think that this country had much reason to punish the men who committed the massacre at Alexandria when massacres much more indefensible had occurred at home.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, in his opinion, the House of Commons would be wanting in its duty if it did not at that moment express some anxiety for the events which had taken place within the last 24 hours. It might be said that all the responsibility was upon the shoulders of the Government, which was bound by diplomatic usage to a degree of reticence which did not belong to independent Members. It was, therefore, because he stood there as an independent Member that he was obliged to express his sympathy with the protest which had been uttered by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). He did not hesitate to say that, if the course which had been adopted by Her Majesty's Government had been adopted by hon. Gentlemen opposite—knowing the antecedents of these hon. Gentlemen—although he would not have been surprised, his indignation would scarcely have known bounds at the transaction. It was, however, because the antecedents of right hon. Gentlemen now on the Treasury Bench were so contrary to the proceedings which had taken place, that he confessed, while he wished to speak with great moderation, he could not conceal the great anxiety which he felt in consequence of the transaction. He did not like the new variation of the phrase, "killing no murder," which they had heard mentioned. It was said that, although they had bombarded the forts of Egypt, a tributary of Turkey, yet they were not at war with Turkey. But suppose a variation from the case. Suppose that if any Fleet in the world had bombarded the British Fleet or British forts, he wished to know whether the British people would not as one man have regarded that as an act of war, and treated it accordingly? As to the origin of the present complications, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had rather led the House and the country to understand the present embarrassment had arisen from the massacre at Alexandria. [Mr. Gladstone: No.] He understood that to be the case; but he thought the two cases related as close as cause and effect. He wanted to know from that point of view, whether the British Fleet was or was not in Egyptian waters before the massacre took place? With regard to the military tyranny which the Prime Minister had spoken of, he should like to know what Party in Egypt had invited the Government to send the British Fleet into Egyptian waters to interfere with the internal affairs of Egypt? Further, he wanted information on this point—had they not from the outset regarded the Sultan of Turkey as the Sovereign of Egypt; and, before they sent the British Fleet into Egyptian waters, had they called on the Sultan to control matters in Egypt in such a way as to prevent the dangers to which Europeans were exposed in Egypt? He would assert, without fear of contradiction, that it would be impossible to show that they had been invited by any Party in Egypt to take the course they had taken. When they were told that it was necessary to bombard these forts and silence these guns in order to secure the safety of the British Fleet, it reminded him of the suggestion once made to a great philosopher, who complained that the fire was too hot and wished it raked out, that he might put the matter right by drawing his chair back. If the British Fleet was in danger, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he thought it might have been withdrawn. The action which had been taken he regarded as most inconsiderate. His hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle had made use of an expression which he (Mr. Illingworth) thought had been misunderstood. ["No, no!"] His hon Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac), at all events, appeared to suppose that the commercial interests of the country were charged by the hon. Member for Carlisle with selfishness. No man in that House was prouder of the commercial interests of this country than his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle, and more desirous of serving its true interests. As regarded himself, he was bound to say that there was not the very smallest of foundation for the belief that the commercial classes were in favour of the Government policy. The most serious part of the question was the assertion of the Government, in which they had taken exception to the statement that they had drifted into this war. He admitted that the precedent of the Crimean War was not altogether applicable; but, at the same time, he would improve upon the saying by declaring that it seemed to him that they had been steaming express into this war, and had hastily and rashly appealed to force. It might be said that the Egyptians were an imperfectly civilized people, and could not be treated in the same way as a great European Power—for instance, as we should deal with either Germany or France. He admitted the difference; but, in his opinion, it threw an additional obligation upon this country, that they should be more circumspect and show more forbearance with the Egyptians than if they were dealing with a civilized country. With regard to the Prime Minister's reference to Navarino, they knew that the great Powers then acted in a very high-handed manner, and he did not think that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) would be able from that to maintain his contention that what had taken place was not an act of war. The effort of the Liberal Party for many years past had been to act in regard to international difficulties in a less high-handed manner than had formerly been the practice, and with a greater regard to justice and the rights of the different weaker parties. He did not say that the Government might not be able to make out a case that this intervention was absolutely necessary. He must confess, however, that he believed that their action would be condemned by the great majority of the country who sent them (the Liberal Party) to that House; and, personally, he felt very great concern lest the labours and the teaching of the Liberal Party for many years should have been utterly destroyed and neutralized by this hostile act of the last 24 hours. He need not say that, in that House, right hon. Members on the Front Benches had not a warmer Friend than himself—that it was out of regard for them and their character for consistency as regarded their public conduct that he ventured at this moment to interfere.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I have no intention of entering into the discussion which has been raised by the Motion of the hon. Gentleman who moved the adjournment (Mr. Gourley). The conduct of Her Majesty's Government throughout these proceedings will, no doubt, come to be the subject of serious examination on a future occasion. I do not think that we are, at this moment, in a position conveniently to enter into that discussion, and I intend to say absolutely nothing about it. I rise for a strictly practical purpose. It was mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his speech, that a fresh telegram had been received, stating that a flag of truce had been sent from Alexandria to the Fleet. I do not know whether this is true or not; but it is probable that the statement is a correct one. But, if so, I wish to impress upon the Government the desirableness of taking advantage of that opportunity, or any other opportunity that may be offered, by taking some step for the protection of the life and the safety of the person of one for whose safety, I think, England must be anxious. Whatever we may say with regard to the whole course of the policy and the position of the Parties concerned in this matter, the position of the Khedive is one that demands, and has the strongest claim upon the honour of this country; and I do trust, therefore, that advantage will be taken of this, or of any other opportunity, to take such steps as shall secure in every possible way the security of the Khedive. I entirely abstain at the present moment from saying anything with regard to the grave questions that have been raised. No doubt, at the present time, responsibility lies upon and is accepted by the Government, and I presume that an opportunity will be given to the House of Commons and to Parliament to express its opinion on the subject. There is also the pecuniary question, as, no doubt, a Vote will be asked for. These are points which will arise hereafter, and I do not think it would be desirable that we, as a Party, should express any opinion on the subject at the present moment.

MR. SLAGG said, he should not have interfered in the debate had it not been that he found it necessary to make a reference to some remarks which had fallen from the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfred Lawson). The hon. Baronet had said this war had been promoted by, and that it would probably have the support of, certain parties whom he described as "Cotton Jingoes." He (Mr. Slagg) really must protest most emphatically against such a term being applied to any class of the commercial community of this country. If the hon. Baronet's expression meant anything, it meant this—that a certain section of the commercial community of this country, and especially those interested in the Cotton Trade, were, for the purposes of gain or for considerations in relation to their own personal advantage, prepared to aid and endorse a policy of which they did not approve in the shape of the present hostilities in Egypt. He resented most strongly the shadow of an implication of the sort upon any class of the commercial community in the North of England. He was perfectly certain that no such interest or desire existed in their minds in any degree whatever. He would point out to the House that the whole tradition of the working classes and the employers connected with this cotton industry in Lancashire wholly forbade any suspicion of that nature—he referred to the course of conduct which had been followed by that community during the American War, when a large section of the politicians of this country wholly lost their heads, and wished to commence hostilities against the Northern States of America. He presumed to say from their conduct at that time that the term "Cotton Jingoes" was not applicable to them. They remained perfectly calm, and most certainly abetted no excitement whatever upon the subject, and he considered the hon. Baronet's remarks very unjustifiable. No doubt, the industry of Lancashire and all industries of this country generally were deeply concerned in what was taking place in Egypt at this moment; but he repudiated the idea that for their own interests they would advocate an unjust policy. He would refrain from discussing matters in detail; but he trusted that even those who had ventured upon such terms as "Cotton Jingoes" would be able to see that there was a distinction between a policy of needless and meddlesome interference with the affairs of a foreign country for purposes of aggression, and intervention which was directed solely, as he believed was the case at present, to the maintenance of the honour as well as of the interests of this country, and the protection of an oppressed population, and not for attack or invasion.

Mr. R. T. REID said, that as one of the Liberal candidates who spoke so strongly —and who hoped always to continue doing so—at the last General Election against an aggressive foreign policy, he felt bound to say a word or two on this occasion. The very same arguments had been used with regard to this as had been used with regard to former acts of war, and it was always easy to find an excuse. He must say, however, that unless the Government were able to establish that this attack upon the Alexandrian forts was necessary for self-defence, it was not consistent with Liberal principles. He would ask the House to consider whether the conduct which had been adopted by this country towards Egypt would have been adopted towards a Power as strong as ourselves; whether that conduct was not a violation of that principle of non-intervention in foreign matters, and a hindrance to the peace policy which had for some time been advocated by the great Liberal Leaders. How could they preach to others about the necessity of abstaining from high-handed acts of violence if they themselves resorted to it, and took such steps as that of attacking Powers in the circumstances reported of yesterday? Of course, there was always some provocation in the case, and there was always some defence to be offered; but he was not quite sure that in this case the defence would satisfy the conscience of the country. It was an open question whether there was not in Egypt a genuine national movement, and if there was, and this was the expression of it, surely no one would regret more than Her Majesty's Ministers if any act of theirs should have interfered to prevent such a movement from making headway. He earnestly hoped that, as a flag of truce had been sent to the Fleet, there was a chance of putting an end to this war, for practically it was a war which we had commenced; and he trusted, therefore, that steps would be taken to stop further aggressive proceedings as soon as possible, for he could not help believing that the Government were still as strongly in favour of a peace policy as when they so justly denounced the policy that was adopted by their Predecessors in Office.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, with regard to the Question which has been addressed to the Government by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), I need hardly say we entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman as to the position in which this country stands towards His Highness the Khedive. If His Highness were not already the true friend of this country, we should specially admire, at all events, the courage he has displayed on this occasion; and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that every possible step will be taken under the circumstances, which can be taken, to secure the safety of the person of the Khedive. The right hon. Gentleman also asked, whether it was the case that the Government had received any confirmation of the telegram stating that a flag of truce was flying over Alexandria? A further telegram has come. It is not from the Consular Representative of Her Majesty's Government, nor is it from the Admiral; but it is from the agents of the Eastern Telegraph Company, who are on board the telegraph ship, and, therefore, I have no doubt it is an accurate statement. The telegram informs us that—

> "A large white flag is flying over the town, and a gunboat, with a white flag at the fore-royal truck, is steaming up the harbour towards the arsenal;"

and—

> "That all is quiet, awaiting the result of the flag of truce."

That is dated Alexandria, 1.30 p.m. [Mr. W. H. SMITH: Is it an English gunboat?] The telegram does not say, and I cannot say. It is quite possible it may be an English gunboat; but from the telegram's saying "a gunboat," instead of giving the name, it is very possibly an Egyptian vessel. With regard to the speeches which have been made since the remarks of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone), my hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) has spoken about what he considers, in the total absence of any real knowledge of the case, a violation of the principles of the policy which brought the Liberal Party into power. All that I can say is, that I hope, if there were any such violation, I should not be in this place, nor on this Bench at the present time. I feel quite certain that my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister would not be there at the present time either. The hon. Member has asked why these steps have been taken at Alexandria? I stated why, with the utmost fullness to the House, giving the House possession of every piece of information that was in our hands, and giving the reason why the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria took place yesterday. I did so, by anticipation, before the bombardment commenced. The hon. Member has fastened to that statement the statement of the Prime Minister, in which he referred to the endangering of European life and property throughout the East. But the Prime Minister did not state that as the reason for the bombardment of the forts at Alexandria. He mentioned that incidentally, and I think he was right in mentioning it for reasons which I will venture to give; but the reason which he gave for the bombardment was the reason I gave on a previous occasion—namely, the safety of the Fleet, and the absolute necessity of preventing the erection of further fortifications, and further guns being brought to bear upon the Fleet in the manner I have described. To show how long-suffering we were, I read the whole of the despatches which had passed, and pointed out that, although on Friday last, after the order had been given, further guns were put up on the outer portion of the fortifications, not bearing directly on the Fleet, we informed the Admiral, in regard to these guns, that he was not to take action, but to allow them to be put up, showing that we pushed our forbearance and long-suffering to the very utmost limits. It was only when fresh guns were mounted bearing directly on the harbour and the Fleet that the action was taken which I have described. My right hon. Friend did allude to the recent massacre at Alexandria, although he did not give it as the reason for the action of the Fleet, and he spoke of the danger to European life throughout the East. Now, I cannot but think that we are not liable to the reproaches which have been addressed to the Government to-day for the use of the language of that kind. I have already declared in this House, on behalf of the Government, that reparation will have to be made for the massacre at Alexandria, and that is still the intention of Her Majesty's Government, because it must be perfectly clear that, by massacres of this kind, European life throughout the whole of the East is endangered, and the effect of any such massacre being passed over without redress, would be to put the lives of Europeans throughout the East absolutely at the mercy of a fanatical mob of Mahomedans. We ought to remember not only the enormous number of British subjects who live in Egypt and abroad, but the immense interests which our country possesses, and which were protected during late years by the sanctity of European life observed throughout the East. My hon. Friend spoke of injuring the feelings of the working men of this country; but I cannot think it is the desire of British working men to see the whole of the British traders completely debarred from operations in the East and driven out. I cannot think that, having regard to peace principles, working men would desire to see a state of things existing under which the whole of those interests would be sacrificed, and all trade in this country which depends upon them would be at end. Although that is a subject which is mentioned incidentally, it is one to which I cannot help referring, because I am the Under Secretary superintending the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office, and I know the enormous importance of this matter to this country. Still that is not the reason put forth, and I wish to state distinctly that it is not the reason for what took place at Alexandria yesterday. What took place was not in consequence of the massacre, but in consequence of the mounting of fresh guns bearing upon the Fleet. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) went out of his way to speak of Arabi Pasha as an innocent lamb, and he spoke a great deal about the national movement. Sir, the whole question of the national movement and of military ascendancy in Egypt, which are two different things, will have to be debated in this House on some future occasion. All I can say at this moment is, that it is utterly untrue to tell the House that Arabi Pasha represents the national life of Egypt. He holds, as it appears to me, the whole Egyptian nationality by the throat, and his use of the word "national" is a mere prostitution of that term. Passing by that matter, I heard with much regret the hon. Member for Roscommon (Mr. O'Kelly) speak of the action of yesterday as an act of assassination. That is language which I regret to hear, and ought not to have been used within the walls of the House of Commons; but when he asked in regard to this act, whether it was or was not an act of war, and spoke of acts of this kind as acts of war, I am bound to point out that, besides examples given by the Prime Minister, there have been a vast number of examples in all times of isolated cases, either of reparation, or of protection, or of self-defence, being taken by this country, without any declaration of war, or state of war, following these acts. I may remind the House of the bombardment of Algiers and of Jeddah, in 1858, and of the action taken in regard to the Spanish Fleet during the first Administration of my right hon. Friend; and, an immense number of cases will occur to the mind at once. Take the case of Algiers. The Sultan was Sovereign of Algiers at the time of the bombardment, and although an application was made to the Sultan with regard to the state of things in Algiers, the action taken had no reference to any permission obtained of the Sultan for bombardment, and it was not treated as an act of war. There was the case of Jeddah. In Jeddah, in 1858, there was a massacre of Christians by a native mob, and the English and French Governments asked for reparation. That reparation was promised, but not made. Jeddah being under the Sovereignty of the Porte, the Turkish Government announced its intention of sending down troops for redress; but that redress was so slow, the troops were so long on their way, that action was taken by the bombardment of Jeddah, and that took place before the troops arrived. In the case of the Spanish Fleet, when it was sent to sea under circumstances which caused danger to all the Powers represented in the Mediterranean, during the first Administration of my right hon. Friend—I think it was at that time—the English Fleet went after the Spanish Fleet and brought it back to port. On many occasions of this kind action has been taken which it might be possible for a Power to resent as an act of war, but which, in point of fact, have never been resented and treated as acts of war at all. My hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) asks why we did not call upon the Sultan? That only shows the impossibility of debating a subject of this kind before the House is in possession of all the facts; because, when the House is in possession of all the facts, hon. Members will see what has passed at the Conference and elsewhere with regard to the call which, as my hon. Friend says, ought to have been made on the Sultan. He says we ought to have acted with circumspection and forbearance. My contention is, that we did act with the greatest circumspection and the greatest forbearance all through. During the five weeks which elapsed, from the first erection of the new fortifications to the first erection of new guns bearing directly upon the ships, upon which action was taken, we certainly were reproached day by day, and night by night, in this House and the other House of Parliament, and throughout the country, for not taking action—reproached for what I consider was the proper circumspection and forbearance which we displayed. We have been asked what has become of the Concert of Europe? The Concert of Europe is as active at the present moment—[MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: As it ever has been.] The Concert of Europe successfully settled the Dulcigno difficulty, in spite of the prophecies of the hon. Member, and the Greek difficulty was also settled by the Concert of Europe in spite of the prophecies of the hon. Member. ["No, no!"] I maintain it successfully settled it.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: It had nothing to do with the settling of the Greek Question.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: That is not the view of the Government, or the vast majority in this country; and it is my firm conviction that the Concert of Europe will be efficacious in this case as it has been proved efficacious in the past. At the time we were asked what had become of this Concert of Europe it was contended that it was violated by our action of yesterday. But reservations were made in regard to the necessity of action of this kind which covered the case of yesterday; and when we are asked whether any Powers have protested against our action, all I can say is, that the only two Powers which have mentioned it to us—namely, Austria and Germany—have both declared that our action of yesterday was perfectly legitimate and justifiable.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) that the present is not the time to enter into any debate with regard to the conduct of the Government, and I should not trouble the House now were it not for the remarks which have been made by my hon. Friend (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and other hon. Members, with whose views in regard to peace and war and non-intervention I generally agree. Both my hon. Friends, the hon. Member for Carlisle and the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), certainly did strongly attack the conduct of the Government. My hon. Colleague (Mr. Illingworth) spoke with great moderation, and not unnaturally insisted that this is a matter upon which we must be all desirous, and all await most anxiously, to hear the explanation of the Government at the proper time. But I shall feel satisfied now to say that, so far as I have been able to form any opinion at all, up to the present time I confess it has been in a different direction from my hon. Friends, and I wish to state that the impression left on my mind certainly now is that the Government could not have acted otherwise than they have done without disregarding not only its duty in connection with the legitimate protection of British interests, but also its duty in connection with the higher duty of protecting English, European, and Christian lives.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Sir, it is not my intention to criticize the policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to grave events now taking place in Egypt. I feel the justice of the remark of the right hon. Baronet who leads the Conservative Party in this House (Sir Stafford Northcote), that this is not the moment to discuss recent events at Alexandria. It is too soon and too late for such debate—*Inter arma silent leges.* While the Forces of the Queen are actually engaged in hostilities, and a great crisis is unsettled, it would be unpatriotic and impolitic to examine too closely the details of the policy which has led to the present complications; but I cannot pass without contradiction certain general statements made by the Prime Minister and the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke). The latter has just avowed his old and courageous belief in the mythical Concert of Europe, with, considering the existing crisis, even more than his usual audacity. He has pointed with singular pride to the glorious achievement of Dulcigno. Sir, three times within the past four years has the British Fleet been engaged in what may be called demonstrations. The first was in February, 1878, when, alone and unhampered, either by "concerted" or by "joint" assistance, it confronted the might of Russia before Constantinople. Lord Beaconsfield then, following the traditional policy of England with firmness and consistency, checked Russia in the full tide of her victorious advance, wrung from her half the spoils of her triumph, and protected the interests of this country without the sacrifice of a single life. The second was in the autumn of 1880, when the combined Fleets of Europe lay for 10 weeks in glorious paralysis off the coast of Albania. That splendid feat resulted in the ridiculous, though, as compared with the present trouble, the comparatively harmless *fiasco* of Dulcigno. The third demonstration is that which has just eventuated so painfully. It began with a "joint" action, which proved its inability to accomplish anything. It irritated Native feeling by its insufficiency, and looked on idly during the sanguinary massacre of the 11th, and has now culminated in the still more sanguinary bombardment of Alexandria. Its end remains to be seen. So much for the hon. Baronet and his "Concert of Europe." The Prime Minister gave a very remarkable and rather ingenious explanation with regard to the phrase "drifting into the Crimean War." He attempted to limit it to some words of Lord Clarendon. But, Sir, when we say the country "drifted" into that war, we use the expression with no such limitation. We mean, and we are prepared, with a full knowledge of the facts, to prove, that the irresolution and weakness of Her Majesty's then Government, of which the right hon. Gentleman was himself a prominent Member, caused that unnecessary war. Mr. Cobden, whose opinion hon. Members opposite almost deify, said that if the Conservative Ministry had remained in Office that war would never have taken place. The Emperor Nicholas, who knew more about these events than any other man, said, on his deathbed, that he would never have begun his attack upon Turkey had the British Cabinet spoken out plainly and warned him against that fatal aggression. The Prime Minister has also denied that he is a believer in non-intervention. The right hon. Gentleman's views may be stated better in this way—he is in favour of intervention against the weak, and of non-intervention against the strong. He was opposed to any action against Russia in 1871 and 1878; but he was in favour of intervention against Turkey when environed with enemies. He was in favour of intervention between the North and South, when the United States were distracted with civil war; but he was mortally opposed to it when confronted by the might of a united country, and he paid the *Alabama* claims. He is proud of intervention against the Albanians and Egyptians, but he left the unhappy Danes to their fate in 1863. I will say nothing about recent events except this, that when the time comes we shall be prepared to prove that this crisis and bloodshed has entirely been brought about, as the Crimean War was brought about, by the weakness and the wrong policy of Her Majesty's Government. I do not speak of the occasion of this bombardment, for that may be justified, if it can be proved that otherwise the British Fleet would have been in danger. But I refer to the cause of the whole difficulty—the neglect, irritation, and provocation which have produced anarchy and war in Egypt. In conclusion, I will venture to urge upon the Government the importance of paying all possible respect, not only to the just rights, but even to the susceptibilities of the Ottoman Government and people in the present crisis. In that way alone can this struggle commenced in Egypt be prevented from spreading over the whole East. The odium which France acquired by her unjust aggression in Tunis, has now been taken upon our shoulders and unless a course of conciliation and justice be followed, grave evils, and possibly disasters, may ensue.

Mr. RICHARD said, he united with his hon. Friends the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), in entering a most solemn protest against what was done yesterday at Alexandria. He could not see that the justification given by the Prime Minister or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was at all satisfactory. They had both said that this was not an act of war. If it was not an act of war, then what was it? He (Mr. Richard) had always understood that there was no justification for the wholesale slaughter of human beings, unless it was done in pursuance of the rights of war. But here it was denied that there were any rights of war. Well, then, he could not see, if it was not an act of war, that it was anything else but murder. The right hon. Gentleman assigned three reasons in vindication of the proceeding at Alexandria—that it was necessary, first, to defend Her Majesty's Fleet, next to put down military violence in Egypt, and, thirdly, to avenge the massacre committed about a month ago. But what business had Her Majesty's Fleet in the port of Alexandria at all? Further, was the mere fact of an independent nation fortifying its coasts against a threatened invasion by a foreign Power to be regarded as a justification for making an attack upon it? He was sorry to hear the right hon. Gentleman referring to the massacre that had taken place about a month ago as another justification of the act of bombardment of Alexandria.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he had not referred to the massacre by way of justifying the bombardment of the forts. He had merely referred to a possible consequence of it.

MR. RICHARD, continuing, said, he was very glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman's repudiation, because he (Mr. Richard) should look upon such conduct as mere vengeance. They were told, also, that the bombardment was necessary for the protection of the interests and lives and property of British subjects. His contention, on the other hand, was that all the mischiefs that had arisen in Egypt, the massacre of last month, the danger to the Fleet, the destruction of Egyptian commerce for the time, the driving out of Europeans, and the jeopardy of the Suez Canal were owing to the wanton act of intervention on the part of Her Majesty's Government in sending the Fleet to Alexandria. If that had not taken place, none of these results would have followed. As a Member of the Liberal Party, he personally regretted that such things should have been done by a Liberal Government. He felt not only grieved, but humiliated, at the course taken by a Government in whose wisdom, moderation, and justice he had been accustomed to repose the most absolute confidence.

MR. GOURLEY asked leave to withdraw the Motion for the adjournment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE wished to ask, whether the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could give any information as to the reported change of Ministry at Constantinople yesterday? It was said in the telegrams that Said Pasha had been appointed Prime Minister. Was it the Said Pasha who a few days ago was Foreign Minister, or was it the Said Pasha who had been Prime Minister not long ago, and resigned?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The latter, Sir; I take it that there is one Said Pasha who is Prime Minister, and another who is still Foreign Secretary.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had lately spoken of a flag of truce. He wished to ask, how was the flag of truce to be dealt with if they were not at war?

[No reply.]

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 213.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 11th July.*]

[THIRD NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

SETTLEMENT OF ARREARS OF RENT.

Clause 1 (Settlement by Land Commission of arrears of rent).

MR. HENEAGE said, he had an Amendment on the Paper, in page 1, line 25, to insert, after the word "limitation," the following words:—

"That where a tenant has a saleable interest in his holding, such interest shall be duly considered and taken into account by the Court as an asset in estimating the amount to be paid in discharge of any antecedent arrears of rent under this Act."

He thought, however, that the Government had made a proposal dealing with tenant right as an asset, which would obviate the necessity of his going on with his Amendment, and therefore he would withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. ECROYD said, that an Amendment in his name was next on the Paper; but he should defer moving it until after the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen).

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may do that; but I would point out to him that I have carefully considered the Amendments on the Paper, and I do not think it would be out of Order if he moved his first.

MR. ECROYD: May I venture to ask if, on the other hand, the Amendment would be out of Order after the Committee has dealt with the Amendment I have alluded to?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; I do not think it would, for reasons which I will explain presently.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he had on the Paper an Amendment to the effect that the onus of proving his inability to pay should rest with the tenant; and his object in putting down that Amendment was to obtain, on the inquiry into the question of the ability or inability of the tenant to pay rent, some sort of security that the investigation should be a real one. In framing his Amendment he had had in view the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), wherein that right hon. Gentleman had distinctly referred to an inquiry by the Land Commission, or other persons delegated by the Land Commission, with regard to the property possessed by the tenant. He also desired to propose that all bankers, managers of Post Office or other Government banks, collectors of agricultural returns, and other persons should be bound, on receiving notice from the Land Commission, to produce books, papers, and documents within their custody, which were required in the course of the inquiry. Of course, he felt it possible that the terms of his Amendment might be objected to, on the score that such an inquiry as the one he contemplated would be of an inquisitorial character; but what he would submit to the Committee was this—that if the inquiry into the means of the tenant was to be a real one, it must necessarily be of an inquisitorial character. If a person applied under the provisions of the Poor Law for poor relief, the Guardians did what it was their duty to do—made inquiry into the means and circumstances of the applicant to the fullest extent. If, again, a person applied to the Commissioners of Income Tax, either for a reduction of his assessment or a return of the income tax paid by him on profits that he had not made, the inquiry was or ought to be searching and inquisitorial. Such inquiries could not be pleasant to those who were the subjects of them; but if the inquiry which was proposed to be instituted by the Land Commissioners under this Bill into the ability or inability of the tenant to pay was to be a real inquiry, it must, he was afraid, be made both searching and unpleasant. He had put his Amendment down at that point, because it seemed to him that the question might be fairly raised here; but he did not wish to delay the Committee if the discussion could be more conveniently taken later on. Therefore, if the Government, without entering upon the merits or demerits of his proposal, were to say that it would be more appropriate to move it on a later clause, he should refrain from pressing it now. It might, perhaps, be moved as a separate sub-section in the clause, or as an addition to what might be called the Powers Clause of the Bill—the clause under which certain powers were given to the Land Commission.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for the manner in which he had stated his views. The question was a novel one; but he (Mr. Gladstone) was of opinion that the best place to discuss it would be on the Powers Clause. He could not see his way to deal with it at present.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Then I beg to give Notice that I will bring it forward at a later stage.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he had put an Amendment on the Paper which was in accord with the observations he had made in the debate on going into Committee on the Bill. He was anxious, if possible, to meet the argument that, as the Bill was drawn, the tenant right might be realized for a considerable sum after an advance had been made by the State—that was to say, that the tenant might receive a gift at the hands of the Exchequer, and next day, or next year, he might sell his tenancy, pocket the money, and leave the country. That, he thought, was an eventuality which the Government would not wish to occur; and he considered, therefore, that it was a perfectly fair Amendment that he had put on the Paper. It in no way interfered with the object of the Bill, and it came to this—that the amount advanced by the State should remain a charge on the tenant right, though not a charge at interest; and that it should only be raisable in case the tenant right came to be sold. It seemed to him that the Amendment he proposed would give some of the advantages of a loan, without the disadvantages attaching to it. There was no interest to be paid which would make it more difficult for the tenant to pay his rent; but, on the other hand, it would be brought home to those who received the gift from the Exchequer that there was some distinction to be drawn between them and those who had paid their rent. He should be glad to know what was the general view of the Government with regard to the Amendment, or, at any rate, with regard to some Amendment of this kind. With regard to the proposal that stood on the Paper before his in the name of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt), that involved a repayment of arrears antecedent to those satisfied under the Act, the repayment to be made out of the amount realized by the sale of the tenant right. That was not his (Mr. Goschen's) proposal. His proposition was that the State should be recouped for the sum which it had advanced in the case of the tenant right being sold. He did not know whether the Amendment would be more acceptable to the Government if a limit of time were introduced into it—that was to say, if it stated that the clause should apply if the tenant right were sold within a certain number of years. If the Government saw their way to the acceptance of the Amendment, a limit of time might be inserted; but, whether or no, he thought the proposal was one well worthy of careful consideration. He would not detain the Committee by dwelling upon the matter at any great length, as he was anxious to ascertain, in the first instance, what was the general view of the Government and of the Committee upon a question of the kind.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 2, after "aforesaid," add "such sum as may be ordered to be paid by the Irish Land Commission shall be a charge, without interest, on the amount (if any) realized on the first sale of the holding made after the passing of this Act, and such charge shall not be raised or raisable unless and until such sale as aforesaid shall take place, and it shall then be paid after the landlord's claim for rent accrued due after the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, but prior to all other charges on the said holding."—(*Mr. Goschen.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) how he was going to calculate the sum when the sale of the holding took place? If this Amendment were adopted it would be necessary for them to have the most complex machinery in order to enable the State to get back the money it had advanced to the tenant; and it should be borne in mind that, in all probability, the machinery by which these gifts would be made to the tenants in the course of a year or a year and a-half would be done away with. If the Amendment were accepted, the machinery, in view of the eventuality contemplated by the proposal, might have to be kept up for 20 or 30 years. He would point out to the right hon. Gentleman, as a financier, that the game he proposed was really not worth the candle. The staff which it would be necessary for the Government to keep up would cost a great deal more than they would be likely to get from the tenants who sold their tenant right.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he thought there was great force in what had fallen from the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy); but he would make this admission to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen)—namely, that his proposal was a perfectly fair one as a method of meeting a difficulty which they all acknowledged. They all admitted that there was great difficulty in the case, supposing that a man, on the ground of disability to pay, received public money in discharge of his arrears, and shortly thereafter received a large amount for his tenant right and left the country. Many of them had recognized the fact that this was a case requiring some attention, and his right hon. Friend had proposed one method of dealing with it. But the Government proposed another, and, if he might say so, a better mode of meeting the difficulty. The Amendment of his right hon. Friend, and that which he (Mr. Gladstone) himself intended to bring forward subsequently, could not well stand together. If they did, they might constitute too much. Therefore, having carefully considered the matter, and having to choose between the two methods, he and his Colleagues had come to the conclusion that their mode was the safer—and this he said without in the slightest degree censuring the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman would himself, he (Mr. Gladstone) thought, admit that it would be a very great disadvantage, independently of the cost, to render the continuance of an expensive machinery necessary for a lengthened period. As the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had pointed out, it would be a great disadvantage to keep this demand hanging over the head of the tenant for a long period. The right hon. Gentleman offered to limit the period; but he would see that by doing so he would greatly impair the principle to which he sought to give effect. To keep this charge hanging over a man's head for a long time, and to come down on him in the event of his quitting his holding, must be a matter very burdensome to the State, and the question was whether the method of meeting the difficulty proposed by the Government was not a much better one. The method of the Government was this. They proposed to put words in the Bill which would have the effect, not of altering the measure, but of calling the attention of the Commissioners definitely and distinctly to a point upon which common sense and sound judgment ought to be brought to bear. They proposed to draw the attention of the Commissioners to the question, and to leave them to determine whether the value of the tenant right, and the position in which it placed the tenant, were such as to make it unfair to say whether he was a fit and proper person to receive public money. Her Majesty's Government did not deny the advantages attending the proposal of his right hon. Friend. It would relieve a man at the moment from investigation as to the value of his tenant right; but, on the whole, the Government considered that it would be better that the matter should be investigated, and he was afraid that the Amendment would not relieve the Commissioners very much.

Mr. SYNAN thought the Amendment was not only inconsistent with the Proviso Her Majesty's Government proposed to bring before the Committee—on which he would not offer an opinion—but he considered it inconsistent with the course the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen) and his Friends had taken on this Bill. What had been their contention as to the tenant right being an asset? Their contention had been that it was an asset in favour of the landlord. Now, after that contention, and after the landlord had given up part of his rent, he would be deprived of any interest in the tenant right, and the gift was to be turned into a loan in favour of the State. A more inconsistent proceeding on the part of the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends he (Mr. Synan) had never witnessed in the proceedings of that House, or in Committee. Which contention did the right hon. Gentleman stand by? That the tenant right was to be an asset in favour of the landlord, or that, when a tenant left his holding, it was to be realized solely in favour of the State? Let the right hon. Gentleman take his choice; but clearly he could not stand upon both stools—he must give up one or the other. He (Mr. Synan) looked upon it as most ridiculous, and as an insult to the understanding of the Committee, that these two classes of Amendments had been put forward in the same Bill, and from the same quarter.

Mr. GIVAN said, he must confess he was very much surprised to see this Amendment come from his right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), because he (Mr. Givan) knew the view the right hon. Gentleman generally took with regard to questions of this kind. However, it was not necessary to detain the Committee more than a moment to point out how totally impracticable this Amendment would be in its working. In addition to the objection pointed out by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) there would be this difficulty. Supposing, at the time the money was given by the State, the land was in a bad condition and the tenant right was not worth a farthing, and supposing, in consequence of the relief given under this Bill, the tenant began a better course of cultivation, and in a few years' time converted that which had been a desert into a garden, thereby creating a valuable tenant right, why should that operation of the tenant and of the tenant's family, and, perhaps, of his successors, be for the benefit of the State? An Amendment more calculated to hamper the whole operation of the Bill he could not conceive. On the one hand, the assistance a tenant would receive from the State would be called a gift; but, on the other hand, this possible demand for repayment would be hanging over the farm, lessening the value of it, and threatening, in a certain eventuality, to be a great inconvenience to the tenant or his family. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see the propriety of withdrawing the Amendment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not think the argument of the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Givan) was of great weight. The hon. Member asked them to take a farm which was of little value at present—upon which the tenant right was almost valueless. If the tenant put his labour into the holding and improved it, making the tenant right worth a premium, should he, asked the hon. Member, after having received assistance from the State at the time the farm was worth nothing, be liable to be called upon at some future time to repay the advance which had been made to him out of the enhanced value of the farm? How unjust, said the hon. Member, to charge the tenant right so created with the debt the tenant owed to his landlord! But did the hon. Member not see that if the tenant, by neglecting to cultivate his farm, had failed to pay the debt, that was no reason for relieving him of his debts, but an additional reason to insure his paying them? Under the hypothesis of the hon. Member, the tenant, if he had cultivated his farm in a proper manner, would have been able to pay his rent, and the fact that he had not done so was no reason for not compelling him to pay them.

MR. SYNAN: My contention is, that the tenant may have been prevented from cultivating his farm in a proper manner by rack-renting. He may have been prevented from paying his rent not through his own default.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he would not enter into the question as to whether rack-renting injured cultivation. Payment of a full rent in no country in the world with which he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) was acquainted prevented a farm from being properly cultivated; in fact, in the part of England with which he was most familiar, high renting had an entirely opposite effect. High-rented farms were the best cultivated. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister seemed to think that his Amendment was a rival Amendment to that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). He had asked the Committee to choose between the two; but he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) apprehended that the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon had the same object as that of the Prime Minister. It seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon had mainly in view the moral effect which his Amendment would produce—the right hon. Gentleman seemingly wished to draw a broad distinction between the tenant who had paid his rent and the tenant who had come under the provisions of this Bill; and he therefore placed great reliance, and attached great weight, not so much to the financial operation of the Amendment, as to its moral effect on the tenant. It would be observed that the Amendment which the Prime Minister intended to introduce—which he had not yet, but which he proposed to place on the Paper—would have no moral effect whatever. It did not seek to draw a distinction between a tenant who had paid his debts and a tenant who came under the operation of this Bill. The Committee, therefore, in considering this matter, had to take into view that which the Prime Minister had left out of account in dealing with the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon. The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had said—"If you carry this Amendment you will do very little good to the finances of the State; the amount of money that will be required to work the clause will be so great that, practically, the State will gain nothing by it."

That might possibly be true; but the moral effect on the tenant, which was the chief argument of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen), was outside that matter; and in giving his support to the Amendment, if it were taken to a division, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) should do so, not in order to save the money of the British taxpayer, but because he thought it would do something substantial in the way of preventing that demoralization that everyone on both sides of the House admitted was one of the greatest dangers that would attend the operation of the Bill. The Prime Minister said it would have an evil effect to keep this debt hanging over the head of the tenant. But allow him (Mr. A. J. Balfour) to point out that the debt would not hang over the tenant in the sense that an ordinary liability hung over him. It would not hamper him in the cultivation and management of his farm—it would not be a debt that he could be called on to pay at any moment. It would not injure him as a tenant; in fact, whilst he was a tenant, he never could be called on to pay it—it was not in any sense like, for instance, a debt to a money-lender; it was not in any sense a liability which could darken a tenant's future. The debt would not be increasing in any way, there was no interest on it; and of this the tenant would be aware—that so long as he stuck to his holding the debt could not be called on. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) did not think that there was any other consideration which the debate so far obliged him to put before the Committee; but he certainly hoped that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen) would not too easily abandon his Amendment.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, that, having listened with attention to what had been said, it appeared to him that the main point for the consideration of the Committee was, how far the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was in conflict with the present Amendment or not. He (Mr. Goschen) had put his Amendment on the Paper before he was aware that Her Majesty's Government intended to make a proposal on the subject, and he would point out to hon. Members from Ireland on the Opposition side of the House that of all the Amendments which proposed to charge the tenant right with any future payment, the one he had proposed was the least onerous. He had searched for a mode whereby this charge could be made so as to the least affect the operations of tenant right, and the mode set forth in the Amendment was the one which he had selected as the most satisfactory. He could not admit the correctness of the statement of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) as to the cost of the machinery. He (Mr. Goschen) had no doubt that the call upon the taxpayer would be considerable, and that, therefore, the repayment of the advances in these cases would be a substantial benefit. He was most anxious to save the time of the Committee, and he felt that they could not discuss this matter in regard to the tenant right until they knew how it would be dealt with under the Amendment of Her Majesty's Government. He thought he should be best consulting the interests of the Committee if he were to withdraw his Amendment, at the present stage at all events, subject, possibly, to revival, if they found that the Prime Minister's Amendment did not deal with the matter satisfactorily.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that, before the Amendment was withdrawn, he should like to point out to the Committee one reason which led him to think that some plan of the kind should, in any event, be adopted. As a matter of fact, the tenant right was an existing, but not a realized asset, and it was not the idea of the Government or of the Bill that that asset should be realized in order to enable the tenant to obtain the benefit of the Bill, but merely that the tenant right should be charged to a certain extent, that extent being not so great as to prevent the tenant remaining in his holding. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) must say that the Amendment of the Prime Minister did not entirely meet the case, and that the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon dealt with another class of cases besides those the Amendment of the Prime Minister would deal with. The Amendment of the Prime Minister was to the effect that for the purposes of the Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest might, if the Commissioners thought it reasonable, be taken into account as an asset. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) understood that if the tenant's interest was so considerable as to enable him to raise sufficient money on it to pay his arrears, without unduly burdening himself, he would be excluded from the advantages of the Bill. But what was to happen to the tenant who possessed a tenant right of such a value that it might suffice to enable him to pay a certain portion of the arrears due, but not the whole of them? That was a case which it seemed to him might fairly be met by such a proposal as that of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen). According to the Prime Minister's proposal, the tenant in such a case as that would be admitted to the advantages of the Bill; but yet his tenant right might be worth something — perhaps some considerable sum beyond the amount absolutely necessary to enable him to carry on his farm, Well, surely it was only fair to the State that when such a tenant sold his tenant right he should have to pay, as a first charge on the amount it realized, the money he had received from the State in payment of his arrears. Therefore, he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) hoped the Committee would not deem the matter settled by the words the Prime Minister would put on the Paper, but that they would consider it when those words came before them from the point of view he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had put before the Committee.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that before the Amendment was withdrawn, he wished to observe that the difficulty they had in making progress was really owing to their not having settled the principle on which the Bill ought to be passed. He did not, therefore, think a discussion of this kind could be regarded as a waste of time, provided it settled in their minds the principle on which the Bill ought to be carried out. The only objection he saw to this Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) was the difficulty of carrying it out. He believed it to be based upon a just and right principle, and he wished it could be carried out; but the multiplicity of accounts that would be required, and the irritation that would be caused by the misrepresentations that would be made in Ireland as to the intentions of the Government in giving this boon to the Irish tenants, would undo, in his opinion, the advantages of even an excellent machinery for collecting this sum when the tenant right was sold. He wished it were possible for Parliament to mark its sense of the conduct of those tenants who had wilfully refused to pay their debts from dishonest motives. Many tenants in Ireland had made the greatest exertions, not only in a pecuniary sense, but they had incurred the greatest dangers to life, limb, and home in the fulfilment of their duty by endeavouring to pay their rents. He knew, from communications which had been sent to him, that these tenants felt very bitterly the suffering they would have to endure through an indiscriminate distribution of this boon amongst honest and dishonest men alike. He begged to observe to the Committee that the difficulty in which they were arose, in his opinion, from the mode in which this proposal had to be worked. If the Government had proposed to proceed by way of universal loan the difficulty would not have arisen. For his own part, he was in favour not of universal loan, but of taking a small rating, say, a £5 rating, and making the assistance given to tenants who came within that category, who were in difficulties and destitute, and in such circumstances as to be almost paupers—who, in fact, were fit objects for the receipt of bounty—in the nature of a gift; and of giving tenants who were in possession of tenant right—which was an asset of great value, amounting often to several hundreds of pounds—the relief they needed by way of loan just as it had been given to the landlords.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would point out to the hon. Member for Galway that the next Amendment raises the question of loan.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he should not have addressed the Committee another moment if the Chairman had allowed him to finish what he had to say. If the right hon. Gentleman ruled him out of Order, of course he should not continue. He would point out, however, that this was the 1st clause of the Bill, and that, as it contained the great principle of the whole measure, it was almost impossible to confine one's self to the terms of the Amendment, when discussing an Amendment upon it. He should like to ask the Chairman whether it was in Order for the Prime Minister to discuss Amendments which would come on at a later stage in connection with this proposal? The Prime Minister had done so, whether it was in Order or not. The Prime Minister had contrasted two Amendments, and hon. Gentlemen opposite had done so also; therefore, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) did not think—seeing that those hon. Members had been allowed to take that course—that he could be considered as wilfully transgressing the Rules of Debate. ["Oh, oh!"]

THE CHAIRMAN said, it would not be convenient for the hon. Member to go on with the discussion of Amendments other than that before the Committee.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he must complain of the ungentlemanly and ungainly interruptions of the hon. Member for Wexford. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Withdraw!"] What he said was, that to interrupt an hon. Member by an inarticulate sound of that kind was not an act of courtesy which was usual in that House, or usual amongst any Assembly of Gentlemen. Let the Committee take warning from the words which had fallen from the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). The hon. Member had spoken of the Bill as a "Twopenny-halfpenny gift;" and he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) knew how the measure would be represented in Ireland by the hon. Member and his Friends. It would be spoken of as a thing not worth having. The Committee, therefore, should be careful to act in the matter on the right principle. He had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) would withdraw his Amendment. [An hon. MEMBER: He has asked leave to do so.] The right hon. Gentleman was, no doubt, alarmed by what had fallen from the hon. Member opposite, which certainly would have unsteadied his (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) nerves if he had made the proposal. The right hon. Gentleman intended to withdraw his Amendment; but it was to be hoped that, in doing so, he would not abandon the principle in it, which established that a clear distinction ought to be drawn between those tenants who had endeavoured to meet their obligations and those who wilfully refused to do so.

MR. GIBSON said, he only wished to say one word before the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Goschen) withdrew his Amendment. The Prime Minister had made a statement that he (Mr. Gibson) could not follow at the time it was made, and had been unable to follow since, notwithstanding that he himself had an Amendment on the Paper on this subject. It was to the effect that the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) was involved in the Government Amendment. He (Mr. Gibson) desired to point out, before the Amendment was withdrawn, that the Government Amendment had nothing to say in bar to an Amendment like that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, or any other mode of dealing with the grant made to the tenant. The Amendment proposed to make a charge that should not come into force, unless and until the tenancy was sold, which, of course, would only occur in the case of a limited number of tenants in Ireland. The majority of the Irish tenants were not going to sell their holdings—they remained on their farms from generation to generation; therefore the Amendment would not meet with violent objection from any part of Ireland. It was obvious that the Prime Minister's Amendment could not be inconsistent with, or have anything to say to, any Amendment to be proposed to deal with this question by way of loan.

MR. MAGNIAC said, that the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) would more properly come on when the Amendment of the Prime Minister was discussed. Therefore, he (Mr. Magniac), who wished to make a few observations upon the matter, would defer his remarks until the Prime Minister's Amendment was before them.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he proposed to withdraw the Amendment; and, in doing so, he wished to say that he did not entirely agree with the view of this matter taken by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson), which was that the Prime Minister's Amendment did not touch the Amendment before the Committee. His (Mr. Goschen's) Amendment would deal with all cases of tenant right, if it had not been treated as an asset, and was moved in view of the fear that the tenant right would not be treated as an asset; but when the Government distinctly said that tenant right was an asset, and that the Amendment they would propose would only have the effect of limiting the number of cases that his (Mr. Goschen's) Amendment would deal with, it certainly appeared to him accurate to say that the Prime Minister's Amendment had an important bearing upon this matter.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. ECROYD said, he wished to move, as an Amendment, the insertion of words to the effect that the amount advanced to a tenant to assist him in the payment of his arrears should be deemed to be a debt due from the tenant to the Land Commission, and should be repaid with interest at the rate of 1 per cent per annum, in the prescribed manner, by 15 annual instalments. In the first place, he wished to disclaim all hostility to the helpful purpose of this Bill. He desired to put on record his deep and sincere sympathy with the small and suffering tenants in Ireland, and he could assure hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House—those who claimed to be the special Representatives of the poor tenantry of Ireland—that he should be the last man in the House to move an Amendment of this kind if he did not believe it would give increased efficiency to the measure, and that, in the long run, it would be as much to the advantage of the tenants themselves as to that of the State. He did not lay stress upon his Amendment on the mere ground of abstract principle. The proposal he now laid before them involved, to a very considerable extent, the principle of gift—the gift of a large amount of interest during the term of years over which the loan extended. He thought the discussion which had taken place last evening had been attended with this advantage—that it had opened out to the view of the Committee the series of extraordinary difficulties and inherent objections which existed to the working of this measure; and he believed that, upon consideration, it would be evident that if the Committee should be pleased to adopt his proposal, it would, in a great measure, remove those difficulties and objections. Now, it would be manifestly just as necessary that a close and searching inquiry should take place into the question of the tenant's inability to pay, in case of the adoption of this provision, as under the proposal of absolute gift. But there would be this difference—in that doubtful class of cases as to which it might be very difficult to ascertain whether they ought or ought not to be admitted, the adoption of this provision would allow them to be dealt with on the most favourable conditions, because the advance of the money would then no longer involve the loss of a large amount of capital by the State. Again, he would point out that the adoption of the Amendment would remove a serious evil which resulted from absolute gifts of capital on the part of the State. About 20 years ago he (Mr. Ecroyd) was Chairman of one of the local Committees for the distribution of the charitable fund so nobly raised by the people of this country in aid of the people in Lancashire reduced to distress by the Cotton Famine. Some remarkable points forced themselves at that time on the attention of the Committee. In the first place, there was great difficulty in getting proof of the absolute necessity of those who made application for relief; and it was found almost impossible to defeat the continual attempts that were made to obtain the benefit of the fund by persons for whom it was never intended. They had then to deal with one of the most proudly independent populations in the Kingdom; and, notwithstanding that the Committee discharged with the greatest care the duties cast upon them in connection with the fund at their disposal, they were, unfortunately, unable to avoid breaking down the independence of many of the people, and so leaving in the minds of a considerable section of the labouring population the evil habit of dependence on public or private charity, rather than their own savings, to meet any future emergency. Further, the Committee received the testimony of the most respectable portion of the working class themselves that the breaking down of the distinction which ought always to be maintained between those who were provident and honest and those who were the reverse had implanted in the minds of the people that reliance on external aid to which he had referred, and had lamentably discouraged the habit of saving. But what impressed him most was the strongly expressed opinion of many such persons that this result would not have followed if the Committee had proceeded from the beginning on the principle of loan. Now, the proposal he made would place an obstacle in the way of a man selling his tenant right and carrying the proceeds away to America or elsewhere without discharging his just debts; whilst the incoming tenant, who might probably have purchased the tenant right with borrowed money, would almost certainly stand in a worse position than the former tenant occupied 12 months or two years ago. The effect of his Amendment, however, would be to compel such a man to repay the money advanced by the State before he could betake himself to a foreign country. It would also, to some extent, remove the temptation to improvident dealing with the tenant's security, for there would be an existing charge upon it which must be considered by the usurer, and which would doubtless discourage that improvident contraction of loans on onerous terms, which, they were told, was one of the great obstacles to the well-doing of this class of society in Ireland. With regard to the pressure of other creditors on the tenant immediately after the settlement of arrears with the landlord, he thought a great advantage would be realized by giving the State, as creditor for this loan, a voice in the settlement of the tenant's affairs. Let them examine for a moment the reduction of the charge to be imposed on the State which would follow the adoption of this proposal. They would see that if it were adopted a man who sought the benefit of the Land Act of last year would obtain a reduction of rent, with fixity of tenure, and, in addition, the extinction of his arrears on extremely easy terms—that was to say, in the case of a £20 new holding, by the payment of £21 8*s.* 10*d.* a-year for the term of 15 years. Now, surely, that was not a great acknowledgment to ask from a class of men who, contrary to all the principles of political economy, and contrary to what had ever been done for the trading classes in England and Scotland, had been relieved by the State from a pressure from which they could not deliver themselves. Then, let the Committee look for one moment at the difference which would result to the State, and therefore to the taxpayers, from the adoption of the principle of loan at 1 per cent, to be repaid in 15 annual instalments, as compared with the adoption of the principle of absolute gift. He thought that during the discussions upon this Bill the case of the British taxpayer had received but scanty consideration. They could not for a moment put out of sight the fact that large classes of society in this country—farmers, artificers, and small tradesmen were themselves labouring under a burden of debt incurred during the last five or six unfortunate years which gave them an equal right to claim public assistance if they saw an opportunity to urge that claim with anything like a chance of success. There were numbers of people of slender means who asked how this much-needed relief to the Irish tenant, and that settlement of affairs with the landlords which was so necessary for the peace and order of Ireland, could be given, not only with the least breach of sound principles and public morality, but at the smallest cost to the British taxpayer. He (Mr. Ecroyd) found that, taking the cost of money to the State at 3½ per cent, the loss upon the advance of £2,000,000, to be repaid with interest at 1 per cent as proposed in his Amendment, would be something a little short of £900,000; it would, in fact, be the difference, at compound interest for 15 years, between 1 per cent and 3½ per cent. But if they proceeded on the principle of absolute gift, at the end of 15 years the loss would be, in the first place, undoubtedly, the £2,000,000; and, in the second place, the whole amount of the interest and charges, amounting to, say, £1,350,000, which would bring up the total to £3,350,000. The difference of cost, then, between these two modes of procedure, at the end of 15 years, would be nearly £2,500,000 in favour of the British taxpayer. But did any Member of the Committee believe that this advance would be limited to £2,000,000? If, as he believed would be the case, the advance amounted to £4,000,000, the difference of loss would amount to nearly £5,000,000. There were many interests which demanded consideration in that House. Not only had they to consider the importance of obtaining a settlement in Ireland, but they had to avoid, if possible, the creation of a strong feeling of injustice on the part of the people of this country, who could never be brought to believe they were personally responsible for the state of things which existed in Ireland. Was it not possible to place these advances in the position he had indicated, and, in so doing, really to afford a little wholesome stimulus to the Irish tenantry? No one could believe there would be the least hardship in the small repayment required. If the condition of the tenant were so desperate that they could not reckon on his paying back £1 8*s*. 10*d*. per annum for 15 years, he thought the Committee were setting themselves a hopeless task in attempting to rehabilitate him. There was still one consideration remaining to which he attached great weight, and that was the danger of creating a feeling of irritation and a sense of injustice in the minds of the population of our large towns, who were themselves placed in straitened circumstances from the reduction of wages and the increased difficulty of making profits by retail trade—the great danger of implanting in their minds a feeling of indignation at being called upon to make a sacrifice for people not worse off, and certainly not more deserving, than themselves. Much as everyone would lament the creation of such a feeling between the English and Irish populations of the manufacturing and mining districts in this country, he had reason to know that the fear of it was no chimera, and that there was already great danger of its spread in many towns. He was so profoundly impressed with the importance, both in Ireland and this country, of the adoption of a sound economical principle in making these advances, that he was disposed to hope that the Government would look favourably on the Amendment which he now begged leave to move.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 2, after the word "aforesaid," to insert the words "And such sum shall be deemed to be a debt due from the tenant to the Land Commission, and shall be repaid, with interest at the rate of one per centum per annum, in the prescribed manner by fifteen annual instalments."—(*Mr. Ecroyd.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHILDERS said, no one could object to the spirit in which the hon. Member (Mr. Ecroyd) had moved his Amendment; but he (Mr. Childers) must point out that the speech to which they had just listened was more appropriate to the debate on the second reading of the Bill than the present stage. The Bill was intended to provide for cases which the Act of last year failed to meet, by offering loans to assist tenants in discharging arrears. The failure of the clause referred to was the reason for introducing this Bill; because it was absolutely necessary that the question of arrears should be taken up, and its principle had been adopted by a large majority on the second reading, and confirmed in the discussion upon the question of Mr. Speaker leaving the Chair, which was, in reality, a second reading debate also. Still it seemed only proper, having regard to the fair manner in which the hon. Member for Preston had put forward his views, that he (Mr. Childers) should make some remarks upon the proposal to proceed in furtherance of the principle of loan. He was bound to point out that this very proposal of the hon. Member contained in itself the fatal element of gift to which he (Mr. Ecroyd) was so much opposed, inasmuch as the hon. Member did not recommend that the money advanced to the tenants should be repaid strictly in accordance with the principles which regulate loans. He proposed that the advance should be made with interest at 1 per cent per annum, to be repaid by 15 annual instalments, and he said that the burden which would be thereby imposed on the taxpayer would be something like £900,000, as against £3,500,000, which would be imposed by the plan of the Government. His argument, therefore, simply amounted to this—that a small gift would be less demoralizing than a large one.

MR. ECROYD said, he had not objected to the principle of gift, but to the principle of gift exercised in a demoralizing manner.

MR. CHILDERS pointed out that the hon. Member, in dealing with the Irish tenants, proposed to make them a gift of only one-seventh of the total amount. But, in 1880, certain advances were made to the Irish landlords, with interest at 1 per cent, extending over a period of 35 years, but without interest for the first two years. That was equivalent to a gift of one-third the total amount. The Committee, would therefore, see that, by adopting the principle of part gift and part loan, as proposed by the hon. Member, the Irish tenants would receive one-seventh of the whole amount of the loan, as against one-third received by the landlords at the time referred to. But the main question before them was this—having adopted, on the second reading, the distinct principle that these advances should be made by way of gift, were they now going to retrace their steps, and adopt the measure proposed by the hon. Member for Preston of part-gift and part loan? There was another difficulty which would follow the adoption of the Amendment. Could the Committee conceive that if this principle were adopted it would be possible to limit the amount of advances to £2,000,000? Would it be possible to avoid going the length proposed by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), of making these advances in respect of the whole of the Irish tenants who were in arrear, and not in respect to those alone who were unable to pay? In the former case, it would be necessary to make advances not of £2,000,000 only, but probably of £6,000,000, for it must not be supposed that the Irish people would be satisfied with the extent of the relief proposed to be given. The Government would be pressed to extend the advances from cases of inability to pay to all cases of arrears, and from tenants below £30 value to all tenants, the effect of yielding to which pressure would be to double the amount of advances which it was believed would result from the present proposal. Again, while the Land Act of last Session provided, in the 52nd clause, that the advances therein referred to should be a debt to the State from the landlords—a comparatively small body—the proposal of the hon. Member was to make the tenants debtors to the State for the purposes of this Bill. But, surely, the hon. Member could not have contemplated the effect of making 300,000 or 400,000 tenants direct debtors to the Exchequer? It was practically an impossibility for the State to have on its books from year to year the accounts of some 300,000 or 400,000 tenants. There were so many objections to the proposal of the hon. Member that he (Mr. Childers) could not think it would be adopted by the Committee, especially as the matter had already been threshed out on two previous occasions.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, the only principle affirmed on the second reading of the Bill was that certain advances should be made by the State for the relief of Irish tenants. The House was then precluded from considering the important point now raised, which he (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) trusted, on the present occasion, would receive the attention due to it, particularly as it was distinctly stated by the Government on the second reading that the subject was one that would properly be discussed in Committee. He thought there was much in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) which deserved the full and favourable consideration of the Committee, and which, he was bound to say, would commend itself to the common sense of the country. The Amendment raised, in distinct and unmistakable terms, the issue which the Prime Minister told them, on the occasion of the second reading, was really the main question with regard to the Bill—namely, whether these advances should be made by way of gift from the National Exchequer, or whether they should be made, following ordinary precedent, in the form of loan. He (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) was not surprised that the hon. Member for Preston, who had been so long connected with the mercantile world, and who represented in that House a most important commercial community, should view with suspicion and distrust a proposal which contemplated a free grant from the public funds for the purpose of enabling a limited section of a particular class to get rid of their personal and legal obligations, and which contemplated, besides, the compulsory and general interference of the State between debtor and creditor, irrespective altogether of the special circumstances of individual cases and of the ordinary principles of law. Now, he (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) was far from saying that there was no pressing juncture of affairs in Ireland demanding Parliamentary consideration; nor would he say that, in certain circumstances, it might not only be necessary, but desirable, to make a free grant from the Public Exchequer; but he might be permitted to doubt whether the arguments which had been advanced by Her Majesty's Government on the present occasion were such as to warrant, not only the Committee, but the country, in agreeing to a course so exceptional in its character, and, as he believed, so doubtful in its results. Now, the Prime Minister, in moving the second reading of the Bill, very properly characterized all interference of the nature contemplated by the Bill as exceptional and extraordinary; and he grounded his argument in favour of it on the fact that the circumstances which had arisen were in themselves exceptional and extraordinary. But he (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) would point out to the Committee that the mere occurrence of circumstances in themselves exceptional and extraordinary did not necessarily imply an extraordinary and exceptional course of treatment; and, if that argument was a valid one, it would not only cover the particular remedy now proposed by the Government, but any other proposal, provided only it was, in its character, exceptional and extraordinary. He should like to narrow that issue to a final point by ascertaining what were the circumstances exceptional and extraordinary which would warrant them in proposing State aid by way of a gift. For his own part, he thought they were only justified in doing this when the distress was so widespread as to amount to a national calamity. If that were so, Parliament had already had to deal with circumstances of the kind, and had dealt with them in a particular way; and he was desirous of hearing from Her Majesty's Government the reason which induced them to treat this particular case in a manner different from other cases of widespread distress amounting to a national calamity. Now, the second argument used with regard to this point was that the House had already taken this step. That was the statement of the Prime Minister in May last. Now, in a case of difficulty, it was, no doubt, most important to be able to bring forward precedents, and he was perfectly prepared to admit the force of arguments founded upon them. But he must also point out that it was very difficult to distinguish what were the conditions which went to make up a true and valid Parliamentary precedent? The whole force of an argument founded on precedent depended upon similarity of principle and similarity of circumstances. If the circumstances were the same and the principle different, that could not be quoted as a Parliamentary precedent. On the other hand, if the principles were the same, and the circumstances differed, in that case, also, the force of the argument failed. Now, he was prepared to admit that the circumstances in 1881 and those in 1882 did not differ on any material point; if they differed at all, they differed in degree. But they were asked to take this course because the same principle applied to both years. Now, he thought no better answer could be given to this argument than that used by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself, who said the principle now desired to be applied to the circumstances of 1882 was not the principle of 1881. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), on the same occasion, said that the Arrears Clause of 1881 was—

> "Merely to facilitate the payment of these arrears by means of loans to two parties, who were both agreed, and who made themselves liable for repayment."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxix. 1284.]

Therefore, the argument on Parliamentary precedent entirely failed. With regard to a third argument, which might be classed under the head of theoretical arguments, in favour of the principle of gift, he would point out that there was the important difference in favour of a loan, that, in the latter case, you got something back; while, in the former, nothing was repaid, and the effect was necessarily demoralizing. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had argued in favour of this principle of gift, and what he said appeared to him to be a strong argument now. The words of the right hon. Gentleman were that unless assistance were given to the tenant farmer in the shape of gift—

> "One very great object, if not the chief object, of the Land Act of last year, which sought to meet the case of the poor cottier tenants of the west, could not be attained."—[*Ibid.* 1285.]

He said an argument of that practical nature had much more weight with him than many arguments derived from so-called precedent. The Act of last year was in itself a practical failure, and that fact did not give confidence in the measure now proposed by the Government. It failed, because a large number of persons whom it was intended to help had not been able to take advantage of one of its clauses; those people consequently remained dissatisfied, and Parliament was again asked to deal with the matter. He thought they were bound to give great consideration to the statement of the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) in reference to this matter.

He said that this principle of gift instead of grant would not be taken advantage of in nine cases out of ten by the very class it was proposed to assist. Now, after the failure of the clause of last year, which did not give satisfaction to the great body of smaller tenants, and after the statement of the hon. Member for the County of Cork, whose knowledge of Ireland was not exceeded by anyone in that House, that nine-tenths of the smaller tenants could not avail themselves of this proposal, he thought they had strong ground for pausing before they passed this measure in its present form. He (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) was bound to say that of all the arguments used in favour of the Government proposal that of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) was the least worthy of consideration. The right hon. Gentleman had said that if the principle of loan were adopted, they would have difficulty in collecting money from 300,000 or 400,000 persons as debtors to the State books. But if the mere difficulty of collecting money was to be urged against this proposal, the State might as well give up collecting taxes, or rates, or debts of any sort. The only other point he wished to bring under the notice of the Committee was the consideration of the effect which this gift would have. It had been truly said it would have a demoralizing effect on the tenant; it was against all Parliamentary precedent; it was against the principles adopted by Parliament in dealing with national distress in England; it would cast upon the taxpayers of the country burdens which were unnecessary; and he should not be doing his duty if he did not take that opportunity of protesting against the imposition of such burdens in order to obtain an advantage that he believed to be more than doubtful.

Colonel COLTHURST said, the system of loan, as compared with that of gift, had a manifest advantage. He believed the adoption of that principle would have saved them from the difficulty they were in, and which would every day increase, with respect to the question of tenant right. Nevertheless, he was bound to ask whether it was possible for a Government who had deliberately adopted the system of gift in this Bill, with any sense of self-respect, to take back their measure, and remodel it entirely on the system of loan? He did not think it would be. He did not, however, believe the arguments adduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers), as against loans, were valid; at any rate, they did not carry conviction to his mind. The right hon. Gentleman assumed that an amount of from £4,000,000 to £6,000,000 would be taken up; but he (Colonel Colthurst) had pointed out, on a former occasion, that even on the easy terms he proposed no one would ask for a loan who did not really require it, for the disinclination of the occupiers of land in Ireland to pay any additional annual charge, however small, was notorious; and he believed it would be a perfect guard against abuse. He might observe that the suggestion he made did not lay him open to the charge cast upon him by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), of throwing away public money. But now, however, it was too late to retrace their steps; and he would, therefore, implore the Government not to try to impair that which they had done by Amendments tending to narrow these gifts. If they gave way to these different suggestions as to going into the question of the ability or the inability of the people to pay, and, above all, into the value or part value of tenant right, then the Bill would become not worth the value of the paper it was written on.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he would venture to say, in answer to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers), when the latter said this was a second reading Amendment, that it was pointed out by the Prime Minister on the second reading that the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) did not go against the whole principle of the Bill; he distinctly said, as regards this Motion, that it only affected the charge on the Consolidated Fund, and it was open to consideration in Committee. He had had some little experience of these things, and he entirely agreed in what had been said as to the bad effect of making the advance a gift; and he would venture to say anyone who had dealt with the subject—and he could call on the right hon. Gentleman the

Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) as a witness—must be perfectly aware of the bad economic effect of eleemosynary gifts; but when those gifts were the result, as many hon. Members felt they were, of crime, outrage, and dishonesty, the demoralization would be intensified. But what would be the effect of treating it as a loan? In the first place, the amounts of individual grants would be very small, the average being between £5 and £10. An advance of £10 at 5 per cent would be only 10*s*. a-year for 15 years, and the rent in most cases would be reduced to £7 10*s*., and then the charge would be only 7*s*. on that. How small would be the loss to the tenant, but how great would be the effect! After what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, in a former debate, the latter could not consistently vote against the principle of this Amendment. He (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) remembered, on a former occasion, how, in an eloquent speech upon the Motion for extending the county franchise, the right hon. Gentleman showed what an economic mistake it was; and the demoralization that would follow if people were taught the lesson that they could rely on other resources than their own industry. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General (Mr. Fawcett)—he was not now present—it was difficult to see how he could refuse to support the Amendment, based as it was on a principle he had contended for in one of his books. And the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) should be claimed as a supporter, after the speeches made this year and last year—speeches on behalf of the Government, but in which he admitted the demoralizing effect of gifts such as were now proposed. With the necessity of the Bill he (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) agreed, and he did not oppose it as a whole, though the effect expected from it was, he thought, overrated; but he could not see why small tenants should not be put in a position to take advantage of the Land Act by means of loans. This, it was said, was a supplementation of the Arrears Clauses of the Act of 1881, which it was found did not work; but, granting that, and putting the strongest arguments in favour of the Bill, nothing in those arguments would tell against the proposition which he ventured to make—that the advances should be made half by way of loan and half as a gift. If desirable, the loan might be made collectively to the Union, and not to the individual, and this would do away with any difficulty of collection. Thus the element of gift would be maintained, and the element of gift was all that was settled on the second reading. The argument commonly used, that the Bill dealt with an exceptional case, and that something of this sort was necessary, did not affect the question of loan, and the argument itself was a dangerous one to use. While speaking of limiting the Act, of course he meant as to this clause only; but, while limiting the grants, the Bill might be extended beyond the £30 valuation, and in such cases making a full charge of interest on the loan and no gifts whatever. The effect of the Act might be extended by making the rates of the Union or the barony security; in fact, collecting from the Union where they could not collect from the tenant, and thus they would enlist all the ratepayers on their side. These were suggestions he made with the greatest deference to the Government to consider in the further carrying through of the measure. The number of tenants, they were told, who might be affected would be about 200,000; but how many of these would come under the operation of the Bill? He believed that by no means the larger proportion would. Those must be excluded who could pay, but would not pay; and those would be excluded who, though worthy of help, were unable to pay one year's rent; therefore, a large number would be deducted from the 200,000. It would not be an easy process, and arrears would by no means be wiped off; a large number would remain unsettled. And then he wanted to put another argument before right hon. Gentlemen which, no doubt, they had considered, but not, he thought, sufficiently. They were asking the taxpayers of the United Kingdom to provide a fund to pay off the arrears of certain Irish tenants who, many of them believed, had withheld their rents when they could pay. Now, in England, farmers had had serious losses, and there were considerable arrears, and he thought the Prime Minister stated on one occasion that there was almost as much distress among the English as among the Irish farmers.

However, there was no doubt there was considerable distress in some parts of England, and what would the taxpayers say when they found an addition must be made to their burdens? These English farmers, many of them in distress and in arrears with their rent, had never asked for help from the State; but they had asked that part of the burden of unjust local taxation should be taken off their shoulders. Her Majesty's Government had acknowledged the justice of their demands, and, going further, had promised that in one item—the cost of roads—they would assist them this year; but then, they added, they had not "a shot in the locker" to help them with, and they must put on a tax in some way to enable them to take local taxation off. Were hon. Members to go to their constituents and say—"Her Majesty's Government have not a shot in the locker for you, though they admit you are unjustly taxed; but they have many shots in their locker for Irish farmers who could, but will not pay their rents?" Think of the effect of such a statement on the English taxpayers. He had expressed his opinion that the demoralization that might arise from this measure it was impossible to fathom or describe; but what it was possible to foresee and foretell was, that, as one result, the whole of next Session would be given up to Irish Business, and the Session after; and unless, meantime, there came that change of Government which some expected, further demands would be made—the Labourers' Question, Purchase, Emigration, Leases, and Home Rule would, in consequence, occupy Parliament—["Question!"]

Mr. BRYCE rose to ask if these observations were in Order?

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now going beyond the Question.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, his argument was that they could not measure the demoralization that might ensue in Ireland from the terms of this proposal, but that it was possible to foresee the results that would arise in that House. That was his argument, which he thought was in Order. The effect of the measure would be to encourage demands which year by year would grow larger. For the reasons he had given, he ventured with great deference to ask the Prime Minister, not to say absolutely he would accept the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Ecroyd) or that of his own, which more exactly met the question, but to take them into consideration, and, at the same time, the suggestion to extend the operation of the Bill beyond the £30 limit, making the advances on the security of the Union or barony—that was to say, on the rates of the district.

Mr. ARTHUR PEASE said, they would all be glad if the charges could be met without a call upon the public funds; but as to the Amendment, a few figures would show the position that would be arrived at if it were adopted. About £2,000,000 would be paid to relieve the 200,000 tenants, say, on an average of £10 each. The interest on the loan at 1 per cent, say, would be 1*s.*; that would inflict on the State the duty of collecting 6*d.* every half-year from 200,000 individuals. Then, for the instalment, a further sum of 13*s.* 4*d.*, making 14*s.* 4*d.* a-year; that meant that every half-year the State would have to collect 7*s.* 2*d.* from each of about 200,000 tenants; but a great many of these would have much smaller accounts than that. On an estate with which he was acquainted the average payment of the tenants was £3 10*s.*, and the amount of interest which would have to be collected from these 400 tenants on the estate would be 4¼*d.* every half-year; whereas the redemption money would be about 5*s.*; that would be an increase of the rents on that Irish estate for 15 years of 8 per cent. It had been stated that these insolvent or bankrupt tenants were a class of men who had not paid, and could not pay, their rents; and, under these circumstances, here was a proposal that the State should become the creditor of 200,000 of them, for an increase of their rents by 8 per cent. It seemed perfectly absurd when looked at in connection with these figures, and he hoped the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Ecroyd) would not push his Amendment to a division.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he could not share the confidence of his hon. Friend the Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton), or indulge the hope that by any Amendment they could make this a good Bill; but, at the same time, they might make it a less bad one. The hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) supported the Amendment by his speech; and, while cordially concurring in his premisses, he must altogether dissent from his conclusions. The hon. and gallant Gentleman urged an argument of great power and force in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Preston; but he concluded by declaring against the Amendment, although he entirely agreed with it. [Colonel COLTHURST: No.] Many hon. Members would confirm him (Mr. J. Lowther) when he said the conclusion of the speech was a surprise and a disappointment to the Committee. But his (Mr. J. Lowther's) principal object in rising was to notice a remark made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) with regard to the precedent set by the late Government in making advances to landlords in the autumn of 1879 and the early part of the following year. This was, at the time, generally accepted by both sides of the then House of Commons as a fair financial proposal; and, though it was criticized in some quarters, it was adopted by the Successors of the late Government, and, in fact, continued and extended by them. The right hon. Gentleman said that Parliament advanced money to the landlords on repayments over 35 years, and that, thereby, the landlords were given by way of gift one-third of these advances; and, he said, what would be thought of the even-handed dealing of Parliament, if it turned round and made the advance to the tenants a loan payable in 15 years, thereby making in the form of a gift only one-seventh of the advance? Now, the right hon. Gentleman had not, for the first time, fallen into an error in regard to the scheme of the late Government which was adopted by the present Government. It was not an advance for the benefit of the landlords; it was clearly and distinctly brought before Parliament both by his right hon. Friend the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Stafford Northcote), and by himself, not as a boon for the landlord class, but as a means of relief to the people of Ireland, and mainly of the small tenants. It was an alternative suggested to the minds of the late Government as preferable to the establishment of public works, and it was felt that public money would best circulate through the population if it passed, in the first instance, to the employers of labour and the owners of large and small estates, and it was in no shape or form submitted to Parliament as a boon for the landlords, and that was stated distinctly. He had heard the contrary stated before, in good faith, no doubt, and it had passed uncontradicted as an established fact; but it must be clearly understood that the Government proposed the scheme for the relief of the humbler classes in Ireland. That disposed of the supposed precedent of the Act of 1879-80. But the right hon. Gentleman denounced, or rather took exception to, the introduction of this Amendment, the alternative of a loan, because, he said, the matter should be considered as disposed of at the second reading.

MR. CHILDERS: I said it was not worthy of two long debates, and that we had had one on the second reading.

MR. J. LOWTHER, continuing, said, he hoped it would not be unduly long, but that the discussion would be kept within reasonable dimensions. But with regard to the arguments advanced by the right hon. Gentleman against the Amendment of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), he confessed that, knowing the great ability and skill with which the right hon. Gentleman handled all facts of a financial character, he was grievously disappointed at the argument brought forward. He appeared to consider that affording facilities to persons, reduced to a position of temporary indigence, by offering them loans on reasonable terms, to be repaid over an extended period, when it was hoped prosperity would have returned, was not conferring a substantial benefit upon them. Now, the Committee must have been struck by the arguments of the hon. Member for Preston, and the disinclination of the right hon. Gentleman to face those arguments on their merits; but there was a reason which the right hon. Gentleman might have dwelt on against the Government entertaining any such Amendment as this now brought forward; and, as he (Mr J. Lowther) always was anxious to be considered fair in debate, he would supply the missing link in the right hon. Gentleman's chain of reasons. He would remind the Committee of criticisms on a system of relieving by way of loan from a quarter which he knew had for some time had great weight with Her Majesty's Government. The question of loans was referred to in these terms in a letter which had now become historical—

> "The proposals you have described to me, as suggested in some quarters, as to making loans repayable over a term of years, however many years payment might be spread over, should be absolutely rejected for reasons I have already explained."

Well, these were not fully explained to the House; but this was quoted from the unmutilated copy of a now historical document, which had formed the subject of considerable discussion in and out of the House; and this, he thought, was the only argument that the Government could seriously urge against the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Preston.

MR. TREVELYAN said, this was a debate in which they ought to have short speeches, and speeches that contained arguments on the proposition as to whether this relief to tenants should be given by way of gift or loan. He would do his best to reply in both particulars. The hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick), speaking with some force and feeling, drew a comparison between the early Irish famines and what he called the famine and the distress of recent years. In what he described as a national calamity, the hon. Member said it had not been proposed to relieve the poor Irish by means of gift. He (Mr. Trevelyan) allowed that it was not proposed to do that; but it must be remembered that "man proposes, and God disposes." It was proposed to relieve the sufferers of Irish famines by means of loan. No less than £4,797,000 was lent for the payment of the labouring poor. What was the result? Why this. In the following year an Act was passed, which recited that the failure of the potato crop had been more serious than was at first thought, and enacted that the Board of Works should take account of the funds expended, and that half the amount advanced should be put down to the Consolidated Fund, and thus be remitted. That was what the Treasury hoped, while the famine was still in progress; but the hopes of the Treasury fell very much below the results. Out of the £4,800,000, only £590,000 ever found its way back to the National Exchequer; while nearly £4,200,000 had in the end to be remitted. So much for the precedent, in a great national calamity, of relieving the poor by means of loan and not by gift. In addition to what he had stated, £1,250,000 was lent under the head of Temporary Relief, and £500,000 only was repaid, £750,000 being remitted. After that, he thought the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) would allow that there was, if not in form, yet in fact, a very important precedent for relieving distress by means of gift, drawn from that very period from which the hon. Gentleman challenged the Government to find a precedent. Exactly the same experience as was the experience of the English Government in the famine in 1846 was the experience of the Indian Government in the recent famine. In the case of those districts where there was a land system which, in some respects, resembled that of Ireland, the Indian Government went boldly at once to work. They remitted the Land Tax to the Zemindars, and by them to the Ryots. In the first place, the Government made the remission a loan; but in a year's time they found they could not recover the money, and they remitted the whole sum, exactly on the same principle as the Irish Government attempted to deal with the great remission of tithes in Ireland. £1,000,000 was raised to lend to the owners of tithes in Ireland, and that was to be repaid in five instalments. Parliament thought it would demoralize the Irish tenantry if the money were given in the shape of a gift; but what was the result? The advances under the Act of 1833 amounted to £900,000; and it might be said that none was ever recovered; £12,000 was recovered by the same process by which they were now asked to believe they would recover the enormous number of small sums proposed to be given in the present case. At that time, Parliament, with great wisdom, consented to do that which this Bill asked Parliament to do; they remitted the rest of the sum and made it a gift, and not a loan. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) had referred to the recent loans to landlords in language which brought down upon him severe comments from the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Lowther). The loan to landlords was extended over seven years, because no interest was paid at all for the first two years. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) had said that those loans were not an advance to the landlord, but to the tenant. He (Mr. Trevelyan) did not for a moment dispute that the right hon. Gentleman was quite correct in describing the motives which actuated the late Administration; but he defied the right hon. Gentleman to dispute the fact that, whatever was the primary reason which impelled the late Government to give the money, the result was, the landlords had got the money to spend on purposes which, in the eyes of a good landlord, were, perhaps, the best purposes to which money could be applied. The right hon. Gentleman, with his great knowledge of English Land Law, would not deny that an English landlord would be as much gratified by a present of £5,000 to spend on drainage or other improvements of his property, as by any present given to him for almost any object under the sun. The hon. Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) said a small loss would be imposed on the tenants by this clause—a loss which looked small in the eyes of any hon. Gentleman, but a loss which looked large in the eyes of the Irish tenantry.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he put that small charge against the reduction of rent which had taken place; but if, as he suggested, the interest of the loan were extended to the Union, even that charge would be imperceptible.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was glad the hon. Baronet had reminded him of that, because it would fit in with the argument he was now about to advance. It was exactly by comparing the amount of the burden which this clause imposed with the amount of relief given by the Land Act that he was anxious to show how very large that burden would be. Now, the Land Act of last year was represented on one side of the House as a very great boon to tenants, and on the other side of the House it was sometimes represented as a great injury to the landlord. At any rate, it was agreed that the result was very considerable. Let them see what this result was in the case of some of the smaller holdings. He would take some of the holdings on the West Coast of Galway, and the first one that came under his notice was a holding rented at £6, the judicial rent of which had been fixed at £4 10*s*. Under the Amendment of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), the £6 which would, he (Mr. Trevelyan, supposed, represent the outside sum which would be paid to the landlord under the Bill, would be spread over 15 years without interest, at the rate of 8*s*. a-year—that was to say, the tenant would have to pay 25 per cent upon the advantage which was given him by the Land Act. The rent of the next holding on the list was £5 4*s*., the judicial rent £4; the tenant gained by the Land Act £1 4*s*. a-year; but he would, under the clause of the hon. Member for Preston, pay 7*s*. a-year, or 35 per cent, for the benefit which he got by the Land Act. The former rent of the next holding was £8, and the judicial rent £7. The tenant in that case would have to pay, under the hon. Member's Amendment, 11*s*. a-year, or more than 50 per cent of the advantage he got by the Land Act. And in the next case the former rent was £10, and the judicial rent £9. This was a case in which the tenant would have to pay 13*s*. a-year under the Amendment of the hon. Member, which was equal, so far as he (Mr. Trevelyan) could calculate rapidly, to something like 65 per cent upon the benefits given by the Land Act. That was an enormous percentage on the benefits of the Land Act, which had been referred to by the hon. Baronet the Member for South Shropshire. If, instead of sending a man into the world, for the first time in his life, a free man with a chance before him, they took away from him 50 per cent of the beneficent operation of the Land Act, he (Mr. Trevelyan) believed that the result would be found to be very disappointing. The right hon. Member (Mr. J. Lowther) ended his speech with a quotation which was very interesting, and which came from a very high authority. He (Mr. Trevelyan) ventured to end his speech with a quotation from an authority which, in his eyes, was quite as high an authority—namely, a gentleman he (Mr. Trevelyan) had known all his life (Mr. R. Bagwell, of Clonmel), who had always lived amongst his own people, and who watched with the greatest care all legislation in that House, both remedial and coercive, for the purpose of noting whether or not it would enable Irish landlords to live with comfort and advantage amongst his own people, which that gentleman regarded as an end greatly to be desired by every landlord. These were the last words which Mr. Bagwell sent to *The Times* yesterday—

> "A poor man may honourably take a present from a rich man; but borrowing on sham security savours of swindling. If you wish to demoralize the poor tenant, lend him money, which he never can repay, and make him promise to repay it with interest. I believe the vast majority of small tenants can no more pay arrears incurred before November, 1880, than they can pay the National Debt. A loan would only increase their misery and despair, while a judicious gift might save many and show all that the State means fairly by them."

Mr. GOSCHEN said, his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland had made a very convincing and able speech on this question. An appeal had been made from the other side to hon. Members on this side, whether anything could be more demoralizing than an eleemosynary gift to the tenants of Ireland? He (Mr. Goschen) agreed with his right hon. Friend who had just sat down that if there was anything more demoralizing than an eleemosynary gift it was a sham loan. They had got to look at the matter from two points of view—namely, how far this Bill was demoralizing to the people, and how far it was demoralizing as a precedent in our general legislation. While he (Mr. Goschen) thought it wholly improper that they should, as a Parliament, make gifts, he should view with great alarm the making of loans at an interest of 1 per cent. They had already seen the consequence of a loan at 1 per cent made to the landlords by the late Government. It was quoted as a precedent, and they might depend upon it that if they continued to lend money at 1 per cent they would set up a financial example which would give the greatest possible trouble in the future. It appeared to him that they ought either to make a gift and charge no interest at all, or they ought to charge a fair interest which would be remunerative to the State. It was between these two alternatives they ought to choose. It had been argued by a large number of hon. Members on both sides of the House, and certainly by hon. Gentlemen from Ireland who sat upon the opposite Benches, that the system of loan might have great advantages over the system of gift, inasmuch as it would bring home to the tenant that there was a slight liability incurred in consequence of his not having paid his arrears. But

he (Mr. Goschen) should look upon it as a most dangerous financial precedent to set for the future, if, under any circumstances, they were to have recourse to a sham loan made at a sham rate of interest. On those grounds, he should, whatever view he might take of the system of loan, oppose the Amendment of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd).

Mr. SHAW said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) had characterized the speech of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) as one well fitted for a second reading, and then the right hon. Gentleman himself went on to make a very excellent second reading speech. He (Mr. Shaw) considered that when the Government had adopted the principle of gift, and when that House had also adopted it, the proposal of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ecroyd) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) would go to entirely alter the character of the Bill; and he did not think that they could expect the Government, at that stage, to give up the entire machinery they had provided and adopt the principle of loan. He still continued to think, notwithstanding the excellent arguments which had been used to the contrary, that the system of loan would be better for the tenantry and better for the State. The only reason why he had interposed at this stage of the proceedings was, that he had understood the Prime Minister to intimate that he was prepared to consider the question of loan in certain cases. The Amendment which would come on for consideration by-and-bye, in which the tenant's interest in his holding was to be considered as an asset, changed the whole aspect of the case; and he (Mr. Shaw) thought the view which was put before the Committee some hours ago by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) a very right and proper one. It was, that in cases where this asset was brought up and considered to exclude the tenant from the gift, and where the case was considered a real one, the Commissioners should have power to lend. There was a very great objection on the part of many of the Irish tenantry to do anything which would in any respect pauperize themselves. It was generally supposed that an Irish tenant would grasp at any money that was put before him; but he (Mr. Shaw) would give the Committee an instance of the independence of one tenant, at any rate. When he (Mr. Shaw) was at home the other day, he heard from a land agent that a tenant came up to pay his rent. The landlord said to the man when he presented the rent —"You had better keep this. You will be able to get relief under the Arrears Bill." The tenant asked—"Will it be necessary for me to swear I was not able to pay it?" The land agent said, "Yes." "Then," replied the tenant, "I would not do it." There were many respectable tenants who would shrink from doing anything which would reduce them to the position of paupers; and he did hope that, at a future stage of the Bill, the Government would see their way to be able to bring in a clause which would enable such men to obtain relief by way of loan.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, the difficulty in which they were placed was not indicated by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Shaw), or by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). They said the plan of the Government was, in their opinion, the best that could have been chosen. They thought it would have been better that the system of loan should have been originally adopted, rather than the system of gift; but the Government having proposed the system of gift, and the Bill having been read a second time in that shape, it would be difficult for the Committee to change the whole system, and introduce what the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw) called an entirely different Bill. Of course, the Committee felt there was some force in an argument of that kind, though it did not apply to those who objected as much as they possibly could, on the second reading, against the principle upon which the Bill was framed. He believed that many hon. Gentlemen, who were disposed to agree in the view he took, were precluded from voting with him on the second reading, because they said—"If we do so, we shall, in fact, prevent the Bill proceeding further." Hon. Gentlemen were also swayed by the argument which he (Sir Stafford Northcote) thought was used in the course of the second reading debate, that, after all, the question of gift *versus* loan was not one to be decided upon the second reading. It was not one forming the essence of the Bill; but it was a question which might and ought to be discussed in Committee. Now, when they got into Committee, the Government said—"Oh, no! you've missed your opportunity, because the House has decided upon the machinery to be employed in the Bill." He would not charge his memory with all the expressions used; but it was the tone of the debate on the second reading which tended very much in the direction he had described. He did not consider that anything had been said in support of the principle of gift which did not apply to the principle of loan. They were told that the loans would be of such small amounts individually, that the interest upon the advances would be so small, that it would be hardly worth while to go to the expense of collecting it for the period of 15 years, or for any other period. An argument which had always been used by Gentlemen who took an interest in the condition of the small occupiers of Ireland—an argument which had always been used by those who desired the small holders to become proprietors—had been, that they would be pleased to gain this position on the terms of a loan being made to them, which loan they would be proud to repay. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), who knew a great deal about the true condition and spirit of a large portion of the people of Ireland, had said that many of them would be honourable, and anxious to discharge every obligation they might incur in the shape of a loan, and that they did not wish to be pauperized. He (Sir Stafford Northcote) did not see why they should not in this Bill adopt a plan which would have the effect of putting the people, so to speak, on their mettle, and inducing them to make those repayments in an honest manner, and deliver them from feelings which were said would be painful to a large number of them. If the principle of loan were adopted, they would get applications from the better class, rather than from the worst class, whom they now heard were the persons most likely to get the gift. The Committee were told again that if they gave a loan at a lower rate of interest than the market rate they were really making a gift, and that if they made a gift at all they had better make it out and out. He (Sir Stafford Northcote) himself saw the greatest difference in the world between a loan and a gift, even if the loan were made without any interest at all. They must remember that they were dealing primarily, at all events, with a fund which was supposed to exist for the benefit of the Irish people. Suppose they gave all that fund to those who happened to be in need at the present moment; suppose they gave it away for the purpose of stopping present claims; what were they to do in the future? If the money was understood to be repaid, though the interest might be sacrificed, the money, at all events, would be returned, and the fund would be available for any future purpose to which it might be thought necessary to apply it. It seemed to him that two courses were open to them—namely, the making of those advances by way of loan, or by way of gift. There were quite as many arguments to be urged against the system of gift as there were against the system of loan and the advantages which would accrue by the adoption of the principle of loan were quite as great as the advantages which would accrue by the adoption of the system of gift. Therefore, he was anxious to support the proposal to make those advances by way of loan, although he cared little whether the proposal was adopted in the form suggested by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) or by the hon. Baronet the Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton). The two proposals were very like, though they differed in respect to the rate of interest. In dividing upon the question they would express their conviction that the principle of loan was that upon which they ought to proceed. They would give effect to the convictions which had been expressed by hon. Members who sat in other parts of the House, though, for some reason or other, they had not thought fit to support the present proposal.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) was mistaken in supposing that the question of gift *versus* loan was one which was reserved for the decision of the Committee. His (Mr. Gladstone's) own declarations, which principally expressed the sense of the Government, were in flat contradiction to what was stated by the right hon. Gentleman. There was not a single word, as far as he was cognizant, which gave the slightest colour to the extraordinary statement of the right hon. Gentleman; but, on the contrary, the basis of the measure on the principle of gift was fully brought out on the second reading, and he remembered insisting, in answer to the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw), from whom he regretted to differ on any Irish question whatever, upon the fundamental distinction which the Government felt bound to make between the plan of loan and the plan of gift. He (Mr. Gladstone) was therefore much astonished that the right hon. Gentleman had entirely misunderstood the whole title under which the Government had pressed this Bill on the House. The right hon. Gentleman had himself moved an Amendment which would fundamentally destroy the Bill in Committee, and that he hardly thought was within the liberty of an hon. Member. He (Mr. Gladstone) rarely heard from a financial authority in that House any statement with greater satisfaction than the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen)—namely, that whatever might be said as to the question of loan and gift, there was one thing that Parliament ought, above all others, to avoid, and that was a sham loan or a gift with the name of loan. That was quite true; and let them see how it applied in the present case. They had passed by a very large majority the preliminary stages of the Bill, it being avowed throughout by the authors of the Bill that it was framed upon the principle of gift; and it having been from the first promulgated that it was a question of gift with compulsion on the one hand, and loan with voluntary acceptance on the other, and after that principle had been so promulgated and so accepted, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ecroyd), in Committee on the Bill, supported by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, made a Motion, the effect of which would be to destroy six-sevenths of the gift, and therefore to destroy six-sevenths of what the House assented to on the second reading of the Bill. He would not say that the introduction of such a Motion was a breach of liberty on the part of an hon. Member; but he thought that if they were to make any progress with Business at all the introduction of the Amendment was a very licentious use of that liberty, especially when the House adopted, after full debate and after the fullest and clearest Notice, and with large majorities, the principle of gift. As between a gift and a loan, and especially a loan which was of an unreal nature, which had been called a sham loan, there was a great difference. To make a gift under the present circumstances was a most serious matter. Nothing but the strongest reasons could recommend it; but it came, if he might say so, honestly before Parliament and the country, and was open to all the objections to it. There was nothing insidious about it. It did not introduce itself under false pretences. It did make away with the ratepayers' money, and it told them so; so that, having fair notice, they knew at once the whole nature of the proposal. But with regard to those sham loans the case was exactly the reverse. They came before the people with the pretence that it was perfectly certain that the money would be recovered. Precedent after precedent was cited to show how the money had not been recovered when loans had been made by the State. But still hon. Gentlemen opposite said—"Oh! that is a different case, and we shall be able to recover it all." In point of financial security, his right hon. Friend (Mr. Goschen) was perfectly right in urging that this was a description of proceeding against which, on principle, they ought to be on their guard, and that the question of gift was one they ought to canvas thoroughly and scrutinize to the bottom, and accept or reject upon its merits. They knew, in regard to it, where they were going and what they were doing; but in the case of a sham loan they had no security whatever. The question raised by the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) was a very serious one, and well deserving the consideration of the Committee. It was with regard to those tenants who were not paupers, but who, notwithstanding, required assistance in the payment of their arrears; and it was a serious matter whether something of the kind suggested by the hon. Member ought not to be provided. He wished to give no adverse opinion on the subject; but, if the proposal was brought up in a proper form, it should have the Government's full and candid consideration. The matter was not, however, at all within the scope of the present Amendment. Regarding the present Amendment, though he did not question the right to put it, he would put it to the Committee whether, having determined, after long debate, to pass this measure upon the principle of gift, they ought to adopt an incidental Amendment that might withdraw six-sevenths of that, which they had already decided on granting?

MR. GIBSON said, that the Amendment under notice was, without exaggeration, one of the most important that could be urged, and it was supported by the gravest arguments. It was impossible to keep back the fact that the Bill mainly depended on the element of gift; and it was impossible for any Ministry putting forward such a proposal not to put it in the most prominent position. Neither was it possible, for those who opposed such a measure, to avoid giving prominence to considerations which they thought made it mischievous and demoralizing. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister used the word "licentious," and by its use had almost exposed himself to a similar epithet; but he (Mr. Gibson) would not use it, with or without reserve. The right hon. Gentleman had, however, put forward the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) as a bright example to be followed as to the argument that gift was better than loan, if the latter was not to be accompanied by substantial interest; in other words, it should be all or nothing. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, upon another Amendment, had contested the policy of making this pure and simple gift, and had suggested an intermediate course by which the tenants and the State would be free from the embarrassment and the demoralizing effect of such a proceeding. What was the effect of the Amendments of the Government and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon? The argument was that if the money was not a gift, it was of very little advantage to say it should be a loan with small interest. He never could see the force of that argument. He had always thought that a loan, even without interest, was a very different thing from a gift; and, certainly, if he were offered his choice of a gift, or a loan without interest, he should not hesitate a moment, and he ventured to say there were very few people who would hesitate. He could see the most extraordinary difference of principle, particularly when the giver was the State, between saying to the people who were unable to pay their debts, "We will give you a free gift," and, "We will give you a loan without interest and on easy terms;" and could see still greater difference when not only was the principle of loan given as an alternative to the principle of gift, but when some interest was to be paid, instead of none. Of course, if anybody went into the market to borrow money, he could not borrow it at 1 per cent, and it was reasonable that some interest should be charged, or, at all events, that if the element of loan was preserved, there should be some consideration given to the question of interest. He ventured to think that tenants would feel a sounder and more wholesome responsibility by accepting a loan as suggested by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) than by receiving a gift which entailed no obligation of any kind; that would certainly have a less demoralizing effect than the present proposal. The hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw), whose opinion upon these matters was entitled to great respect, not only from his vast knowledge of banking affairs, but his special knowledge of everything connected with Ireland and Irish tenants, was strongly in favour of loan as against gift, and he had suggested that possibly there might be some discretion used; that the Government might keep up a gift for the lower classes of tenants and retain the element of loan for the higher class. That was a proposal upon which he (Mr. Gibson) thought the Prime Minister might have spoken with some clearness, and it was a matter which might be understood without the slightest difficulty. He could understand the argument that for a tenant with a valuation of £5 or £10 there might be a gift; and that tenants above that limit should be dealt with by loan, on whatever terms of interest or advance the State might think wise or just; that was a clear and intelligible proposition. The Government, however, indicated that that was a proposal upon which they had not been prepared to express any adverse opinion—that it was a serious question, and they would reserve their decision for any proposal that might be made with reference to it. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] Then, it was not easy to understand what the attitude of the Government was. Any proposal on the subject must come from the Government, for it was not competent for any private Member to suggest any increased taxation. The Government had had ample time to consider and reconsider every topic in connection with this question of arrears, and it was obvious that the right hon. Gentleman had thought upon this question a few days ago, and it would appear from the words he used that he was disposed to take a more favourable view of that point; and, therefore, he (Mr. Gibson) would suggest that it was only reasonable that some effect, one way or the other, should be given to his statement, and that he should take the earliest opportunity of indicating "Aye" or "No" with reference to this question. It was the cruellest and the most unsettling thing, in the present state of Ireland, to use vague and uncertain words which might feed hopes which were never intended to be realized. As a matter of simple mercy, it was better to speak definitely, at the earliest possible time when the Government had considered this question. The strong difficulty he felt with reference to this proposal of the Government was this—it gave the highest sanction that was conceivable to the "no rent" manifesto, and that was a very serious thing for the Committee to undertake. Everybody in that House was familiar with the "no rent" manifesto, and they knew its teachings and results, and upon what it rested; and if there was any single measure that could be submitted to Parliament that would recognize and give effect to, and strengthen, and encourage the "no rent" manifesto, and possibly suggest one in the future, it was a Bill such as this, proposing a gift and not a loan to enable tenants to clear off arrears, many of which were added under the operation of that manifesto. That was a question upon which opinion in Ireland was entitled to some respect; and he ventured to say that the real opinion of the vast majority of Irish Members, other than those who represented the Land League, was absolutely opposed to gift and in favour of loan. A Memorial was presented to the Prime Minister some months ago by the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell), signed by 112 Members, suggesting that the question of arrears should be dealt with; but that Memorial never suggested that arrears should be dealt with by way of gift. It suggested the principle of loan, and since then a Memorial signed by several English as well as Irish Members—the Ulster Liberal Members, in conjunction with the hon. Member for the County of Cork, and others on the Government side of the House, whose opinions were entitled to respect — had advised the adoption, not of gift, but of loan. That was a matter which was certainly entitled to much consideration, and he was not disposed to lessen the suspicion with which he regarded this proposal, when he found that the sole Representatives from Ireland who supported gift were the Representatives of the Land League; and he could not regard, without the gravest apprehension, legislation which he believed was demoralizing in its teachings and tendencies, and which would not attain the permanent happiness and prosperity of the country.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, as he intended to vote against the proposal, and yet had always been in favour of the principle of loan and not of gift, he wished to explain why he adopted that course. When once the responsible Government had come forward with a proposal to give money in Ireland, it was impossible to propose that the money should not be a gift, but a loan. By the proposals which had been sanctioned by the Committee, people had been told that money would be given to them, and it was now impossible to hark back and make the advances as loans. He wished the Committee to consider in what a singular way matters were dealt with in the House of Commons. They did those things which they ought not to have done, and they did not do those things which they ought to have done. The legitimate occasion for gift was the time when the crops failed and the people were starving; and he felt convinced that there was no example in the history of this country, or of any other country, of a State endeavouring to obtain the repayment of advances of that kind during a time of famine. The money advanced for the purchase of seed to enable the people to cultivate their ground was an instance of a sham loan, for what had happened? Some of the Irish Members had warned the House, but the House and the Government never listened to them. They told the Government then in power that the money advanced for seed ought to have been made a gift, and not a loan; but the House and the Government refused to take that course, and made the advance a loan. The result was that that money had become a sham loan, and the Government had not been able to collect it. On the other hand, they had given a loan to the landlords at 1 per cent interest; the Irish Members objected to that; but the present Government, when they came into Office, did exactly the same thing, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the Irish Members, they advanced another £750,000 of Irish money in that way.

MR. GLADSTONE: We did that, as we considered, in fulfilment of an engagement, and not as a voluntary act.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he did not think that the Government had, on any other occasion, pretended such a fulfilment of an engagement. The money advanced was absolutely contrary to Act of Parliament. There was never any engagement, and the Government had to pass another Act of Parliament to deal with the loan. There was no engagement whatever, and the simple explanation was, that such a large number of applications came in, that the Government said it would be very inconvenient to stop the advances, and they were in honour bound to continue them, as their Predecessors would probably have made the advances. To do what? To make what he maintained was a profligate use of money which belonged to the Irish people. The Irish Members had asked the Government to extend these loans to tenants, but the Government and the House refused; although, if they had acceded and advanced money to the tenants, the tenants would not have been in their present position. They would have been able to pay their rents, and to cultivate their holdings, and there would have been none of these disputes as to loan or gift. The difficulty of collecting was no valid objection to loans being advanced to Irish tenants; because there had been abundant examples of small loans, and it was found that no money was more easily collected, or more honourably repaid. Had the Committee forgotten the Fishery Loans, which were very small sums, advanced to the very poorest class, and which were collected with the greatest ease, and repaid with the most unswerving fidelity? Who did not know that the banks in Ireland advanced loans of extremely small amounts? Very often the bills were for about £5, and there was no security better than they were for money advanced to poor people. When the House refused to recognize that the Irish tenants had repaid these small sums, how were the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act to be carried out? Under those circumstances, although he should vote against this Amendment, on the other hand, he hoped the Government would extend the principle of loans to holdings above £30 valuation.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON said, that, although in favour of loan instead of gift, he felt that it was now too late to ask the Government to alter what they considered the vital part of the Bill; and his anxiety, at the present time, was to see the Bill passed in the most comprehensive shape, in order that it might attain the objects the Government had in view. On the subject of sham loans, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had brought forward the case of £4,000,000 advanced at the time of the Irish Famine. That money was advanced on the security of public works. Those works were obsolete now, and were no security whatever; but he would ask the Committee to compare that security with the security of the tenant right in Ulster, and to remember that the tenant's interest, upon which the money would be advanced, was equal to the fee-simple of the landlord as security. If the tenant's interest was to be taken into account as an asset so far as the North of Ireland was concerned, this Bill would be of no practical value. There were, in the North of Ireland, struggling tenants deep in arrear, who yet would not apply for a loan; and he agreed with his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) that it was the business of the Government to bring in an Amendment themselves, dealing with this question of allowing tenants who would not ask for a gift to get a loan. In Ulster there were more evictions than in any other Province in Ireland; and the struggling tenants of Ulster, who had endeavoured to pay their way, were entitled to consideration, and to receive loans when gifts were barred, by an Amendment proposed by the Prime Minister, providing that the tenant right should stand in the way of loans.

Mr. PARNELL said, he did not believe that there were many tenants in Ulster, or anywhere else, who, being unable to pay their rents, would refuse a gift and prefer a loan. Human nature was the same all the world over, and he had not found, either in Munster or Ulster, any tenants who were not willing to take a gift in preference to a loan, if they could get it. He denied that there was the slightest foundation for the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson), that the tenants who obeyed the "no rent" manifesto were the tenants who would benefit by the Bill. On the contrary, the tenants who would benefit by the Bill would be those who were unable to pay, and who, consequently, whether there had been a "no rent" manifesto or not, would have paid nothing, and would be still unable to pay. In many cases in the West of Ireland, particularly in Mayo, he found that the small tenants had made payments on account of their rents, and had not obeyed the manifesto, but who were being evicted, because they could not pay the balance of their arrears. So far from the "no rent" manifesto tenants benefiting by the Bill, he believed it would be quite the reverse. The principle upon which the Bill was based was *bonâ fide* and honest. It was not brought forward by, or in connection with, the Land League, and it was well known that many of the extreme leaders of the Land League in Ireland were very much opposed to the Bill, because they believed it would place in the pockets of the landlords a large amount of arrears which they otherwise would never have recovered. They believed that, in a great many cases, the landlords, if they could not recover the arrears, would eject the tenants; and it was to avoid the misery and suffering that would result in such cases, that he, and his hon. Friends, had thought it right to support the Bill. He did so from no Land League point of view, and if the right hon. and learned Gentleman attempted to mislead the Party behind him by trying to persuade them that he knew the truth himself, it would be a case of the blind leading the blind, which would probably result in both falling into the ditch. He thought it would be prudent, and would conduce very much to the restoration of order in Ireland, if tenants above £30 valuation, who proved their inability to pay, were permitted to borrow from the State at a low rate of interest; but he would not interfere with the tenants below that amount. He believed that the vast majority below £30, who were unable to pay their rents, were so harassed and so depressed that, if they accepted loans, they would accept them with the intention of not repaying them. They looked upon these arrears of rent as an unjust exaction; and he thought that if the Committee changed its mind now, at the last moment, and forced upon this pauperized class a loan instead of a gift, the taxpayers of this country would deserve not to have any of the money repaid. The case of the tenants above that class was entirely different; but he should not be disposed to go so far as the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) and to ask the State to convert itself into a vast bank, and advance money to every tenant who, perhaps, found it temporarily inconvenient to pay. The Government might retain the condition that there should be proof of inability to pay in the case of loans as in the case of gifts, and if they gave to the tenants above £30 the privilege of borrowing from the State, they should maintain that condition with those tenants who proved their inability to pay.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 167; Noes 268: Majority 101.

AYES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Archdale, W. H.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaine, J.
Christie, W. L.
Cole, Viscount
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Digby, Col. hon. E. T.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Elliot, G. W.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Maj.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Filmer, Sir E.
Fitzpatrick, hn. B. E. B.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Gorst, J. E.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, E. W.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Knowles, T.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Macartney, J. W. E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, C. W.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Murray, C. J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Noel, rt. hon. G. J.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Paget, R. H.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peek, Sir H.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Schreiber, C.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hon. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, rt. hon. Col. T. E.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tottenham, A. L.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W. E.

Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wynn, Sir W. W.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.
Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

NOES.

Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Baring, T. C.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Butt, C. P.
Buxton, F. W.
Byrne, G. M.
Caine, W. S.
Callan, P.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Childers, rt. hn. H.C.E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Col. D. La T.
Corbet, W. J.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.
Davies, W.
Dickson, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dillon, J.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ferguson, R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hon. H. W.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Givan, J.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Gordon, Sir A.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grant, A.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grenfell, W. H.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Healy, T. M.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Holms, W.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, C.
James, Sir H.
Jardine, R.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, rt. hon. W. M.
Johnson, E.
Kinnear, J.
Laing, S.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Leatham, E. A.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Leeman, J. J.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Long, W. H.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lyons, R. D.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Coan, J. C.
Macfarlane, D. H.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Magniac, C.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, E.
Martin, P.
Maskelyne, M. H. Story-
Mason, H.
Matheson, Sir A.
Maxwell-Heron, J.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Muntz, P. H.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Major F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Shaughnessy, R.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Peddie, J. D.
Peel, A. W.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Porter, A. M.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, R.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsay, J.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Russell, Lord A.
Rylands, P.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Sexton, T.
Sheil, E.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Slagg, J.
Smith, E.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

QUESTION.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked, Whether any further information as to Alexandria had been received?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the only telegram we have received is one dated 2.20 P.M.—

> "This morning, at 10.30, the *Inflexible* and *Téméraire* fired three shells into Fort Moncrieff, Ras-el-Tin. No other ships engaged. Further operations suspended on flag of truce being hoisted at the arsenal. Gunboat, under flag of truce, proceeded, and remains. *Achilles* arrived."

House adjourned at one minute before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 13*th July,* 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment * (192).
Second Reading—Corn Returns (No. 2) (187).
Report—Judgments (Inferior Courts) * (110).
Third Reading — Stolen Goods * (185), and *passed.*

NEW PEER.

Sir Harcourt Van den Bemp de-Johnstone, Baronet, having been created Baron Derwent, of Hackness in the North Riding of the county of York—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I wish to ask the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he can give the House any information as to the terrible events now taking place at Alexandria?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My Lords, all the telegrams we have received at the Admiralty from the Admiral and from his Secretary have been communicated to the Press; but perhaps it would be better that I should inform your Lordships, in some consecutive order, of the telegrams we have received since the last information I communicated to your Lordships. On Tuesday night we received a short telegram from Sir Beauchamp Seymour himself, saying that he had attacked the batteries in the morning, silenced the forts, and that a landing party from the *Invincible*—the party, it appears from a telegram from the Secretary, consisted of 12 officers and men—had burst three guns, and spiked six in Fort Meks. He also sent a nominal roll of the casualties. On Wednesday, we heard that, at half-past 10, the *Inflexible* and *Téméraire* each fired three shells into the Moncrieff Battery, at Ras-el-Tin. No other ships were engaged. There was no response from the shore, and at noon further operations were suspended, in consequence of a flag of truce having been hoisted at the arsenal. One of our gunboats, with a flag of truce, proceeded there to communicate. The terms demanded by the Admiral of the Military Commandant were the same as those at first demanded—namely, that the forts on the Isthmus and those commanding the entrance to the harbour should be temporarily surrendered for the purpose of disarmament. These terms, which your Lordships will observe were most moderate under the circumstances—the disarmament having practically taken place by the guns of the Fleet—were refused, and the flag of truce struck.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: How long did the flag of truce continue flying?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: From 12 to 3 o'clock. As far as I can ascertain, the time was somewhere about three hours. One shot was then fired by us into the lines at Meks, which are about four miles to the west of the town. On this, the flag of truce was hoisted again, and our fire ceased, and has not since been resumed. This morning we received the following telegram from the Admiral:—

> "Immense conflagration in Alexandria last night. Forts apparently abandoned, and entire garrison withdrawn under flag of truce, leaving

convicts to pillage and fire the town. *Invincible*, *Monarch*, *Penelope*, and gunboats inside harbour. Other iron-clads under weigh off the New Port."

It seems that the soldiery, having released the convicts, left their fellow-countrymen to be pillaged and murdered. There is no reason to suppose that the conflagration arose from the fire of the ships. In point of fact, during the whole of yesterday only seven shots were fired; and, so far as we can judge, it is in the highest degree improbable that any of those shots could have caused the conflagration to occur. The Queen having commanded me to acquaint the officers and men of Her Majesty's approval of their conduct on the 11th, and to inquire as to the condition of the wounded, the reply of the Admiral's Secretary to-day is that, as far as he could learn, they were doing well. The answer to-day to an inquiry as to the safety of the Khedive is that nothing certain is known; but he is believed to be at Ramleh, where the Turkish steam yacht is anchored, apparently waiting until the weather will allow him to embark. There was a very heavy sea yesterday off Alexandria, which has made communication between the Admiral and the telegraph ship, the *Chiltern*, which was lying some five miles from Alexandria, difficult, and that will quite account for the infrequency of the communications that we have been able to receive from the Admiral. The *Chiltern* is now being moved into, or quite near to, the harbour. The telegrams received from time to time have been from the Admiral's Secretary, who has sent us what he has been able himself to observe from the *Chiltern*.

The Earl of CARNARVON: The telegrams my noble Friend has just read say nothing with regard to the terrible report circulated in some of the newspapers as to the massacre of the European and Christian population. It would be very satisfactory to the House if the noble Earl could add anything in disproof of that statement.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK: I have read to the House the whole of the official information which we have received from Alexandria. Her Majesty's Government have no other knowledge than that which other Members of your Lordships' House have respecting the report to which my noble Friend has referred.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: Is it a fact that a portion of the town was set on fire on Tuesday by the fire from the ships, and has the noble Earl any knowledge that the fire was extinguished?

The Earl of NORTHBROOK: We have no knowledge of any portion of the town having been set on fire by the fire from the ships. No information to that effect has been given to us. It appears to me, on looking at the chart and consulting with the Naval authorities, that Sir Beauchamp Seymour has taken, in the operations he has carried on, every possible precaution to prevent his guns having any effect upon the town of Alexandria. I should say it is not probable that any fire which has taken place could have seriously damaged the town. The Palace, doubtless, was set on fire by the ships, because it is situated close to the Ras-el-Tin Fort.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government are prevented by any diplomatic engagements from landing troops for the purpose of taking possession of the forts and maintaining order?

Earl GRANVILLE: I do not think we should be debarred from taking steps in that direction, and we are quite ready to do so. Instructions have been given with regard to landing troops. Assistance of that kind will be given if it is required.

Earl DE LA WARR asked whether the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria by British ships took place with the concurrence of the other Powers; and whether it was true that the Porte had continued to protest against such a course?

Earl GRANVILLE: In answer to the noble Earl, I have to state that Her Majesty's Government consider that the exceptional measure taken by the Admiral in self-defence is quite separate from the general question of restoring order in Egypt, which is the subject before the Conference at Constantinople. We have no reason to believe that any of the Great Powers take a different view from ourselves in that respect. The Sultan has made some remonstrances; but they have been based on the information he has received from Alexandria, and on the assurances which were given that no preparations were going on, and that the Egyptians were not arming the forts. That information and those assurances have been proved to be quite incorrect.

CORN RETURNS (No. 2) BILL.

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

(NO. 187.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD SUDELEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: The Bill to which I have to ask your Lordships to give a second reading is one of a very technical character, and is intended solely to amend the machinery by which corn averages were determined, and about which complaints have been made for some years by agriculturists. The Bill does not interfere in the smallest degree with the Tithe Settlement of 1836, and avoids all proposals for the disturbance of that measure. What it is designed to do is by improving the machinery of the Corn Acts to obtain a proper Return of actual prices from fairly representative market towns; so that there can be no doubt that *The Gazette* averages are fair representations of the average current prices of English corn sold in the markets. The chief provisions of the Bill are—First (under Clause 4), to give power to the Board of Trade to increase the number and alter the market towns from which the Returns are obtained, provided they are not less than 150 or more than 200 in number, so that all important markets may be included, and the quantity of corn on which the price is calculated may thus be increased. The reason for the proposed alteration is owing to the fact that many towns have largely changed their character as market towns for British corn since the present places were selected—principally owing to the great increase of railway communications; and these selected places must, therefore, from time to time, stand in need of revision. Secondly (under Clauses 5 and 6), it proposes to increase the quantity of corn returned, and to secure the fairness of the average by improving the machinery both for collecting returns and for prosecuting defaulters. Thirdly (under Clause 8), as a large amount of corn is now sold by weight, it provides a fair conversion for the returns of prices made by weight, so that the tithes may not be unfairly increased by being calculated on the prices of a measure larger than the Imperial bushel. These weights have been most carefully settled, after consultation with all the best authorities on the subject. It is hoped by this Bill to remedy the three subjects of complaint which have been made of late years—namely, the falling off in the quantity of corn returned; the alleged insufficiency of the quantity returned to give a true average; and the alleged difference which large quantities of corn being now taken by weight instead of measure are supposed to produce. The provisions of the Bill are those which were approved by Mr. Little, one of the Assistant Commissioners, in his evidence before the Royal Commission. It has passed the House of Commons without any opposition, and I trust your Lordships will give it a second reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

LORD DENMAN said, that he was glad that the Bill did not apply to Ireland or Scotland. The averages were a most important subject; and the quantity of wheat grown in England should be known, for the diminution of the growth of corn was very serious. In 1815, when rioters pulled down the house of the Father of the present Viceroy of India, a Relative of his (Lord Denman's) wrote—

> "There is a false notion that Corn Laws tend to starve the people. I have a farm (of 400 acres) on which only enough wheat is grown for the good of the family, so am an impartial judge, and hold a Corn Law to be necessary."

For years such statesmen as Lord Fitzwilliam, and Sir James Graham, and his late lamented Relative, advocated and prayed for a fixed duty as against Free Trade; but it was too long delayed, and the sliding scale, by means of the averages, prevented the country from importing corn, and the farmer from receiving the value of his wheat, because the average price of corn was, by fictitious sales, raised just before the harvest, so as to make the duty low; and at the time of harvest, the price being low, no corn could come in. The late Sir Robert Peel never confessed the failure of his sliding scale, when, apparently, it was at its best; and Lord John Russell, by a published letter, made a fixed duty impossible by that letter dealing with abolition. The late Premier (the Earl of Derby) in 1852 and 1867, alone suggested the practicable course of opening the ports during the potato famine, and waiting to settle the course for the future in calmer moments. In fact, if they forced owners and occupiers of land to turn cornfields into pastures, the growth of corn would be less; and as a good harvest was deemed prosperous, so the dependence on foreign supplies for a larger quantity each year would tend to starve the people.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 13*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.] — Private Bill (*by Order*) — *Third Reading*—Derby Corporation*, and *passed.*

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Turnpike Acts Continuance* [233]; Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns) [228]; Customs and Inland Revenue [140]; Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries) [235]; Isle of Man (Officers) * [238]; Pluralities Acts Amendment [236], *deferred.*

Committee—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [213]—R.P. [*Fourth Night*].

Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (No. 4)*.

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Settled Land (*re-comm.*) [223], and *passed.*

Report — Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) * [195].

Withdrawn — Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention * [20].

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD, R.M.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, In how many counties or districts in Ireland Mr. Clifford Lloyd has been employed in 1881 and 1882; if he can inform the House of the number of outrages, &c. committed in those districts during Mr. Lloyd's magistracy, and for the corresponding periods before he took charge; and, what was the date of Mr. Lloyd's appointment as resident magistrate originally; what were his qualifications; by whom he was recommended; and in what district he first acted?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Clifford Lloyd has been employed in the following districts during the years 1881 and 1882:—Belfast, up to the 22nd of January, 1881; Longford, from the 22nd of January until April or May, 1881; Kilmallock district, County Limerick, from the 10th of May to the 27th of December, 1881, when he was given entire charge of the County Limerick as special Resident Magistrate. At the same time he was appointed special Resident Magistrate for the County Clare; and on the 28th of June last he was appointed in a similar capacity for the County Galway. I have endeavoured to obtain a Return of the outrages alluded to in the second paragraph of the Question; but the Inspector General of Constabulary informs me that, as the Constabulary districts are not conterminous with those of Resident Magistrates, the Crime Records in his office do not afford the information asked for. The information could, of course, be obtained from the local Constabulary officers; but it would be a work of much time and labour, which should not, I think, be imposed on those officers, who are already heavily weighted with important duties. Mr. Lloyd was originally appointed on the 19th of February, 1874, to the Ballynahinch district, in the County Down. There are no official records to show by whom he was recommended, or what qualifications were submitted to Goverment at the time. It appears, however, from a Return now being prepared in pursuance of an Order of this House, that he held various legal and executive offices in British Burmah; that he passed "with credit" lower and higher standards in law, as laid down by the Government of India; and that he also passed in 1873 the examination for call to the English Bar.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — TYRONE COUNTY.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the Catholics of Tyrone number about two hundred and sixteen thousand, and those of other religions about ninety-one thousand; whether in this county there are nearly one hundred and thirty magistrates, of whom only two are Catholics; and, whether, as there are many Catholics in the county qualified to act as magistrates, the Government will consider the advisability of recommending the Lord Chancellor to select them for future appointments?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Roman Catholic inhabitants of Tyrone number under 110,000, and those of other religions number 87,916. The total number of County Magistrates is, I have reason to believe, correctly estimated. The Government does not interefere in the appointments of County Magistrates. They are made by the Lord Chancellor, who usually acts on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of the county. Only one Roman Catholic gentleman has been recommended by the Lord Lieutenant of the County Tyrone for the commission of the peace this year, and he has been appointed.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONS.

Mr. LEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the three sub-commissions appointed on the 10th of November last will be retained beyond the year of their appointment?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I cannot at present answer this Question. No definite conclusion has yet been come to on the matter.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. LUKE ARMSTRONG.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Luke Armstrong, of Tubbercurry, county Sligo, a suspect in Enniskillen Gaol, has had two days' solitary confinement inflicted upon him by the Governor of that Gaol, without any cause assigned; and, if so, what was the cause, and why it was not stated to Mr. Armstrong before the infliction of the sentence; whether Mr. Armstrong has now been over six months in gaol, to the great injury of his business, on suspicion of inciting to intimidation; and, whether the Lord Lieutenant has reconsidered his case, as promised on the 3rd instant; and, if so, with what result?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is the case that Luke Armstrong, now detained in the Enniskillen Gaol, has been punished by stoppage of exercise and association for two days, having been charged by one of the warders with pulling down the stove pipe in a room used by the prisoners under the Protection of Person and Property Act. He was duly informed of the charge against him; has sworn an affidavit denying it; and upon his application the Inspector of the Prisons Board is to hold a sworn investigation into the matter. He has been in detention since the 2nd of January last on reasonable suspicion of intimidation to prevent payment of rent. His Excellency considered his case on the 3rd instant, and decided that he could not at present order his release.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—"SUSPECTS"—CO. SLIGO.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many suspects, arrested in the county Sligo, charged with no graver offence than intimidation or inciting thereto, continue still in custody; whether there are any peculiar causes, either in the condition of the several districts from which these suspects came, or in that of the county of Sligo, which oblige the Lord Lieutenant still to defer the execution of the pledge, given by the First Lord of the Treasury ten weeks since, with reference to the early release of persons not suspected of direct association with crime; and, whether the Lord Lieutenant, in now considering the cases of suspects of the farming class, will take into account the great importance to their families and themselves of releasing them in time to conduct the harvest work upon their holdings?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In addition to Luke Armstrong, alluded to in the last Question, there are three persons in custody from the County Sligo, who are declared to be suspected of no graver offence than intimidation against the payment of rent. The Lord Lieutenant is considering their cases, and will take into account the importance to themselves of their being at large at this season of the year.

MALTA—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If the Colonial Office has received a letter signed by six out of the eight elected members of the Legislative Council of Malta, expressing an intention of leaving the Council, on account of the arbitrary acts of the Government, and the continued neglect of the Petitions of the Maltese people for reforms in the administration; and, if Sir Victor Houlton, the Chief Secretary, is opposed to these reforms; and, if Her Majesty's Government intends to take any steps in the direction desired by the resigning members of the Legislative Council?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The letter has been received; but it does not express an intention of leaving the Council at present. A reply will shortly be sent, repeating the desire which Her Majesty's Government have constantly expressed, that full attention should be paid to the wishes of the elected members in all purely local matters. As to the Chief Secretary, whatever his private views may be, he has no responsibility apart from the Government of which he is a Member, and I cannot enter into any discussion as to his opinions. I will very shortly lay on the Table of the House the answer to the letter above referred to, as well as an answer sent to a Petition received last year, and they will show the views of the Government.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. MEEK.

Mr. BRODRICK asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Mr. Meek, who was appointed a Sub-Commissioner under the Land Act mainly on the recommendation of Sir William Conyngham, took a prominent part in organizing and accompanying to London a deputation from the Irish Estate of the Drapers' Company, to urge upon their Court the appointment of Sir William Conyngham to the post of agent for the said estate then vacant; and that Sir William Conyngham was shortly afterwards nominated to the office; and, whether the testimonial given by Sir William Conyngham was written previous to or subsequent to the interview referred to?

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, before the right hon. Gentleman answered, he should like to ask the hon. Member what grounds there were for bringing so grave a charge against a gentleman occupying so high a position in his (Sir Hervey Bruce's) county?

Mr. BRODRICK said, he simply had to state that the information as it stood in the Question was supplied to him from a trustworthy source; and he thought it desirable, under the circumstances, to put the Question, in order to afford an opportunity for an explanation.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Meek was not appointed an Assistant Commissioner mainly on the recommendation of Sir William Conyngham. I quoted Sir William Conyngham's testimonial to show the opinion held of him by a leading Conservative in the County Derry. That testimonial is dated the 1st of April last. I do not know anything about the other matter alluded to in the Question. Mr. Meek was appointed by my Predecessor; and if there is any objection to the appointment, I think it ought to be brought before the House in a shape which will enable the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) to explain an appointment of a person as to whose qualifications he was satisfied. As there is a feeling about Mr. Meek sitting on a Sub-Commission with a gentleman before whom he had given evidence as a valuer, I expect that the Land Commissioners will appoint him to another district after the Vacation. I may mention that no complaint has been made as to Mr. Meek's conduct as Sub-Commissioner in any quarter.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the holding occupied by Mr. Thomas Meek contains more than 45a. 3r. 29p at a rent of £39 10*s.* per annum; whether the Government valuation of same is £40 15*s.* for the land, and £3 for the house and offices; and, whether he is the *bonâ fide* tenant of any other holding, or part of a holding, not comprised in the farms of other tenants, who have temporarily sublet portions to him at conacre rents?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have learned from the Land Commissioners, by telegraph, that they have received a letter from Mr. Meek, stating that his holding is correctly described in the Question. He is uncertain whether the division of the valuation between land and buildings is correctly stated, as he has not the figures at hand. He states that he is the *bonâ fide* tenant of another holding taken from a head landlord for a term of years at full letting value—and further, that he has often rented land for one year for growing flax and for grazing—he had 70 acres in this way last year, but has none at present.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — "DIEGEN *v.* ADAIR"—MR. JOSHUA CLARKE, COUNTY COURT JUDGE OF QUEEN'S CO.

Mr. BRODRICK asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the remarks of Mr. Joshua Clarke, Q.C., County Court Judge of Queen's County in the land case of Diegen v. Adair, tried before him June 13th, as reported in the "Irish Law Times and Solicitors' Journal:"—

> "I know nothing about land. If I went out in the fields to look at them and had some sods cut up, I would not be one bit wiser than are some of these land commissioners. I would take Griffiths' valuation and the landlord's rent. Suppose Griffiths' valuation to be £20 and the rent £30, I would simply split the differences and settle the new rent at £25, thus giving half the valuation to the tenant. That is my fixed rule and one I will not depart from, and it is just as well you should all know it in case I come here again;"

and, what steps he will take to secure the proper administration of the Land Act in cases which may come before Mr. Joshua Clarke, Q.C.?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson), in reply, said, he had not had an opportunity of seeing the number of *The Irish Law Times* in which the remarks in question were said to be reported; but the County Court Judge had favoured him with a statement of the facts, which he certainly should not have thought of calling for. His statement was shortly this. At the last Abbeyloix Quarter Sessions there were three small cases in which the tenants sought for a reduction of rent. As that depended on an inspection of the land, the Judge stated that he himself was not a good judge of the value of land, and suggested to the solicitors for the landlord and the tenants whether they could not come to some arrangement. They professed themselves willing to do so. He said—

> "I suppose the tenant will want Griffith's valuation, and I suppose the landlord considers the present rent a fair one. Now, gentlemen, if you put your heads together don't you think you could split the difference?"

Being sensible men, they did split the difference, and the parties on both sides expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the arrangement made. He had no further answer to give.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—REPORTS OF OFFICIAL VALUATORS.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the report of the official valuator appointed by the Commissioners under the Land Act to assist them on the hearing of appeals is a public document, accessible to both parties to the appeal, and their counsel, and produced in Court for the information of all parties, as well litigants as judicial; and, whether, if this be the case, he will state to the House what objection there is to including the information given by these reports in the returns of appeal and judicial rents recently asked for?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Land Commissioners inform me that the Reports of their official valuers are considered public documents after they had been handed to counsel on the hearing of an appeal and when the evidence is closed. They state that there is strong objection to including the information given in a valuer's Report in any Return to Parliament of judicial and appeal rents, as such information would be altogether misleading. The valuer values a holding as it stands, without reference to the provisions of the Land Law Act; whereas the Commissioners are bound to apply the principles laid down in the Act to the case before them, and to take into consideration all the evidence given—evidence of which the valuer is necessarily ignorant when making his Report. His valuation, taken apart from the provisions of the Act and from the evidence, and so given in a public Return, might produce a totally false impression.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUSPENSION OF SITTINGS.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any truth in a rumour which has been circulated, to the effect that it is proposed to suspend the sittings of the Sub-Commissions under the Land Act, at the conclusion of the present circuits, for a period of several weeks' vacation; and, whether, in view of the fact that the proper season for the inspection of land is when it is carrying the crops, during the long days of summer and autumn, and when the capabilities of land, which is submerged in winter time, can be estimated with the crops or stock upon it, and with the object of preventing, as far as possible, the repetition of inspections of land under the most unfavourable conditions, he will represent to the Land Commissioners the expediency of continuing the sittings of the Sub-Commissions throughout the summer and autumn months, and fixing the period of vacation during those winter months when it is impossible that a satisfactory inspection of land, or true estimate of its value, can be made?

Mr. HEALY rose to a point of Order. He wished to know whether an argumentative Question like this ought to be placed on the Paper?

Mr. SPEAKER said, he saw no ground for the objection raised by the hon. Member.

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he had submitted the Question to the Land Commissioners, and was now in correspondence with them on the subject. He would rather say nothing about it until the correspondence had come to some result. Probably he should be able to answer the Question on Monday, and possibly to-morrow.

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

STATE OF IRELAND—CO. WESTMEATH —LAND LEAGUE HUTS.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will state to the House the reasons which have induced the Lord Lieutenant to permit the erection of a Land League hut, near Collinstown, Westmeath, on the boundary of Mr. Barlow Smythe's property, for the family of Richard Biggs, who was arrested immediately after the murder of Mrs. Smythe, and has since been detained in prison as a suspect; and, whether he will inform the House what arrangements have been made to prevent intimidation arising from the erection of such hut?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hut in question has been erected for the family of Richard Biggs, who is now detained under the Protection of Person and Property Act. It is two miles from the farm from which Biggs had been evicted. The Resident Magistrate was directed to make such arrangements as would prevent any intimidation resulting from its erection. The Sub-Inspector of the district reports that there is no danger of intimidation at present, and there is a police protection hut on the evicted farm.

DETECTION OF CRIME (IRELAND)—ALLEGED ESPIONAGE BY THE MILITARY.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretery to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any truth in the statement that the constabulary authorities in Ireland are desirous of employing the soldiers stationed in that country as spies, by inducing them to give secret information of what they may hear and see when drinking in public houses; whether any orders have been issued, or been prepared for issue, inviting soldiers there to assist the constabulary as spies, under a vague promise of money rewards; and, if such is the case, whether the orders in question have met with the approval of His Excellency? The hon. Member said, his object in asking the Question was to ascertain if the soldiers were to be used in the detection of crime.

Mr. TREVELYAN: If I answer Questions referring to the detection of crime, the refusal in any subsequent case to answer would be regarded as an admission. With all respect to the hon. Member, I can answer no Question whatever on this subject.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked that he had received a letter from an officer in the Army who protested against his men being employed in such service.

EMIGRANTS—LODGING-HOUSES (METROPOLIS).

Mr. MOORE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been drawn to the necessity of some protection for foreign emigrants passing through London to save them from extortion and robbery on the part of touts, runners, watermen, lodging-house keepers, and others; and, if not, whether he will make inquiries to ascertain if such necessity exists; whether the Board of Trade have any authority over the lodging-houses frequented by emigrants; and, how many distinct and independent local authorities there are controlling such houses in the Metropolis?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, the emigration officers were always willing to assist emigrants, and advise them as to any question of difficulty about contract tickets, and also in the way of securing passages in the event of the emigration agents breaking their contracts. The Board of Trade had no control whatever over lodging-houses. They were entirely within the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board.

MR. MOORE asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he could state how many independent local bodies there were who had authority over lodging-houses around the Port of London?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN replied, that he could give no information on that subject.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—SWORDS BOROUGH SCHOOL.

MR. P. MARTIN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it the fact that the Royal Commissioners, in their recent Report on Endowed Schools in Ireland, call attention to the fact that the Royal Commissioners 1854-8 had stated that the Swords Borough School, the benefits of which were intended to be conferred without religious distinction, ought not to be entrusted to the management of an exclusive Board, and especially of one on which Catholics, the most numerous class of the inhabitants, were entirely unrepresented, yet that no effect had been given by the Legislature or Government to this recommendation; can he state under what statutable or other provisions are the governors authorised to now transfer the funds and management of these schools as proposed; if the governors be so authorised, would he object to lay upon the Table of the House the Inspector's Report and a Memorandum of the terms on which the proposed transfer is to take place; and will any opportunity be given to the inhabitants of Swords, for whose benefit this charity was intended, to be heard, and claim, as recommended, that there should be some Catholic representation from Swords, and the objects of the endowment, as stated in the charter, carried into due effect?

MR. TREVELYAN: I find that the Royal Commissioners in their recent Report on Endowed Schools in Ireland did allude to the Swords Borough School in the terms stated in the Question of the hon. and learned Member; but he is under a misapprehension in supposing that a compliance with the application of the Governors to have the school placed under the Commissioners of National Education would involve any transfer of its funds or management. If the inhabitants of Swords desire to make any representations to the Board on the subject of the application now before them, it will, I have no doubt, receive every attention; but, as I have pointed out, the application does not involve any change in the management of the school or its endowments.

MR. P. MARTIN inquired whether the right hon. Gentleman intended to lay the Inspector's Reports on the Table of the House?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Royal Commissioners inform me that with regard to the Inspector's Reports, which I cannot find just at this moment, but about which I have had some communication, they consider them as confidential. I shall be glad, however, to show these Papers to the hon. Member later on.

MARRIAGE SOLEMNIZATION—NOTICE TO SUPERINTENDENT REGISTRAR—ADDITIONAL NOTICE ON CHANGE OF PLACE.

MR. BELLINGHAM asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, after notice has been given of an intended marriage at the Superintendent Registrar's office, and the parties are desirous afterwards of being married at a licensed place of religious worship, it is necessary that a fresh notice of the marriage, of twenty-one days, should be given; and, if such fresh notice be necessary, whether Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the advisability of proposing further legislation on the subject?

Mr. DODSON: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to inform him that the Statute expressly requires that at the time of giving notice of marriage, the party giving the notice shall state in the notice the church or other building in which the marriage is to be solemnized, and any person who solemnizes the marriage in any other place than that specified in the notice is guilty of felony. It is quite clear that if parties wish to be married at some other place than that specified in the original notice, a fresh notice is necessary; and as the object of this is to prevent clandestine marriages, I do not think I can hold out any hope of any alteration being made in the law.

ARMY—THE REGIMENTS OF FOOT GUARDS.

Colonel DAWNAY asked the Secretary of State for War, If there is any truth in the report that the three Regiments of Foot Guards are at the present time considerably below their proper establishment; and, if so, what numbers would be required to make up the deficiency?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. and gallant Member, I have to state that the battalions of the Foot Guards are usually somewhat below their establishment of 744 men, and at the present they are on the average short by about 50 men. This is in a great degree due to the territorial system not being applicable to the Guards, and to the consequent disadvantage in which they stand as compared with the Line Regiments, and partly to their high standard—5 feet 8 inches. The new system of recruiting only came into operation on the 1st of this month, and I have every hope that recruiting in the Guards will shortly improve.

NEW ZEALAND—THE NATIVE DISTURBANCES IN 1879-80.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Governor of New Zealand has furnished to the Colonial Office the Report respecting the native disturbances of 1879 and 1880, and the measures taken by the Government of New Zealand in consequence of them, which appears by the New Zealand Parliamentary Papers of 1881 to have been required by Lord Kimberley's Despatch of 22nd October 1880; and, whether this Report and the subsequent Despatches on the subject will be presented to Parliament?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; the Governor of New Zealand has furnished the Report to which the Question refers, and it will, together with other Papers, be soon presented to Parliament. As I said in the House on the 19th of June, the delay has arisen from the fact of Papers being awaited from New Zealand which will complete the history of the transactions, and especially the Bill for disposing of the trial of the Chief Te Whiti.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS — DISTRIBUTION OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS TO THE PRESS—UNDUE PREFERENCE.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he is aware that, in the last issue of Egypt papers, four of the London newspapers were furnished with advance copies, all of the others and the whole provincial press, with perhaps one exception, being left out; and, if he will take care that in the issue this week, and in future, the Central News and the Press Association be also supplied with copies?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: In order to prevent complaints of undue preference, instructions have been issued to the effect that no Papers shall be published until they are in the hands of Members.

Mr. ANDERSON: As the Foreign Office has now renounced this objectionable practice, I beg to give Notice that I shall put a similar Question to every other Government Department that continues it.

DOMINION OF CANADA—LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will state the substance of any Correspondence which has lately taken place between the Home Government and the Government or Legislature of the Dominion of Canada with respect to recent Resolutions of both Houses of the Parliament of the Dominion, on the subject of Legislative Independence for

Ireland; and, whether he will lay a Copy of such Correspondence upon the Table?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I do not think it will be a convenient course for me to state the substance of this Correspondence; but I will lay before the House the Address and the answer sent by the Home Government.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND—DESIRE FOR RESTORATION OF THE EX-KING, CETEWAYO.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any communications, besides those which have been already published, have been received from Sir H. Bulwer, giving the names of "the persons in the Colony of Natal who desire to see Cetewayo restored," to whose interference he attributes the agitation which has caused the disturbances in Zululand, and stating the nature of such interference, and the means (if any) adopted to check action which if continued may seriously affect the peace of Natal; and, if so, whether such communications will be presented to Parliament?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The despatches describing the interference referred to have been received from Sir Henry Bulwer, and they will be presented to Parliament. Sir Henry Bulwer, however, does not mention or suggest the adoption of any means for checking the action complained of.

ARMY—MOUNTED RIFLEMEN.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, referring to his promise of 4th August 1881, he can now state what arrangements, if any, he has made for providing our Army with corps of mounted Riflemen?

MR. CHILDERS: I presume the hon. and gallant Member was not in the House on the 4th of May, when I answered fully the Question he now puts, which then was put by the hon. Baronet the Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton). May I suggest to hon. Members who may wish to ask me Questions of this character that they should first communicate with me privately? The same Question is often proposed to be put three, four, or five times in a Session, and most hon. Members are now good enough to speak to me before placing their Questions on the Paper.

CAPTAIN AYLMER: As I did not hear the answer, would the right hon. Gentleman mind repeating it?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes; I should mind very much, Sir, considering the abuse to which the system of Questions has been carried.

CAPTAIN AYLMER: I trust hon. Members who ask Questions are as good judges of the matter as the right hon. Gentleman.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. PATRICK R. LEONARD.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can see his way to order the discharge from custody of Mr. Patrick R. Leonard, of Kiltoom, county Roscommon, who was arrested on 21st November, and charged with being "suspected of inciting to intimidate not to pay rent?" The hon. Member said he desired to ask further, whether the right hon. Gentleman did not think that eight months' imprisonment was quite sufficient punishment for being suspected of inciting to intimidate not to pay rent?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency is about to reconsider the case of Mr. Patrick Leonard. I will let the hon. Member know the result.

SUGAR BOUNTIES (HOLLAND).

MR. RITCHIE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether any steps have been taken by the Dutch Government, on representations made to them by Her Majesty's Government in February last, in reference to the importation into Holland of artificially-coloured raw sugar, and the consequent increase in the bounty on the exportation of refined sugar from that country?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The representations of the British Sugar Refiners' Committee as to the increase of duty bounty on the exportation of sugar from Holland were communicated to Her Majesty's Minister at the Hague by the Foreign Office on the 14th of March last. No answer has been received, and the Board of Trade are not aware of any steps having been taken by the Dutch Government in the matter.

MR. RITCHIE: Will the right hon. Gentleman ask for an answer?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not think it is a case in which we should feel ourselves justified in pressing for an answer at the present time. We thought it right to communicate the observations made by the Refiners' Association for their information, but not by way of remonstrance; and I may take the opportunity of adding that, as far as our information goes, the exportation of refined sugar from Holland to this country has not recently increased.

POST OFFICE — CHIEF POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH OFFICE AT UPPER EDMONTON.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will consider the question of establishing a chief office for the receipt and despatch of letters, &c. at Upper Edmonton, in place of their being forwarded by way of Lower Edmonton, which is further from London, and also of establishing a telegraph office at Upper Edmonton, there being no telegraph office at present nearer than White Hart Lane in that locality, which is the chief centre of business for Edmonton, and avoid the extra charge of 2*s.* 6*d.* per telegram forwarded after hours on Sundays viâ Dalston Junction to Upper Edmonton?

MR. FAWCETT: The arrangements referred to by the hon. Member are somewhat complicated, and at the present time I have not sufficient information before me to enable me to arrive at a decision. The matter is being carefully examined.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—SITTINGS AT KINSALE.

MR. ION HAMILTON asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If, at a recent sitting of the Sub-Commissioners at Kinsale, Mr. MacDevitt (the legal Sub-Commissioner) said—

> "That, in the absence of the third Commissioner, Mr. T. Walpole, who would be away for a few days on urgent private business, a special delegation had been issued to himself and his brother Murphy to hear applications;"

and, if there is any power under the Land Act to enable the Commissioners to issue a special delegation to an incomplete court to hear and adjudicate upon applications for the settlement of judicial rents?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON), in reply, said, the hon. Member had not mentioned the source from which the extract was taken, and he had no means of knowing whether or not it was true; but he should say that it was exceedingly likely to be the case, for he was informed by the Commissioners that they did grant to Messrs. MacDevitt and Murphy the authority to hear and decide cases in the absence of Mr. Walpole on urgent private business. They were so empowered to act by the 43rd section of the Land Act of last year.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If any remonstrance has been received from the Porte, or from any other Power, respecting the bombardment of the Alexandria forts since the bombardment took place, and if the terms of the remonstrances will be contained in the next Papers issued respecting Egypt? He asked to be allowed to supplement this Question. The hon. Gentleman yesterday stated that no remonstrance had been received from the Porte previous to the bombardment of Alexandria. He now wished to ask if any remonstrance, or any communication, had been received during the more recent proceedings?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No remonstrance has been received from any Power except the Porte. The Porte, in a remonstrance, stated that the British fire at Alexandria would not be returned. The remonstrances will be published in due course, but not in the next series, which only goes up to the meeting of the Conference.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: Has any remonstrance been received from the Italians about it?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: None at all.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has now received any information with regard to the Mustafirrin, or Military Police, having bayoneted many Europeans during the recent disturbances at Alexandria;

if not, whether he will at once telegraph to the British Consulate for information on the subject; if he is able to state whether great pressure was or was not placed on all British subjects by members of the Consulate to induce them to leave Alexandria; and, whether any steps have been taken to reinforce the British Consulate of Alexandria, many of its officials being reported to be ill or on leave? The hon. and gallant Baronet explained that his last Question was mainly answered by the hon. Gentleman the other day. He would, therefore, now ask in what position the British Consulate at Alexandria now were?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The evidence of the Medical Commission which visited the hospitals shows that many Europeans received bayonet wounds. The general evidence on the subject of the massacres, which is being collected with great care, is yet too far from completion to enable me to make any detailed statement with regard to it. I have already informed the House that British subjects were advised to go on board ship. As the hon. and gallant Baronet himself states, the third branch of the Question has already been fully answered in reply to the noble Lord on the Front Opposition Bench. The hon. Member further asks me as to the present position of the Consulate at Alexandria. Mr. Jago, Her Majesty's Consul at Damascus, is now in charge, and the Consul at Khartoum is the second official. These gentlemen are, of course, on board ship—at least they were yesterday.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is the hon. Gentleman able to give us any information as to the present condition of Alexandria; and will he tell us why it is that no steps were taken to prevent the destruction of life and property there?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: That is not a Question on the Paper, and therefore I am not in a position to answer it. If the right hon. Gentleman gives Notice of his Question he will receive a proper reply. I would suggest that the Question be put either to the Prime Minister or to the Secretary to the Admiralty, because all the communications on the subject come through the Admiralty.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: The Government have not answered my second Question, which I asked on account of a reply given by the hon. Gentleman, in which, I believe, he said that no pressure had been put on British subjects in June to leave Alexandria. Now, I have in my hand information from Alexandria stating that decided pressure had been put on British subjects early in June to leave Alexandria by the British Consulate there.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Of course, the hon. Baronet will see that I could not gather from his Question as it appears on the Paper that he wished to know the particular date when the pressure was applied. We have no information from the British Consulate at Alexandria, or generally from our Representatives in Egypt, as to any such pressure having been exercised at an early period in the month of June. No instructions at that time were given.

KOREA—THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a Treaty has been concluded between Korea and the United States, one Article of which is to prohibit the importation of opium; and, whether a similar Treaty is being arranged between Great Britain and the Korea?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Information has reached the Foreign Office by telegram of the conclusion of a Treaty between the United States and Korea, but the full details have not yet arrived. A Treaty was also signed on the 6th of June by the Admiral (Willes) on the station between Great Britain and Korea, which secures the same privileges as have been granted to the United States, and also the most Favoured Nation Treaty treatment. It is understood that the importation of opium is forbidden.

ARMY ESTIMATES—VOTE FOR THE AUTUMN MANŒUVRES.

MR. SALT asked the Secretary of State for War, What is the amount of the Vote that he has obtained for the autumn manœuvres?

MR. CHILDERS: The charge for the autumn manœuvres in the current year's Estimates does not appear as a separate item, but is included under various heads. It somewhat exceeds £30,000. The second page of the Estimate will show the items carried up under one head.

Mr. RYLANDS wished to ask, with respect to the money voted for the autumn manœuvres, whether, in the event of the money not being applied to the purpose for which it was voted, it could be otherwise applied without the sanction of Parliament?

Mr. CHILDERS: Speaking generally, the War Department, with the approval of the Treasury, have the power of provisionally setting off excesses on one Vote against savings on others, subject to the approval of Parliament.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: What authority have you for that?

Mr. CHILDERS: The technical rules on this subject could hardly be stated in a reply to a Question.

Mr. SALT: I believe the transaction is an exceedingly irregular one in a financial point of view, and I give Notice that, on the next stage of the Budget Bill, I shall draw attention to the matter.

CHINA—THE CHEFOO CONVENTION.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, as reported in the papers of Wednesday last, an arrangement has been made with the Chinese Government on the question of the Li-kin duties, and in completion of the Treaty of Chefoo; and, if he would state the nature of such arrangements, if made?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The negotiations with the Chinese Government are still in progress, and no arrangement has been as yet concluded.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE CLAUSE DEALING WITH TOWN PARKS.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the working of the Land Law Act, in respect of holdings adjoining or near villages or small places, and to the manner in which such holdings have been excluded from the benefits of the Act by being improperly designated "town parks;" and, whether the Government intend to propose any amendment of the Land Law Act as regards holdings of this description?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With regard to this matter, I am assured that not very many cases have come before the Sub-Commissioners, and that in fewer still of these had the applicants been excluded from the benefits of the Land Act. The general practice has been not to exclude them unless it was held that the holdings were enjoyed for the convenience of residence in an adjoining town, and not for the ordinary purposes of farming.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—THE FIRST RESOLUTION (CLOTURE).

Mr. BUXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has agreed to any modification of the proposed First Rule of Procedure, or whether he can give an assurance that the House will at least have an opportunity of expressing its opinion in favour of the principle laid down in the Rule as originally proposed, viz. the right of the majority to control debate?

Mr. CROPPER wished to ask a counter Question—namely, Whether it would not be possible to have the opinion of the House as to the compromise that seemed to be alluded to, because if the House were in favour of it, it might do away with the necessity for an Autumn Session?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is a little difficult, upon a matter which does not stand for practical consideration, to make an answer between a Question and a counter Question, in such a way as not to run the risk of raising a discussion. That is my desire, and, in truth, I do not think the time has yet come when I could with convenience enter upon this subject. It might come on before the adjournment of the House, and, without doubt, the House should have more particular information and further light as to the intentions of the Government; but I do not think that I am yet in the position to make any statement on that point. I am, however, bound to say, lest I should seem to give encouragement to hopes that I do not think can be realized, that the opinion generally promulgated by the Government has been that the larger and more important part of the question of Procedure is not that which relates to restriction and abridgment of liberty, but is that which relates to the multiplication of the working power of the House by means of delegation. That is a question so considerable that I am by no means prepared to express the opinion that we could escape the necessity of an Autumn Session merely by settling a question of the character indicated by the hon. Gentleman.

MR. RITCHIE inquired whether the reason why the Government were unable to make a statement was because they had not yet made up their minds?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is not that they have not made up their minds upon a matter under deliberation, but because no occasion has arisen for the further consideration of a question upon which, when it appeared to be a practicable one, they had made up their minds.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT.

MR. T. COLLINS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Government, before proposing the adjournment of the House from August to October, to move the discharge of the Orders for all Government Bills which they do not intend to proceed with before such adjournment; whether, before the adjournment in August, it is the intention of the Government to place in a Continuance Bill all Acts which would naturally expire at the end of this Session; and, whether it is the intention of the Government, before proceeding further with the Bill dealing with Corrupt Practices in the future, to ask the House to read a second time the Bill dealing with Corrupt Practices in the past in the Cities of Canterbury, Chester, Gloucester, and Oxford, and the Boroughs of Boston, Macclesfield, and Sandwich?

MR. GLADSTONE: In the first place, we should propose to move the discharge of such Government Bills as we do not intend to proceed with before the Adjournment. As to whether we should, before the Adjournment, propose to place in a Continuance Bill the Acts which would naturally expire at the end of the Session, I do not wish to be absolutely bound at present to the full extent of the Question; but I may say generally that the hon. Member seems to indicate the reasonable and proper course which would naturally be taken in the prosecution of the plan I have generally sketched to the House. With regard to the third Question of the hon. Member, it would be most desirable, if possible, to deal with the question of corrupt practices as affecting certain cities; but I am bound to say that we do not contemplate attempting reading that Bill a second time before we proceed with the Bill dealing with corrupt practices in the future.

MR. T. COLLINS gave Notice that he would oppose the further progress of the Corrupt Practices Bill.

NAVY—ADMIRALTY PENSIONS.

MR. PULESTON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, when arranging the new scale of pensions for the widows of seamen and marines killed in the discharge of duty, he will provide that the same pension shall be given to motherless children of those killed; and, whether he can now state when the new scale can be laid upon the Table of the House?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: All I can say in answer to the hon. Member's Question is that this matter is still under consideration; but I hope to be able before the end of the Session to announce the decision arrived at.

POST OFFICE TELEGRAMS (SECRECY).

MR. PULESTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has now considered the question of destroying telegrams, and thereby insuring the same freedom and secrecy for telegrams as for communications by letter?

MR. FAWCETT: The practice of the Post Office has hitherto been to refuse to produce telegrams in Court except upon a request by the sender or receiver, or upon the order of the Judge. Some doubt having been expressed as to the legality of the course followed by the Department, I propose to insert a clause in a Post Office Bill about to be introduced which will bring telegrams under similar provisions as to secrecy as are now applicable to letters.

EGYPT—STATE OF AFFAIRS AT ALEXANDRIA.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the Government a Question—I am not quite sure whether it ought to be addressed to the Prime Minister or the Secretary to the Admiralty—Whether the Government can give us any information as to the serious events reported to have taken place since yesterday at Alexandria? I wish also to ask whether any steps were taken in order to prevent the consequences of the anarchy which seems to have followed upon the action of the day before; and, if there were no such steps taken, whether that was due to the decision of the Admiral, or in consequence of any orders he may have received? I may also inquire whether the Government have any information as to the position and safety of the Khedive?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Perhaps the most convenient course would be for me to state to the House the events which have occurred since I last communicated the news received by the Government. In the course of yesterday an inquiry was addressed to the Admiral by telegraph, in which he was requested to report whether the operations were complete; and in the afternoon Lord Northbrook was commanded by Her Majesty to send the following telegram:—

> "The Queen desires to know how the wounded are."

In reply, late last night, came a telegram, dated July 12, 10.40 P.M.—

> "Operations not completed. Flag of truce hoisted on opening fire this morning on barracks, battery, earthworks; struck on terms being refused; hoisted again 4 afternoon, after firing one shot into Mexs lines."

In reply to that, this morning, the following inquiry was addressed to the Admiral:—

> "What were the terms referred to in your telegram No. 112?"

—which is the one I have just read—

> "Send any news you have of Khedive, and condition of affairs in Alexandria."

To this we received the following reply:—

> "July 13, 9.25 A.M., Thursday. Immense conflagration in Alexandria last night. Forts apparently abandoned, and entire garrison withdrawn under flag of truce, leaving Bedouins to pillage and fire the town. *Invincible*, *Monarch*, *Penelope*, and gunboats inside harbour; other ironclads under weigh off New Port. *Decoy* gone to Port Said for information. Weather bad. Communication difficult."

The next telegram from the Secretary of the Admiral is dated July 13, 11.40 A.M.—

> "Off Alexandria.—Terms were to surrender forts, as first demanded."

This means that they were to be temporarily surrendered for the purpose of being dismantled.

> "Use made of flag of truce considered disgraceful. Nothing known of Khedive; but believe he is still at Ramleh, where Turkish steam yacht is now anchored apparently waiting until weather will allow embarkation; but this quite conjectural. Wounded, as far as I can learn, are doing well."

This telegram, I should explain, comes from the Secretary to the Admiral, who is some distance at sea. The telegram adds—

> "Am now moving *Chiltern* nearer harbour to facilitate communication with Admiral, keeping Cyprus and Malta cables at work. For 'Bedouins' in former telegram (No. 113), read 'convicts.'"

Subsequent to this—in consequence of the news thus received—the following additional instructions were sent to the Admiral in view of the existing state of affairs at Alexandria:—

> "July 13.—Opposition having ceased, do not dismantle forts or disable guns. Endeavour to open friendly communication with the Khedive, and invite him to assert his authority for restoring order in Alexandria, concerting with Dervish Pasha if expedient. On invitation or with concurrence of the Khedive, or, in his absence, of any Egyptian authority in Alexandria, you may land seamen and marines for police purposes, to preserve order, acquainting commanders of European ships of war, if any present, and inviting their co-operation."

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: With reference to the permission to land seamen and marines for the preservation of order, is that instruction new, or was it within the instructions previously given to the Admiral to take such a step on his own responsibility?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly repeat his Question?

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: What I mean is this. Supposing that the Admiral had felt it to be desirable to land seamen for the purpose now indicated, would he have been justified by his instructions in doing this, or would he have been prevented by his instructions?

Mr. GLADSTONE: He certainly would not have been prevented by his instructions. I cannot say directly that he would have been justified by his instructions, because his previous instructions were given in view of a state of facts in which there was a Government, though a Government of merely military force, in Alexandria. Therefore, he had no instructions referring specifically to the case in which that Government should have disappeared. The telegrams have explained to the House those results, and the House will understand the mode in which that Military Government disappeared, and the views which appear to be taken by the Admiral and the Naval Commanders as to the disappearance of that military force. Whether the Admiral would have been approved in the exercise of his discretion is a question which the right hon. Gentleman probably does not wish to raise, and which, at the present moment, is purely hypothetical.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask why measures were not taken in anticipation of the contingency that has arisen?

MR. RITCHIE: I wish also to ask whether it was within the discretion of the Admiral to land such a force?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I wish also to ask whether Her Majesty's Government consider, or have considered, whether, by the self-denying Protocol, they were debarred from landing troops or not?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is, Sir, impossible to answer a series of Questions like this without having time to make inquiry as each one is put.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I asked simply why measures were not taken in anticipation of this contingency?

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I wish to ask a Question arising out of the statement of the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Member (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) has made a statement to the effect that the Admiral has been instructed to land a force for police purposes, to co-operate with the authority in command of the town. What I wish to ask is, whether, should Arabi return, the Admiral, under the instructions given here, would put himself in communication with Arabi?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. These are instructions given on the disappearance of Arabi Pasha and of the weak and lawless power he represents. They certainly have no reference to the case of Arabi, although I will not say what the words embrace. They will be interpreted by the Admiral according to the best of his judgment. As to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), why no instructions were given in anticipation, it was because it was quite impossible to shape beforehand all the contingencies which might arise, and nothing but error and confusion could have arisen from an attempt to provide for them before we had some indication of the character they might assume. I stated just now that there were no instructions specifically applicable to the landing of troops by the Admiral. I ought, perhaps, to have stated that there were general instructions, not specifically applicable to a case of this kind, which are actually before the House, and which, perhaps, I had better read. They are dated 15th May, and are from the Foreign Office—

> "Communicate with the British Consul General on arrival at Alexandria, and in concert with him propose to co-operate with the Naval Forces of France supporting Khedive, and protecting British subjects and Europeans, landing force if required for the latter object, such force not to leave the protection of the ships' guns without instructions from home."

SIR HENRY TYLER: What would be done in the case of part of Arabi's Army returning? Would this force that is to be landed be available for more than police purposes?

MR. GLADSTONE: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will have the goodness to give Notice. Admiral Seymour has not an Army with him at Alexandria; and the case in view is not the case of fighting with an Army, but is the case of subduing certain disorderly and riotous persons among the population.

SIR HENRY TYLER: Is the force intended for police purposes?

[No reply was given.]

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Might I ask if the instructions of the 15th of May, which the right hon. Gentleman has just read, stating that the troops were to be landed after communication with the French Naval authorities, held good after the departure of the French Fleet from Alexandria? How could the Admiral, after that event, be in communication with the French Fleet?

MR. GLADSTONE: In my opinion those instructions did even then hold good.

MR. BOURKE: I understand from one of the telegrams read that the Khedive is to be invited to establish his authority. It is quite clear the Khedive has no means of establishing that authority at Alexandria. I should like to ask whether it is the intention of the Government to order that the troops about to be landed shall be landed for the purpose of re-establishing the authority of the Khedive; and, if so, whether there is any intention on the part of the Government to ask the other Powers to assist them in re-establishing the authority of the Khedive, which he is invited to re-establish himself, having no power?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. The question is not of the character which the right hon. Gentleman has described. The instructions to Admiral Seymour and the request for co-operation which might, if there were other vessels on the spot, be addressed to their Commanders are strictly limited to the purpose described in the telegram, and does not attempt to deal with any of the difficult political questions which lie beyond it.

Mr. GIBSON: I should like to know exactly the hour and the date at which the telegram containing the instructions was sent? Was it after the Government were informed that Alexandria was in the hands of convicts, and was the Khedive invited to "assert his authority for restoring order in Alexandria" by means of convicts?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Is it not a fact that the Government had intimation that convicts were being released yesterday, before the conflagration occurred, and whilst Lieutenant Lambton with a flag of truce was on shore?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir. I have read all the telegrams, and given the hours at which they were sent. The first mention of the convicts was in the telegram in which "Bedouins" was used by mistake. It was sent at 9.25 this morning. The telegram despatched at 11.40 says for "Bedouins" read "convicts."

Mr. GIBSON: When was the Government's telegram sent?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In the course of to-day. I cannot tell the exact hour; but it was after the receipt of these two telegrams.

Mr. GIBSON: After the receipt of the telegram saying that Alexandria was in possession of the convicts?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Those were not the words used.

Mr. GIBSON: Well, "Bedouins." Was there not a telegram saying Alexandria was in possession of "Bedouins?"

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I had better, I think, read the telegram again; and it must, I should say, be remembered that this telegram came from the Admiral's secretary, who is out at sea. The hon. Gentleman then read the telegram a second time.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I wish to ask whether the Government consider, in the instructions which have been read, that Admiral Seymour had authority to land seamen and marines on Tuesday evening after the bombardment, and when the conflagrations broke out and the disorder had begun?

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN: Have the Government any information as to the position of Arabi, or whether the Egyptian Army have retreated?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the House was in possession of all the information which the Government had received.

Mr. GIBSON: The Government were apprised that the only people in possession of Alexandria were "Bedouins," who, as the 9.25 telegram says, were pillaging the town. Subsequently they learnt that these "Bedouins" meant "convicts." Was it after that that the Admiral was instructed to invite the Khedive to co-operate in restoring order? If it was before that that the telegram was sent, I should like to know whether the Government, having now got fuller knowledge, have sent any further instructions?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Question of the right hon. and learned Gentleman contains a description of the telegrams which I am not able to accept. The order of the telegrams was expressly given by my hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) when he read them; and I am astonished that the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not perceive it. The telegram which contained the word "Bedouins" and which was afterwards corrected by having "convicts" substituted, reached the Government, I think I may say, this forenoon. The Cabinet met at 12 o'clock, and then sent the telegram which has been read. They did not send any telegram of instructions relating to disorder in Alexandria until they were informed that disorder existed.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Does the Government consider that Admiral Seymour had authority on Tuesday evening, after the bombardment had ceased, and after the fires broke out, to land marines and bluejackets to preserve order under the instructions of the 25th of May?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Government had no information with regard to fires in Alexandria on Tuesday evening; but if the right hon. Gentleman will give Notice of any Question of the kind, I shall be glad to answer it.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: If there should be no Egyptian authority to make a request, and if the excesses in Alexandria should still continue, has Admiral Seymour authority, without such request, to land seamen or marines?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have given the House all the authority Sir Beauchamp Seymour possesses. We have no specific information as to the excesses in Alexandria; what the right hon. Gentleman may state on other authority we can neither confirm nor deny. We have read the only instructions sent to Sir Beauchamp Seymour; and with regard to the interpretation of those instructions, I shall be glad to answer a Question on Notice.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The right hon. Gentleman—[*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I would submit to the House that it is inconvenient that Questions on a subject of such gravity should be put without Notice.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I was going to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether a telegram which appears as having been received from the Admiralty is correctly reported, in view of his statement just now that the Government have no official information respecting atrocities? The telegram is reported as having been received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and is as follows:—

> "Alexandria, July 13, 9.25 a.m. Immense conflagration in Alexandria last night. Forts apparently abandoned"—[*Cries of* "Read!"]—and entire garrison withdrawn"—["It has been read!"]—"under flag of truce, leaving convicts to pillage and fire the town."

Do not the Government consider that statement proof of atrocities?

MR. BOURKE: One more Question arising out of the answer of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He stated that Papers would be in the hands of Members in a few days, which would bring the Correspondence down to the meeting of the Conference. I would ask the Government seriously whether they do not consider the time has arrived when the House should be put in possession of Papers of a later date and of Papers relating both to the Conference and the bombardment of Alexandria?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The instructions to the Admiral, and all the facts which have come into the possession of the Government with regard to the bombardment of Alexandria, have been placed before the House from day to day. The whole of the instructions have been given; therefore, as regards them the House is in possession of as much information as the Government itself. As regards other Papers, the Conference decided at its first meeting, not upon the proposal of England, that strict secrecy should be observed with respect to its proceedings; and the Ambassadors informed their Governments of this decision, and begged their Governments to observe the same secrecy as they observed themselves. In these circumstances it would be impossible to lay Papers on the Table.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Are we to understand that all the orders to the Admiral have been given to the House from day to day?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The orders relating to the bombardment. I do not say that everything that has been sent to the Admiral has been publicly stated.

MR. SPEAKER: I beg to point out that my observations just now were directed, not against putting Questions—I have no right to prevent that—but against putting Questions upon matters of serious gravity without giving Notice.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked whether the Government were in a position to confirm the report in *The Times* of that morning that two of the *Alexandra's* guns burst during the bombardment, and that in consequence the *Alexandra* had been sent to Malta for repairs?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That is a Question of which, I think, Notice should be given.

MR. RITCHIE: I wish to ask the Government whether, in view of the intelligence received from Egypt to-day, they have taken any steps for securing the safety of the Suez Canal?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I stated yesterday that Her Majesty's Government had made such communications to Foreign Powers with regard to the Suez Canal as they deemed it necessary to make. With regard to the preparations, I must refer the hon. Member to the answers that have already been given by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State and myself.

Mr. RITCHIE: I will repeat the Question to-morrow.

Sir HENRY TYLER gave Notice of his intention to-morrow to ask, whether Her Majesty's Government would instruct Sir Beauchamp Seymour to ascertain definitely the position and condition of the Khedive, and whether he were in need of succour?

Mr. O'KELLY intimated his intention to-morrow to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention had been called to the statement of *The Times* correspondent off Alexandria, that he saw several of the *Inflexible's* shells burst right over the centre of the town, and also to his further statement that the town appeared to be burning in three places?

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE ELECTRIC LIGHTING BILL.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE asked if the Electric Lighting Bill would be taken to-night?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN replied, that he had put down the Bill, but it had been blocked by one or two hon. Members. He did not understand that there was any general opposition to the principle of the Bill, but that the opposition of the hon. Members he referred to was due to their desire that the Bill should be taken when there could be a reasonable discussion of some of its provisions. This was a Bill of exceptional urgency. There were 30 or 31 Bills introduced dealing with the question of Electric Lighting, and they were all referred to a Hybrid Committee, presided over by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope). Evidence was heard, parties were represented by counsel, and very great expense had been incurred. These Bills had now either been withdrawn or the clauses dealing with electric lighting had been withdrawn, in view of the introduction of a Bill by the Government. It would be a pity that all this money should be thrown away without the business being finally dealt with this Session. What he proposed was, that this Bill should be put down for a special Sitting taken on Saturday, as it was evidently impossible that urgent Government Business like that now before the House should be made to give way to it; and if the House should assent to this proposal, then the Government would endeavour to take a stage of certain other Government Bills to which there was not anything like any general opposition. He might name two of them as most important — the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill, and the Government Annuities Assurance Bill.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked when the Motion would be made for the Sitting on Saturday?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN replied, that it would be made at the close of the Sitting.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked if the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill would be taken to-night?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that the Government desired to reprint the Bill with Amendments; but the House could not go into Committee *pro formâ* until the Bill had been read a second time. As that stage was blocked by Notice of opposition, if the opposition were withdrawn, the Bill read a second time, and formally committed and reprinted, the discussion which hon. Members desired to raise on the second reading might, perhaps, be taken on the Motion to go into Committee.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he thought the opposition to the proposal of the Government, as a whole, would come better on the second reading. The question of moneys voted for one purpose and applied to another purpose without the knowledge of the House would involve very serious discussion, and it was impossible that it could be taken at a very late hour.

Dr. CAMERON said, that, as he thought it was utterly impossible that a general and satisfactory discussion could take place upon the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill at the fag end of a Saturday Sitting, he begged to give Notice that unless a proper discussion could be secured, he should renew his opposition to going into Committee and the subsequent stages.

PARLIAMENT—ORDER OF BUSINESS.

SIR **JOSEPH PEASE** inquired whether any other measures than those referred to by the President of the Board of Trade would be set down at the Saturday Sitting?

MR. **GLADSTONE**: No other Opposed Business is intended to be set down.

SIR **GEORGE CAMPBELL** wished to know whether the arrangement for the Saturday Sitting was dependent upon the Arrears of Rent Bill having passed before that day, inasmuch as there was an Order of the House, giving that measure precedence over all other Business whenever it was set down?

MR. **MAC IVER** gave Notice that in the event of the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill coming on that night after half-past 12, he would move the adjournment, in order that it might be taken at a more reasonable hour.

MR. **GLADSTONE** said, that he should, under no circumstances, ask the House to take the Arrears of Rent Bill on Saturday, as he did not think it would be reasonable to do so, considering the amount of time the House now devoted to the measure.

COLONEL **MAKINS** asked a Question arising out of the answer of the Prime Minister in regard to the Autumn Session. He understood the Prime Minister to give the House to understand that the only question to be taken into consideration during that Session would be the Rules of Procedure of this House. If that were so, he wished to ask whether it would be necessary for the House of Lords to sit?

MR. **GLADSTONE**: I have no difficulty in answering the Question. It will not be necessary for the House of Lords to sit on account of anything that may be proposed or done with reference to the Rules of Procedure in this House. Of course, it will be within the discretion of the House of Lords to regulate its own proceedings as to adjournment, if it should think fit to have an adjournment at all.

MR. **RYLANDS** rose on a point of Order to ask the Speaker whether the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill could be taken after half-past 12, in the event of a Notice of objection to that Bill still appearing on the Paper?

MR. **SPEAKER**: The hon. Member is aware, no doubt, that this Rule as to taking Opposed Business after half-past 12 does not apply to Money Bills. I must point out to the House that there is a difficulty in the way of taking the second reading of the Bill referred to and the Committee at the same Sitting.

MR. **GLADSTONE** said, that he had not proposed to do so.

MR. **SPEAKER** said, that he had understood the right hon. Gentleman to state his intention to do so.

MR. **HEALY** asked whether, in view of the protracted Obstruction offered to the Arrears of Rent Bill by the Conservative Party, the Government would propose Urgency in proceeding with that measure?

MR. **GLADSTONE**: A great many hypothetical Questions have been put to me to-day. I have been desirous of escaping from them, and I hope I may be excused from answering this Question also.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

———

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 213.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress* 12*th July.*]

[FOURTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

SETTLEMENT OF ARREARS OF RENT.

Clause 1 (Settlement by Land Commission of arrears of rent).

MR. **SALT** moved, in page 2, line 2, after the word "aforesaid," to insert the words—

> "And the half of such antecedent arrears in respect of which the landlord shall receive no payment under this Act shall remain a charge in favour of the landlord, not bearing interest, on the purchase money (if any) realised by the tenant, or his successors in title, on the first sale of his holding after the passing of this Act, but such charge shall not be raised or raisable unless and until the said holding is sold as aforesaid: Provided always, That in the event of the tenant becoming entitled to compensation to be paid by the landlord, under the provisions

of 'The Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870,' and 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' or either of those Acts, the landlord shall be entitled to set off such last-mentioned arrears, not exceeding in the whole a sum equal to three years' rent, in part payment of any such compensation."

The hon. Member said, he hoped to be able to induce the Committee to accept this Amendment, which was unlike the other Amendments which had already been disposed of by the Committee. He thought he should be able to show that there was, in fact, a substantial difference between this Amendment and the other Amendments they had been engaged in discussing. They had already discussed the proposal that the money advanced under the Bill should be by way of loan and not of gift; but that was in no case the proposition contained in the Amendment he was about to submit to the Committee. An important Amendment was proposed yesterday by his right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), and subsequently withdrawn; but there was also a great difference between the Amendment of his right hon. Friend and the Amendment of which he was now speaking. The proposal of his right hon. Friend was that the money advanced by the State should be advanced in a certain sense, and after a certain manner, upon property that might, at the time, exist in the tenant, and might subsequently be realized, That proposal, it would be within the recollection of the Committee, was withdrawn. The proposal had no connection with the money advanced by the State, but applied only to the money that was practically taken from the landlords. Now, the position of the landlord and the position of the State was entirely different. In the first place, the money that was advanced by the State was, in a certain sense, advanced willingly. It was given by the votes of Members of that House representing the constituencies of the country; and, therefore, whatever money, be it large or be it small, that was, under this Bill, bestowed upon the tenant by the State was a willing and an intentional gift. It was given after discussion and by the deliberate vote and intention of the Representatives of the people. But the money that was taken from the landlord was money that was taken without his consent at all; it was taken compulsorily. It might be right, or it might be wrong, but that was not the question he asked the Committee to consider now. All he wished to point out was that the money was not given willingly. It was money that was taken from the landlord, and it was money which, to use strong language, might be said to be confiscated. Therefore, first of all, there was this great difference, that the money given by the State was given willingly, whereas the money given by the landlord was taken from him. But there was another difference, and a difference which would be extremely familiar to hon. Members who had read the Bill—namely, that the amount of money that was given willingly by the State was limited. It was limited to one year's rent. But the money that was taken from the landlord was not limited in that way. It might be that there was five or six years' rent due to the landlord, and in the apportionment of loss one year's rent only had to be paid by the tenant, and one year's rent only would be paid by the State. Therefore, supposing the arrears to be six years' rent, only one-third — that was two years' rent—of those arrears would be received by the landlord; and, therefore, the loss that was incurred by the landlord, or the money that was taken from him, might possibly be very much larger in proportion than the money that was given by the State. Now, that was another difference, and a most material difference, between the proposition of his right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) and the Amendment he was about to submit. But there was a third difference between the position of the landlord and the position of the State. To his mind it was a most important difference, and one which it was absolutely necessary that the Committee or the House in any future stage of the Bill should carefully keep in mind —namely, that the money which the State gave was money, no matter from what source provided, which it had to spare—money which it was free to give or free to retain, and money for which there was no other demand. But in regard to the landlord, in addition to the heavy responsibilities which attached to his position, and in addition to the number of years' rent, whatever it might be, they were about to deprive the landlord of, the State attached certain duties, responsibilities, and grave liabilities to the position of the landlord. Out of his rents he was liable to pay rates and taxes and various other public burdens, and he was liable to defray the cost of the repairs of the estate. He was also liable to all the charges of the estate, and to all the charges that were incidental to the life of a landlord. Therefore, they were not only taking away from the landlord money which might come into his pocket, but they were taking away from him money which it was absolutely necessary he should possess in order to fulfil the duties of his position, and his duties to the public and to the State. He (Mr. Salt) confessed that he did not find—and he was rather surprised that he did not find—in the Bill, coming, as it did, from a right hon. Gentleman of great experience and of great eminence, that where they took off from the landlord the very means by which he made these public payments they did not, in some shape or other, relieve him from his public burdens. This argument was especially adapted to this Bill, because the money which, in the interest of the public, they were about to give away and dispense to the tenants of Ireland was money the security for which depended, in the first instance, in a very large degree upon the payment made by the landlord to the State. Therefore, on the one hand, they were saying to the landlord—"We will take away a large portion of your income;" and, on the other hand, they said to the British people—"We are relying upon that income to justify the sacrifice of the public money we are about to expend." Those were the three points which he put forward in justification of the proposition contained in his Amendment, and which would otherwise appear to be somewhat similar to the Amendments which had already been discussed by the Committee. Having cleared the way so far, he would put before the Committee the proposal he had to make; but before he did so there was one point upon which he thought he would not be transgressing the Rules of the Committee if he ventured to urge it, and it was this—that there were some Bills which contained provisions about which the less that was said the better. It might be well to find certain Bills with provisions that were very open and very wide, and therefore very easy to manipulate and carry out; but he was bound to say that in regard to this particular measure it was a measure in which each provision must be most carefully regulated, and that the mind and intention of Parliament should be thoroughly understood and known. He could not at that moment call to mind any large proposal on which it was more desirable that in the various details of the working of the measure they should have the opinion of Parliament thoroughly known. They were now to deal with a very large sum of money. He would grant that it might be wise to spend it; but they were going to deal with a large sum of money under the most difficult circumstances, and it seemed to him most important for the interest of all concerned that it should be thoroughly understood by the public at large, and all who were interested in the matter, in what manner —how, and why, and to whom—this public gift was to be made. The proposal he had to make was that the proportion allotted to the landlord by the State, out of the State gift, being limited to one year's arrear, there might remain under the clause—and, indeed, there must remain—a considerable sum of money which was not paid to the landlord. Was there any security to be given by the tenant, or could any security be given by the tenant? In many cases there was no security whatever given by the tenant; but in other cases substantial security might be given by the tenant—a security not given in the present, but existing in the present, and possibly to be realized in the future. He did not conceive it was the intention of the House, or even the wish of those men anxious for the Bill in this particular form to become law, that a tenant should be able to take advantage of the very liberal provisions contained in the measure, and after a few years sell his tenant right, which was valuable and secured to him by law, and then go away with a large sum of money in his pocket, knowing that by the will of Parliament he had been able to defeat his creditors. It was that possibility he wished to meet; but he believed it might be met without injury to the tenant, without injury to the principle of this Bill, and with a certain, although modified, amount of justice to the landlords. The proposal he had to make was that in the event of the tenant selling his tenant right for a substantial sum, one-half of the antecedent arrears left unpaid should be a charge upon that tenant right. At the same time, it would also be a charge on the sum for compensation which might become due to him from the landlord for improvements. He was bound to say he could not see how in any way that would interfere with the principles of the Bill, or with the idea which had been so strongly put forward in the Committee that the operation under this Bill should be an operation carried on by way of gift, and not by way of loan. It was simple and fair that if the tenant had taken the advantage of the very liberal provisions of this Bill, and after a time managed to realize the holding and received a substantial benefit, it was only justice that some portion of the sum unpaid by the tenant, and on which the landlord had to rely for the performance of his duties, should be recovered from the tenant. Now, he was bound to say that this question was not a very easy question to decide. He acknowledged, and he acknowledged fairly, that there were difficulties to overcome—serious difficulties in regard to arrears, and serious difficulties also with regard to evictions; and he acknowledged that the Bill was an attempt to deal with both of those difficulties. It was not right for him at that moment to say that he did not think this was the best way of dealing with the question, because they were now in Committee, and had accepted the four corners of the Bill; but he desired at that moment, at any rate, to deal honestly with the Bill as it was before them, and to meet all the details of the Bill fairly. Now, the Amendment he proposed was an Amendment not only in detail, but it was an Amendment that was somewhat important in principle. It involved the very grave principle whether they were to say they would give the large sum of money they were about to dispense broadcast throughout the country, almost to be scrambled for by certain persons, whether they were entitled to it or not; or whether they should say that this was money only intended for those who absolutely required and deserved their help. It was also a question whether they should not put in the Bill some provision that those who were not deserving and did not require help from the State should receive it either not at all, or only until such a time as they were properly able to repay it. There were various persons who were concerned in this matter. First of all, there was the Irish tenant; and he was perfectly free to acknowledge and accept the position which had been taken by those who had charge of the Bill, that the first person they ought to consider in the matter, seeing that they had passed the second reading of the measure, was the Irish tenant himself. Now, for what purpose were they asked to help the Irish tenant?—because that very materially bore upon the proposal he had to make, and which, he said, was not only one of detail, but in a great measure, also, one of principle. They were, first of all, asked to help the Irish tenant by the Bill, which certainly was a most remarkable Bill, on account of the losses he had sustained from bad seasons. That was the great argument which had been put forward over and over again. He was perfectly willing to acknowledge the force of the argument of bad seasons; but he was bound to say that the argument of bad seasons recalled to his mind the fact when he turned back to an important document which was very familiar to hon. Members early in February—namely, the Queen's Speech—that in speaking of Ireland Her Majesty was made to say that Ireland had been favoured with a bountiful harvest, and the abundance of it was referred to with gratitude. He was not going to follow up that argument; but it seemed to him that, in dealing with the question of tenants who were affected by bad harvests, that statement ought to make hon. Members very cautious; and it certainly made him the more cautious in suggesting provisions dealing with the details of the Bill, which might possibly, as he had said just now, spread money broadcast throughout the country without benefit to anybody. There was another reason—and he was bound to say it was a very strong reason, and, to his mind, a much stronger reason than any other—and it was this, that there were a number of poor tenants——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Gentleman that he is now engaged in discussing questions which might have been dealt with on the second reading, but not upon the immediate Amendment he is placing before the Committee.

MR. SALT said, he would apologize to the Chairman, and to the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill, if he was transgressing; and he should not, of course, pursue that line of argument further. He was afraid, however, that he should be obliged to reserve his observations—and he should do so most unwillingly—until the third reading of the Bill. He apologized to the Committee if he had gone too far, and he only wanted to point out that this was a Bill the details of which were most important; and it was most necessary, and every experience proved it, that in dealing with large sums of money given by a wealthy country to a country that was comparatively poor, every possible safeguard should be taken, lest in giving that money they did more harm than good. He believed that infinite harm had been done, over and over again. by indiscriminate gifts. He would, however, defer any further observations until the third reading of the Bill, and then, if necessary, he might be prepared to continue them, and to submit, whether on general grounds of policy with regard to the administration of this most important measure, or in regard to small details with which they were now concerned, that it was only fair and reasonable that money which came to a tenant easily, and not in the ordinary course of his business, should not be too lavishly conferred upon him. After the intimation conveyed to him, and no doubt very properly, by the Chairman, he would not continue his remarks further, but would simply move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 2, after the word "aforesaid," to insert the words "And the half of such antecedent arrears in respect of which the landlord shall receive no payment under this Act shall remain a charge in favour of the landlord, not bearing interest, on the purchase money (if any) realised by the tenant, or his successors in title, on the first sale of his holding after the passing of this Act, but such charge shall not be raised or raisable unless and until the said holding is sold as aforesaid: Provided always, That in the event of the tenant becoming entitled to compensation to be paid by the landlord, under the provisions of 'The Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870,' and 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' or either of those Acts, the landlord shall be entitled to set off such last-mentioned arrears, not exceeding in the whole a sum equal to three years' rent, in part payment of any such compensation."—(*Mr. Salt.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down seems to be under great apprehension lest the details of the Bill should not be sufficiently carefully considered; but I must say, judging from the length of his speech, that he has taken very great care in preparing and submitting this Amendment. I think, therefore, the hon. Member ought to feel re-assured in his mind, especially when he remembers we are now on the fourth night of the Committee of this Bill, and that we have not yet got through one-half of the 1st clause.

MR. GIBSON: But it is a very important clause.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not going to deny that it is an important clause; but to have spent so much time upon it is an exploit almost unrivalled in Parliamentary history. Now, we have very important matters to consider; but I do not think there need be any apprehension in regard to the details of the measure receiving insufficient consideration. If any fault is to be found with the speech of the hon. Member itself, it is not that he has been too concise in the observations which he has made. But what is it that the hon. Gentleman says? He says that the State gives willingly, and by a body which is entitled to make the gift; but I do not see why the fact that the State has money, and gives it willingly, should affect the present question. The hon. Member asks why it is the State proposes to give the tenants the enormous boon contemplated by the framers of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman seems to take very little note of the fact that this is not English money which is being given, but that it is almost entirely out of Irish funds, and my reply to his question is this. The State gives this enormous-boon for the sake of obtaining the enormous advantages which the Bill proposes, and among those advantages one of the chief is that of liberating the tenant and enabling him to pursue a comparatively free career; and so much do we feel the value of that object that we are indisposed to admit—and my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) receded from pressing upon us his proposition that we should saddle the tenant right with a charge. That is what the hon. Gentleman asks us to give up now. As to the policy of curtailing or crippling the operation of the Bill, I cannot say the hon. Member is wrong from his point of view, but from our point of view he is as wrong as he can be; because when he asks us to continue to make some sacrifice on the part of the State, he asks us to withdraw a very large portion of that which is of benefit to the tenant, which we have asked the House to grant, and which the House, by a large majority, has agreed to grant. The hon. Member draws a distinction between the money paid out of the public funds and the rest of the arrears cancelled by the landlord. In the one case, he calls money paid by the State a gift from the Public Exchequer; but in regard to the other he, I must say, very coolly, but no doubt with perfect sincerity, calls it money taken from the landlord. Money taken from the landlord! Has the hon. Gentleman paid the smallest attention to the history of arrears in Ireland? Is he not really judging in his own mind, which is no doubt perfectly equitable, Irish arrears as if they were English arrears? I grant, if these were English arrears, his Amendment would not be an unreasonable one, supposing it were applicable to the circumstances, because English arrears are, generally speaking, good debts, but of course Irish arrears, on the contrary, extending over a long period, which is the actual case in which the landlord is called upon to make a large nominal sacrifice—Irish arrears extending over a long period are just as generally bad debts, and they are bad debts kept alive, not because there is any rational hope, or even any hope at all, of their being ever recovered, but because they constitute an instrument of power in the hands of the landlord to be used whenever he may feel disposed. That is my description of these arrears, and I appeal to the candour of the hon. Gentleman whether, if that be true, it is really fair to describe that money as money taken from the landlord? He says there may be six years' arrears. But what state of things does that fact deal with? Who will believe in the arrears of six years being a good debt? An English landlord, or a Scotch landlord, never has such a thing as six years' arrears. If such a circumstance did occur, it would be immediately pointed out that the landlord was managing his estate in some fashion hitherto totally unknown. An important declaration was made yesterday by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), who said that many of those who had fought this battle for the tenants with him took less interest in the Bill because of the enormous liberality of the terms which it gives to the Irish landlords. Now, I do not doubt myself that great liberality, and a great boon is conferred upon the Irish landlords. I need not say that the occasion has arrived when it has been our duty to endeavour to be very liberal; but I think there was a little mistake in the computation of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Salt) when he said that out of these six years' arrears the landlord would only get one-fourth eventually. He forgot that two years of rent would amount to one-third of the six years, and not one-fourth. Then the hon. Gentleman says we ought to alleviate the burdens of the landlords. I will not enter upon that question further than to say that I do not think that this is the time or the occasion on which the argument for alleviating the public burdens arises. If we believe, and we do believe, that we are offering the landlords extremely beneficial terms at the present moment, it must also be borne in mind that if the arrears are short the landlord will get the great bulk of them. Suppose a case of two years' arrears, out of those two years' arrears the landlord would get back the arrears of 18 months, or three-fourths of the whole. Supposing the arrears extend over six years, he would be required to make a much greater nominal sacrifice, because he would only get two years out of six. But what are these old arrears? They are like the dry bones of the prophet, and the great problem is to make those dry bones live, and the life to be infused into them could not come in by any other source than by the operation of this Bill. The boon which the Government proposes to give is a boon given with great reluctance, and with a full consciousness of the many objections there are to it, but with a view of the many benefits which the measure will provide, and one of these very many benefits is the freedom which will be given to the tenant, and as that freedom would be greatly diminished and restrained by accepting the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, the Government cannot accept it.

MR. FITZ-PATRICK said, he found it somewhat difficult to follow the speech of the right hon. Gentleman; but he confessed there were one or two portions of it with which he agreed. In some respects it might be a great boon to the landlord; but he did not think that in his answer to the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) the right hon. Gentleman had shown the Committee that he clearly understood the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman used these words, "that the tenant should be allowed by the Bill to pursue his career unfettered." What he gathered from the Amendment of his hon. Friend was this—that he did not attempt in any way to touch the career of the tenant so long as he was a tenant; but when he went away and sold his tenant right to some other person then the hon. Gentleman said the money he received from that sale should be apportioned in a certain manner to the landlord upon terms which should have been made in regard to antecedent arrears. He confessed himself that he fully endorsed the principle of the Amendment, and he had given Notice of an Amendment of the same character, and he had also supported the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). Personally, he thought that the repayment to the State and the repayment to the landlord at the end of the tenancy should be coincident; because if the State had advanced money to help the tenant in his career, and the landlord had remitted a certain portion of the arrears due to him for the same good object, he thought both should be treated upon a footing of equality. There was one point in the able speech of his hon. Friend which he desired to touch upon. The landlord practically had allowed his tenants to run into long arrears, probably through a mistaken kindness, or a mistaken moderation. He might say to his tenant —"I do not want to interfere with you, or put you on the road-side and evict you, which I can do, or force you to sell your tenant's interest, which would amount to the same thing, because you have nothing to buy it with or to redeem it; but I will allow you to take advantage of the Bill and liquidate a portion of your arrears." Surely a man who had been so moderate and just in his dealings with his tenants ought to be allowed at another period to receive back a certain portion of the money he had consented to give up. Another recommendation of the Amendment was the immense advantage that would be given by it to the honest tenant. At present the Bill gave the advantage to the dishonest debtor over the honest tenant. What would be the effect of paying off the arrears and leaving the tenant in the possession of his holding? The first person who would come down upon him would be either the shopkeeper or the gombeen man, who would oblige him to sell his interest. They would say—"You have got all this advantage out of the State and out of the landlord, but we have not got anything at all out of you. You must, therefore, sell your interest;" and by the power which now existed through the Land League and other combinations the unfortunate tenant might be forced to sell his tenant right. By this means the local Land Leaguers would have the advantage of the benefit given by the State to the tenant, and the money advanced by the State would, consequently, do the tenant no good whatever. These gombeen men would know that, having a charge upon the holding, if they once forced the tenant to sell, they could obtain any advance they had made; but if the Amendment were adopted, then those persons would know that if they forced the tenant to sell, the first charge that would come out of the proceeds would be the debt to the State and the debt to the landlord. This was a very important point, and he thought that hon. Members on the other side of the House, and many on that side, did not understand the actual effect of the tenant right, which had been given last year to a large number of tenants in the South of Ireland, who never had it before. In Ulster it was well known that the arrears were paid out of the sale of the tenant right, and what was now asked by this Amendment was the adoption of practically the same principle. Now, what would be the effect on the highest value of holdings affected by the Bill if this Amendment were passed? Instead of involving a hardship upon the tenant, the Amendment would be of advantage to him, because it would savo him from a certain class of creditors. The only advantage which could be conferred upon a landlord would arise at the end of the tenancy, if a tenant sold his farm and desired to go to America or elsewhere. What would be the value of the sale of a tenancy of £30 if the Amendment were agreed to? The tenant would receive from the State one year's rent of £30, and another year's rent from the landlord, both together amounting to £60. Supposing he remained for 10 years afterwards, and at the end of that period sold his interest in the holding, the average value, according to Judge Longfield, who was the highest authority upon the subject, would be seven years' rent, or £210. Out of that sum, if this Amendment were accepted, he would be required to pay two years' rent—namely, £30 to the State and £30 to the landlord, or £60 in all. He would consequently have a sum of £150 in his pocket, even supposing that he sold the tenant right at the ordinary average price; but the tenant would probably be better off, because, as tenancies in the South and West of Ireland were going up enormously in value, he would be likely to get more than the present average. Surely, under such circumstances, it would be only fair to ask him when he left the holding to repay the sum which the landlord had remitted to him; and it was questionable whether they ought not to dovetail upon the Amendment of his hon. Friend the principle that the State also should be repaid what it had advanced in the first instance. He (Mr. Fitzpatrick) looked at the matter from a perfectly dispassionate point of view, because the question was one which did not affect himself or his tenants in any way. But he believed that the tenants of Ireland themselves would prefer an honest transaction of this kind to a dishonest one, especially when it was borne in mind that the Amendment would save them from the danger of other and less scrupulous creditors. He appealed to hon. Members opposite on the ground of justice, both to the landlords and to the tenants, to support the Amendment.

Viscount LYMINGTON said, the speeches of hon. Members opposite were speeches which ought to have been made upon the second reading. The same arguments were repeated over and over again, and he could assure hon. Members opposite that those on that (the Liberal) side of the House, who were willing and anxious to see the Bill become law, were fully aware of the dangers and the serious evils that were connected with any measure of the kind. But those evils had been already accepted when the House agreed upon the second reading to support the measure. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Fitz-Patrick) seemed to consider that the Bill was a Bill which would confer no boon upon the landlords. He (Viscount Lymington) entirely agreed with what his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister had said—that the Bill would confer a very great boon upon the landlords.

Mr. FITZ-PATRICK said, he had never said anything to the contrary.

Viscount LYMINGTON said, he had gathered from the remarks of the hon. Member that he did not entertain that view. The hon. Member was perfectly willing that the landlord should obtain the advantage of this legislation in order to recover payment of a large amount of arrears, which he never would receive except in consequence of this Bill; but not content with that, he then came forward and asked that the Bill should authorize the landlords to make use of it in order to recover other arrears. [Mr. Fitz-Patrick: No, no!] If that were not so, he scarcely knew with what object the hon. Member had made his speech at all. The Amendment said—

> "And the half of such antecedent arrears in respect of which the landlord shall receive no payment under this Act shall remain a charge in favour of the landlord, not bearing interest, on the purchase money (if any) realized by the tenant, or his successors in title, on the first sale of his holding after the passing of this Act, but such charge shall not be raised or raisable unless and until the said holding is sold as aforesaid,"

and then the landlord was to claim another half, not going back further than three years, which should be a charge upon the tenant right. They had heard a great deal about exceptional tenant right, and there might be cases in which the tenant right was extremely substantial. But it should be remembered that the Bill dealt, for the most part, with very small and very poor holdings, and he himself believed that there would be very few cases which would be affected in the manner indicated by the advocates of the Amendment before the Committee. It appeared to him that the real objection to the Amendment, and to other Amendments of the same kind coming from hon. Members opposite, was that they endeavoured in reality to restrict and to hamper the efficacy of the Bill. The evils and dangers connected with legislation of this character had been argued and debated on the second reading of the Bill, and even those who supported the Bill could not deny the force of those objections; but it would, indeed, be illogical if, after the House had agreed to sacrifice principles of political economy to political expediency, it agreed to Amendments like the present, which would render that sacrifice inexcusable and futile by introducing into the measure seeds for future irritation between landlord and tenant.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, he could not agree with the noble Lord (Viscount Lymington) that the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Salt) would render the Bill useless; on the contrary, he had always been impressed with the necessity of imposing some charge on the tenant right. He knew as much about Irish land as most hon. Members opposite, and he could not agree with them that arrears were allowed to run up for the purpose of placing power in the hands of the landlords. If arrears were bad debts, the Prime Minister was finding fault with his own Land Act, because one reason why that Bill was introduced was that there should be a first charge upon the sale of the tenant right by the landlord for any arrears due to him. If the Bill passed in its present form without some such Amendment as that proposed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Salt), the security now possessed by the landlord in the shape of the tenant right would be handed over to the tenants. That would be the certain consequence in many cases, and it was for the advantage of the tenant himself that this Amendment should be adopted, in order to protect the tenant from proceedings which might be taken by unscrupulous creditors in order to compel him to sell his interest in his holding so that he might satisfy the claim they had upon him. He believed that the Government would do well to reconsider their position and accept the Amendment.

MR. GIVAN said, the hon. Member who proposed the Amendment before the Committee, in the remarks which he made, had stated that by the Bill as it stood a considerable portion of the landlord's income or property would be taken away. He would not enter into that argument, but he thought that no one who knew the value of arrears in Ireland would for a moment dissent from the proposition that one and a-half or two years of those arrears was a great deal more that the landlords would realize under ordinary circumstances. The hon Gentleman was probably not aware of the fact that in Ireland there existed a system of registration of debts against land, and a person who so registered had a lien upon the land. Suppose a portion of these arrears were to lie over for an indefinite time as a charge against the land, the result would be that the landlord ostensibly as regarded the public would be the possessor of a saleable interest in the farm. He might obtain money on the security of the holding, and when a creditor came to realize his debt the landlord would turn up against him with a prior lien under this Act of Parliament, and the creditor would get nothing. Further, the Amendment would, if it were adopted, give to the landlord a direct interest to allow an accumulation of arrears to take place in order that he might have an opportunity of selling up the tenant and realizing an old debt. He hoped the Committee would not approve the Amendment.

MR. HICKS remarked, that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in rising to answer the very able speech of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt), had thought it right to take him to task for the length of time he had occupied in moving this Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to show his own sense of the value of time by occupying almost as long a period in lecturing the hon. Member as that hon. Gentleman had used in addressing the Committee. If he understood the hon. Member opposite correctly, he said that the tendency of the Amendment was to dribble away the interests of the tenant; but he (Mr. Hicks) maintained that it was more calculated to maintain those interests, because, as had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Portarlington (Mr. Fitz-Patrick) it would protect the tenant from other creditors than the landlord. If, however, the Bill remained in its present form, whilst the landlord was deprived of the rights he was justly entitled to, the moment an award was made by the Court the common creditors could come in, and the very object of the measure would be defeated. They were told that the object of the Bill was to maintain the present tenants in their holdings. Now, the Amendment did not in any way interfere with the interests of the tenants in that respect; on the contrary, it preserved them for the reason pointed out by the hon. Member for Portarlington, to which he had just alluded—namely, that it would prevent the other creditors coming in and doing that which the Government professed on the very face of the Act to desire to avoid. If Her Majesty's Government did not see their way to accept this Amendment, which, in his opinion, was so agreeable to common justice, he would ask what steps they themselves would take to protect the tenants from the consequences which would inevitably ensue upon the award of the Court being made. Were they prepared to bring in a clause to prevent all the other creditors taking advantage of their opportunity to sell up the tenant? If Her Majesty's Government were prepared to bring in such a clause, he (Mr. Hicks) had no doubt that the Committee would be prepared to receive it with proper consideration; but in the absence of such intention on the part of the Government he maintained the Amendment before Committee, so far as the interest of the tenant was concerned, to be the best that could be proposed.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, the Committee had refused to accept the Amendment placed by himself on the Paper pledging the tenant right for the payment of advances to the State. He trusted, therefore, they were unwilling to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Stafford, which pledged it in favour of the landlord. He did not approve the words of the hon. Member, who described the Amendment as tending to dribble away the interest of the tenant; and, therefore, he would look at the question, not from the point of view of the tenant, but from that of the State. It was the interest of the State alone that would reconcile the taxpayers to paying the arrears to the landlords. The English taxpayer had been asked to put his hand into his pocket and pay a year's rent to the landlord, on the condition that he would forego the rest of the arrears, with the view of maintaining the tenants in possession of their holdings. It was only natural that the taxpayers should, under these circumstances, desire to have the full value of their money—that was to say, that the full advantage of what they were doing should be secured, and that the arrangement, so far as the State was concerned, should be made as clear as possible. He was strongly in favour of some reservation of the tenant right being made in favour of the State, and he might probably move an Amendment in that direction on Report. For that reason he trusted the Committee would not agree to an Amendment which would have the effect of pledging the tenant right to someone else.

Mr. GIBSON remarked, that this Amendment was moved for the purpose of dealing with one of the three great difficulties of the Bill. The Prime Minister, in his reply to the hon. Member who moved it, had pointed out that this clause had been under the consideration of the Committee for three days; but the Committee must remember that the clause was the vital part of the Bill, and that it was, in fact, the Bill itself. Now, the Amendment before the Committee dealt with a third division of the whole of the arrears. The first portion of the arrears had to be paid by the tenant, as to which there had been necessarily many considerations put forward in the numerous Amendments having reference to that part of the subject; then there was the portion to be paid by the State, in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) felt an especial interest; and, lastly, there was the portion not to be paid by anyone, and which was to be extinguished by the Act. It was with the last division of the arrears that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Stafford proposed to deal, and he (Mr. Gibson) claimed for it a fair consideration at the hands of the Committee. He was not impressed at all by the argument just addressed to the Committee by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, because he saw no analogy between the position of the State and the position of the landlord with reference to the tenant right. The State in this matter was represented by the Government of the day, and the proposal was voluntary, so far as the State was concerned, to pay the debt of the tenant, subject to the conditions contained in the Bill; the State having, of course, the right to do what it pleased with its own money. But the position of the landlord with reference to the arrears was quite different. The proceeding was *in invito;* and they were, therefore, entitled to regard the matter from the point of view of expediency and justice. The Prime Minister proposed to sweep away that portion of the arrears which the Amendment dealt with. The right hon. Gentleman said to the landlord—"Whether you like it or not, we wipe away these arrears; you will not recover one penny of them." And that being so, he would ask, what was the reason for it from the point of view of the Government? They said, for high public reasons, it was desirable to free the land in Ireland from arrears. That was their proposition. Well, a man might have assented to that, and from their own point of view; but he could not assent to their proceeding further in that direction than was absolutely necessary. The Prime Minister said the tenant should be relieved from immediate pressure, and that he should be free to work his farm, and live without fear of eviction impending over him. They knew that in the Province of Ulster there were arrears on many great properties for three, four, and five years' rent, which had been allowed to accrue without any feeling of hardship on the part of the landlord, because it was known that the rent was not very large as contrasted with the value of the tenant right; and it was also known that, according to the custom of Ulster, whenever a farm was sold, the first charge upon the tenant right was the amount due to the landlord. That custom worked very well; there was no feeling of hardship about it, and under it, with kindly forbearance on both sides, many tenants had been kept in possession of their farms, who would not otherwise have been able to hold their ground. He would deal now with the Amendment before the Committee, which took up that portion of the arrears proposed to be extinguished, and said, not that they should be preserved in the same state as at present, but that they should stand over, only to be realized in the event of sale by the tenant. In other words, they might never be realized at all; but the Amendment, if adopted, would insure that if a tenant in arrears found it necessary to go away and sell his farm, he should not be allowed to put into his pocket the price of the holding without paying anything to his landlord in respect of arrears, which were solely extinguished with a view to keeping him in possession of his farm. The Amendment also insured that if any other creditors of the tenant came in and sold up the tenant the practical purpose of the Bill should not be defeated. The Bill was not intended to tie up the landlord and leave the other creditors free; its object was, if possible, to leave the tenant in possession of his holding. But if it remained as it was, it would allow the creditors of the tenant other than the landlord to come in and realize the tenant's interest, which had been made valuable by this Bill. It was neither fair nor reasonable that the other creditors should be given this preference, which, by the Amendment before the Committee, was intended to be secured to the landlord. The Amendment would also carry with it the advantage of removing the feeling of irritation and sense of injustice which unquestionably existed in the minds of landlords, owing to the manner in which their property was being dealt with against their wish.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he should regard the existence of arrears rather as evidence of the inability of the tenant to pay than of forbearance on the part of the landlord. Under the present law, having regard to the Statute of Limitations, the landlord could recover six years' arrears of rent as against the land—that was to say, if the tenants could pay, because, as they would say in Ireland—"Although Samson was strong and Solomon was wise, they could not pay without money." Now, the Amendment proposed that five years' arrears should be insured to him, because, in addition to the three years' which the Amendment dealt with, the landlord would get one year's rent from the tenant and another year's rent from the State. The ground on which it appeared to him that this Amendment ought not to be accepted was that the question raised by it had been decided on the second reading. He could not admit the accuracy of the statement of his right hon. and learned Friend opposite, that the arrears ranged on estates in Ulster from one to six years; on the contrary, he believed it to be a fact that on no property in Ulster were there six years' rent due, and that only in a few cases was there one year's rent in arrear. If the Amendment were accepted, there would be no way of keeping the account of these charges; so that, in point of fact, the arrears would remain as a dormant charge on the land, because in no case would any interest be paid. Moreover, if the debts were to become a first charge, what was to become of such matters as drainage and improvement of the land? For the reasons indicated he hoped the Amendment would not be accepted by the Committee.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to be greatly impressed with the fact that by the operation of the Bill the landlords of Ireland would get a much larger sum into their pockets than they could expect to receive if the arrears were not dealt with in the manner proposed. He was not prepared to dispute that point. But, notwithstanding the circumstance that the landlord might be paid a larger sum than he would otherwise receive, everyone must feel that a great injustice was done by the State when it stepped in and compelled a whole class of creditors to accept a composition with their debtors on terms determined by one general rule, and not with reference to the equities of each particular case. It might be true that the creditors, as a whole, would gain; but that only meant that some would get more than they ought from the State, while others got less than they ought from their tenants. It could not be denied that this was a great evil in connection with this Bill; neither could it be denied that this evil would be largely obviated by the adoption of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Stafford. Another object to be gained by this was that a wide and salutary distinction would be drawn between the tenants who had paid their rents and those whom the Government were going to relieve by this Act. The third advantage to be gained by the operation of the Amendment was that the tenant would be protected from his other creditors — the shopkeeper and the gombeen man. He would not enlarge upon that argument, which had been extremely well urged by his hon. Friend (Mr. Fitz-Patrick), who was not now in his place; but he would remark that he had heard no answer to it from the other side of the House. On what ground, then, was the Amendment resisted? The Prime Minister had said with great force that the object was to start the tenant on a fresh career, and that if that object were not attained the Irish Church Surplus and the possible grant from the Consolidated Fund would be sacrificed in vain. He (Mr. Balfour) granted that if the tenant was not to get the advantage of the Bill when passed, free from the incubus of arrears, the Bill would fail in its operation, and that they would have sacrificed principle to no purpose whatever. But under the Amendment of the hon. Member for Stafford the tenant would not feel the burden of debt, because it could not be claimed from him so long as he remained in possession of the holding. Directly, however, he ceased to be tenant and cultivate the soil — directly he elected to migrate or emigrate, then undoubtedly he would have to pay some of the debt justly due to the landlord. He did not think it could be denied, if their object was to make the Irish tenantry cultivate their holdings without the feeling that they were overpowered by a load of debt which they could not pay, that that object was in no way militated against by the Amendment of his hon. Friend; because so long as the individual farmer remained a tenant he could not be called upon to pay. Therefore, he said, the argument urged against the Amendment from that point of view had no weight.

Mr. VILLIERS-STUART said, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in his reply to the speech of the hon. Member for Stafford in support of this Amendment, had stated that the arrears which the Amendment proposed to deal with were all bad debts. He was anxious to explain that that was not a correct view of the matter, because it was the general practice in Ireland, when the goodwill of a tenancy was sold, for a certain portion of the arrears to be deducted from the money paid by the incoming tenant. In that way a considerable portion of the arrears would be recovered as one farm after another changed hands. He was prepared to admit that the arrears were old debts, and that it would be unreasonable to expect to recover them in their entirety; but he would point out that a considerable portion of the arrears in question, previous to the year 1877, were at that time only debts of one year's standing. On all estates there were certain arrears in 1877 which, as he had pointed out on a previous occasion in the course of the discussions on this Bill, had been variously dealt with by different classes of landlords. The exacting landlords, for instance, got these arrears out of their tenants even in the years of distress—1877 and 1878—and that, too, at the point of the bayonet. He knew of a case in which dragoons and extra police were brought down at great expense to the county to extort these arrears. But there was another class of landlords, who wished to deal generously and indulgently with their tenants. These landlords followed a different course. They did not exact the arrears, which, be it remembered, were not their old arrears; and he said it would be a very hard case that the leniency of these landlords should now be turned against themselves, and the arrears of 1877 confiscated without their receiving any compensation whatever. He could understand that the Government should think it a very desirable thing to start the tenantry of Ireland with a perfectly free course before them; but he thought it perfectly right and just that in the comparatively limited number of cases in which the landlords had dealt with their tenants in the indulgent manner indicated, and who, moreover, had listened to the appeal of the Government to assist their operations, a reasonable amount of compensation should be given. In his opinion, one of two courses should be followed—either the arrears of 1877 ought to be secured to the landlord by a lien on the tenant right, only to be exercised on the sale of the good-will; or the limited number of landlords he referred to should receive reasonable compensation. With regard to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Stafford, he would conclude his remarks by saying that, although considerable exception had been taken to it in its present form, it contained, in his opinion, a principle well worthy of consideration.

MR. MAGNIAC remarked, that hon. Members who supported this Amendment on the other side of the House put forward what seemed to be "A New Way to Pay Old Debts." He understood the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour) to say that there ought to be an arrangement between the State and the landlord by which the debts of the latter should be secured, while the tenant would be thereby protected from his other creditors. He could not have conceived that such a proposal should be made in that House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I beg pardon; I spoke of protecting the tenant from being sold up.

MR. MAGNIAC understood the hon. Gentleman that the object of the Amendment was to save the tenant from the gombeen man and other creditors—the proposal being to make a collusive arrangement in order to defeat these persons. He knew nothing of the class of people referred to, but he presumed they stood in the same light as other creditors. It seemed to him that if the gombeen man was an individual who lent at a high rate of interest, he was no more to blame than the man who borrowed from him. However that might be, he maintained that the arrangement proposed was contrary to the morality of all civilized countries. But there was also an argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson), who, in the last Administration, held the high position of Law Officer to the Irish Government, upon which he desired to make one or two observations. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said the object of the Amendment was not that the arrears should be preserved in their integrity as at present, but that they should only stand over. Now, the one idea which pervaded the whole of the arguments of hon. Gentlemen opposite with regard to this matter was that of a state of chronic insolvency on the part of the tenant, and that was the very thing which the Government and their supporters wanted to get rid of. They wanted to place the tenant before the world clear of the incumbrance of arrears. A young man, perhaps, coming of age would be told that this charge was a mere matter of form; but after a certain time, when he wanted to deal with the tenant right, he would find that this matter of form had assumed proportions which it would be very difficult to get rid of. Another argument—a most astonishing one—had also been put forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite—namely, that the Irish landlords and their property were being dealt with against their desire. He should be glad to know whether anyone representing Irish landlords in that House had got up and said one word in opposition to the general principle of the Bill, which was that £2,000,000 should be paid to them which otherwise they would not have obtained. He did not remember, and he should be surprised to find, that this had been opposed by hon. Members opposite. He trusted the Committee would not agree to impose the charge upon the tenant's interest which was contemplated by the Amendment, because it would undoubtedly defeat the object of the Government with regard to the tenant by sending him a pauper into the world.

Mr. MULHOLLAND pointed out that the argument of hon. Members who had supported the Amendment on that side of the House was not that it would stand in the way of debts due to creditors other than the landlord, but that it would stand in the way of eviction for the debts of those creditors. Hon. Members seemed to forget that at present the landlord had the first charge on the tenant right already. But that was the case, and therefore the Amendment made no change whatever in this respect. It was the Bill that would make a change. The Attorney General for Ireland, on the point, was asked what equivalent would be got for this expenditure of public money if the tenants were not relieved from the debts of the other creditors, and he said there would be this one equivalent, that the landlord could not evict for these arrears. Now, the Amendment which was proposed would simply make half of the antecedent arrears a dormant charge upon the tenant right.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 93; Noes 169: Majority 76.—(Div. List, No. 254.)

Mr. M'COAN said, he had an Amendment to move to this clause authorizing the advance by way of loan to tenants of holdings valued at more than £30 a-year.

Mr. WARTON rose to Order. He thought the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) should be taken first. The Amendment in the name of the hon. Member who had just spoken proposed the introduction of a Sub-section No. 2; but the Committee would perceive by the Notice Paper that they had not yet finished Sub-section No. 1.

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport was quite correct in the view he had taken; and he, therefore, called on the hon. Member for Youghal.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the object he had in view was the same as that of which Notice had been given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Lynn Regis (Mr. Bourke). He had placed in the hands of the Chairman an Amendment, slightly differing in terms from, but substantially the same as, the one standing on the Notice Paper in his name, which he would ask the Committee to accept. His desire was to get rid of some technical details, and to shorten the process of the inquiry which had to be made before adjudication could take place under the Act. The whole object of the Amendment was to save the machinery of the Act from friction. If every case, simple or complex, were to be brought into Court in the same form and subjected to tests of the same description, hon. Members would perceive at once that the very multiplicity of the cases to be dealt with would be a great obstacle to the working of the Act; and, therefore, he wished that some advantages should be held out to both parties interested to come to terms as speedily as possible. Accordingly, he had suggested conditions which they should comply with which would entitle them to a speedy settlement, subject, of course, to the discretion of the Court, which he carefully preserved, and those conditions he had embodied in the Amendment he was about to move, and which he trusted would, for the reasons stated, commend itself to the Committee. In every case to which the Act would apply, the landlord must give up some portion of the arrears, and the amount he would receive from the Land Commission could not, in any single case, be more than £30. Now, in order that these cases might pass quickly through the Court, the conditions he proposed were that the landlord and tenant jointly, together with the land agent, if there were one, should make an affidavit—first, that the case came within the meaning of the Land Act of 1881; and, secondly, that the conditions (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) had been fulfilled and continued to exist, and that, upon this being filed, the Irish Land Commission should within 14 days issue an order for the settlement of the case. Now, this plan would have the effect of settling in an office an immense amount of the work which would otherwise come, judicially and in Court, before the Commissioners. He ventured to say that nine-tenths of the cases that would come before the Commissioners would not be of a judicial, but of an official character, and should be dealt with in the manner suggested, which would make it a matter of routine that an order should issue 14 days after the filing of the joint affidavit. And, further, he believed that the adoption of the plan embodied in his Amendment would do more than any other which could be added to the Bill to commend it to the parties interested, because he was satisfied that people in Ireland were sick of all this going to law about everything connected with their interests in land, and that they wanted something they could all agree upon. There could be no better evidence of the fulfilment of the conditions prescribed by the Act than that of the landlord, who would swear that he had foregone a considerable amount of rent, or that of the tenant, who would be very jealous of the landlord and anxious that he should not get more than he was entitled to; or, again, that of the land agent, who would have personal knowledge of the relations of both parties. Now, he asked that when an affidavit containing this evidence, the best that could possibly be obtained, should be put in, in the form prescribed, it should be accepted by the Commission as *primâ facie* sufficient. By this means the Act would become, to a large extent, self-acting in its most important clause, and it would be regarded as a real boon by the people of Ireland. On the other hand, if the Bill were passed unamended in this respect; if people had to look forward for months, or perhaps years, for a settlement of their arrears under this clause, in the same manner as they had now to wait before a judicial rent was fixed, he believed that series of delays would much tend to discourage them in appreciating an Act which he admitted had been introduced with the most benevolent intentions. The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Magniac) had said that no one representing the Irish landlords had said anything against the principle of getting the amount to be paid him for arrears; but he believed he was mistaken in thinking that more than a small proportion of the Irish landlords wished for the Bill. He ventured to say, however, if the Bill were made to work easily, they would hereafter be glad that it had been passed; and in furtherance of that he trusted his proposal would be accepted, for there was, in his opinion, no Amendment on the Paper, save and except that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Lynn Regis, which could equally commend itself to the common sense of the Committee.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 2, after the word "aforesaid," to insert the words, "The affidavit of the landlord and tenant conjointly with that of the land agent where there is one made in a form to be settled by the Irish Land Commission that the holding is one to which the Land Law (Ireland) Act 1881 applies, and that the conditions (*a*) (*b*) and (*c*) have been fulfilled and exist, shall be accepted as evidence of the existence of such conditions, and except in cases where the Land Commission, in the exercise of its discretion, shall deem further inquiry necessary. In cases where no further inquiry is deemed necessary the order for the payment of the money for the benefit of the landlord shall be issued within fourteen days from the filing of such affidavit."—(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. BOURKE said, as he was anxious to save the time of the Committee, he should put forward now the arguments applying to the Amendment standing in his name, which, as the hon. Member for Youghal had pointed out, was similar in character and object to that now before the Committee. The practical object which that hon. Member had in view was the same as his own, although it was proposed to be carried out in a somewhat different manner. He trusted this Amendment would be considered by the Government in a candid and fair spirit. He could assure the Committee that he put forward his proposal entirely on his own responsibility, and that he had not asked for the support of any hon. or right hon. Gentlemen sitting on those Benches, because he was quite sure that their financial nerves had been shocked too much already by the principles of this Bill, and because he felt that anything in harmony with those principles might not be in accordance with their views. He wished the Committee to understand that the Amendment in his name was proposed with the view of assisting the working of the Bill, because he thought that if this Bill which he objected to were to become law, the more quickly the operations under it were carried to a conclusion the better it would be for all parties. One of the great objects he had in view was to restore harmony between landlord and tenant upon this very burning question of arrears, because it was well known that owing to that question there was a great deal of bad feeling existing in the various parts of Ireland where this Bill would have most effect. The object, then, was to enact that upon the joint application upon affidavit of the landlord and tenant, the conditions mentioned in the clause should be considered by the Court as proved—namely, that the rent of 1881 had been paid, that the existing arrears were antecedent, and that the inability of the tenant to pay was a fact. He remembered well that on the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) certain words were introduced into that portion of the Bill which related to the tenant's inability to pay, having relation to wilful fraud; but he wished to point out that those words would in no way invalidate his proposal, which would furnish the State with a great amount of additional security. It was hardly necessary to say that the proceedings under this Bill should be closed once for all as soon as possible, because if they were not closed evils which at present they knew not of would certainly arise—that was to say, as additional arrears accrued fresh evils would take place. It had been admitted in the course of these debates that the Bill had had the effect of stopping the payment of rent, and therefore the arrears would go on accumulating and multiplying every day the operation of the Bill was kept in abeyance, with the result, if they were not speedily concluded, that in a few months the position of affairs would be worse than it was at that moment. He believed that if the proceedings before the Court were not concluded without delay the Bill would be regarded as illusory, and would, in effect, be mischievous. Now, it had been said that there might be collusion between the landlord and the tenant. He could not agree that this would be the result of the Amendment, because, after all, the thing the Government were afraid of was that the landlord would be able to show that he was entitled to a larger payment than he was really entitled to by collusion with the tenant. But there was nothing in the Bill as it stood which would prevent the landlord and tenant, if they were so minded, acting in collusion. There was no penalty which would operate in such an event, because the tenant would go in and prove his case while the landlord stood by, and no questions would be asked. But under the operation of his Amendment, if collusion took place the landlord would render himself liable to two years' imprisonment with hard labour. Now, he did not believe there was a landlord in Ireland who, for the sake of the money he would get under this Act, would run that risk. It did not appear to him necessary to press the case any farther, particularly as he was anxious to save the time of the Committee; but there was one remark that he desired to make having reference to the subject of stopping evictions, about which they had heard in the course of these discussions a great deal. He believed the adoption of the Amendment would have a considerable effect in that direction, because as soon as the tenants could say they had settled under this clause, as it was now proposed to amend it, they would be able to snap their fingers for the time being so far as eviction was concerned. On the other hand, he did not believe the adoption of the Amendment would lead to the slightest collusion; while it must be obvious to the Committee, and particularly to Irish Members, that it would greatly accelerate the working of the Act. For these reasons he appealed to right hon. Gentlemen opposite to give the proposal a full and candid consideration.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) agreed with hon. Members opposite in the object they had announced, that the working of the Bill in its preliminary stages should be as unincumbered as possible. He begged to assure the Committee that Her Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of the first steps in the settlement of arrears being taken with expedition. He also agreed that, practically, there would be scarcely any risk of collusion in cases where the landlord and tenant made the affidavit required. But, at the same time, it must be remembered that in any arrangement of this sort the statements contained in the affidavit could only be accepted as in the nature of *primâ facie* evidence. The Government were prepared to accept the principle of the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna); but it appeared to him that the subject would be with more propriety introduced in connection with the 7th section of the Bill than in the present clause, because that section was devoted to the rules for carrying the Act into effect. It would have to be considered whether it was desirable actually to introduce into the Bill an Amendment of the same kind as that now before the Committee, or whether it might with advantage be left to be included in the rules to be made by the Commissioners; but whatever was done he had no doubt that the arrangement suggested was the most practical way of dealing with the subject. Another reason why he thought the matter should be considered on the 7th section was that, in order to prevent anything like collusion, it would be desirable that the Crown agent should certify that the case was a fit and proper one. He therefore suggested that the Amendment should be withdrawn, in order that Her Majesty's Government might consider whether a clause should be introduced into the body of the Bill, and in order that they might propose words which would carry out the intention of the hon. Member for Youghal.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL said, as the Government had intimated that they were willing to consider favourably the best means of achieving the object proposed by the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) and the right hon. Member for Lynn Regis (Mr. Bourke), he would add his suggestion to that of the Solicitor General for Ireland that the matter would be more conveniently discussed on Section 7. It was most desirable that the operation of the Bill should be as speedy as possible, so far as the preliminary steps were concerned, because everyone who had taken an interest in the working of the Land Act of last year would admit that one of the great difficulties that stood in its way was the cumbrous machinery by which it was put in motion.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, in response to the appeals made to him, and on the understanding that the Government accepted the principle of his Amendment, and would give effect to it by suitable words on Report, he would ask leave of the Committee to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. GIBSON said, it was an unsatisfactory proceeding to postpone the making of rules relating to the working of a measure of this kind. He contended that the House was entitled to have the preliminary steps to be taken dealt with on the face of the Bill; and he regarded it as objectionable that the question should be left in such a way as that either too much or too little should be done thereafter. He pointed out that there would be some difficulty as to the affidavit with regard to the question whether the holding was one to which, in the terms of the clause, the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, applied. That was a matter the ascertaining of which might very well become the subject of a lawsuit, and a subsequent appeal. He suggested that this matter should be left open for the landlord and tenant to settle.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. CHILDERS said, the intention of the Government was that the affidavit should be *primâ facie*, but not conclusive evidence, that the conditions of the section had been fulfilled.

MR. BOURKE understood that the Amendment was accepted in principle.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) signified assent.

MR. CALLAN said, he wished to make some observations before the Amendment was withdrawn.

THE CHAIRMAN: I put the Question to the Committee—"Is it your pleasure that the Amendment be withdrawn?" That Question being answered in the affirmative, I said—"Amendment, by leave, withdrawn."

MR. CALLAN said, the Secretary of State for War had been permitted to make some observations, and he presumed he had the right to do the same.

The CHAIRMAN : If the hon. Member desires to make any observations which he has not had an opportunity of putting, the Committee will, perhaps, allow him to do so.

Mr. CALLAN said, his remarks would apply to the Question whether the Amendment should be withdrawn or not, and if the Chairman allowed a Minister to make observations——

The CHAIRMAN: I cannot allow the hon. Gentleman to dispute my ruling. The Amendment is withdrawn. Perhaps the Committee will allow the hon. Member to make such observations as he wishes.

Mr. CALLAN said, he must, of course, submit if the Chairman allowed the Secretary of State for War to make observations and denied the right to himself. He, of course, understood the manner in which the Chairman ruled with regard to Irish Members.

The CHAIRMAN : The hon. Gentleman is entirely out of Order.

Dr. LYONS asked whether it would not be proper to take the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) when the clause was disposed of?

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether the Committee are prepared to consider the new sub-section. I am not prepared to say that it is out of Order.

Mr. M'COAN said, he had introduced a slight verbal change in the sub-section which he was about to move; and he would, therefore, in order that the Committee might fully apprehend the change, state the Amendment in its altered form. It provided that—

> "In the case of any holding valued at more than thirty pounds a year, the tenant of which is in arrears of rent, the Land Commission may, on proof that the conditions (a) and (b)—not (c)—had been fulfilled, advance to such tenant, as a loan, a sum not exceeding one year's rent of his holding."

He might say that this Amendment was merely an extension of the previous portions of the clause, just as the clause itself was an extension of the Arrears Clause of the Act of last year; and he was encouraged to place the Amendment on the Paper by the early developed feeling on the part of the Committee that the extension of relief to Irish tenants of £30 and under which was to be afforded by the Bill might well be made to tenants of holdings above that valuation in the shape of loan. Hon. Members in that part of the House, and many Irish Members opposite, had expressed themselves in favour of the principle of loan; and, therefore, he believed it would constitute a large improvement if an extension of the principal feature of the Bill were introduced. As he first framed the Amendment, he contemplated loans only to the class of tenants between £30 and £50; but, on consulting two or three friends who were competent to advise in a matter of the kind, he determined not to introduce the limit of £50, but to leave it to the Committee to fix such limitation as they might think proper. He believed, however, that when he had stated the statistics and facts bearing upon the point, the Committee would see that he was not asking too much from Her Majesty's Government by proposing the Amendment in its present form. Taking his statistics from *Thom's Almanac*, which, although they were not those of the recently issued Treasury Minute, were sufficiently accurate for his purpose, he found that the number of holdings of £30 to £50 valuation was a little over 85,000, whilst those from £30 to over £100 valuation numbered 111,000. Of the latter, there was every reason to believe that the proportion of those tenants who were in arrear did not exceed one-third of the number ; and, therefore, his Amendment would probably not apply to more than 37,000. He did not submit these figures as having an authoritative value, but as the basis of a calculation of the advance from the Public Treasury which would have to be made if his Amendment were adopted. There was no necessity that he could see, beyond that of drawing the line somewhere, which induced the Government to determine upon the valuation of £30 named in the Bill; but, seeing that this limitation had been adopted in the Bill of last year, and in the present case also, he took no exception to it. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the valuation of £30 was a very arbitrary limit, and that there was a large number of tenants of between £30 and £40 valuations who were in arrears, and probably many in the same position whose holdings were valued at between £40 and £50, although, of course, the number would decrease as the scale was ascended. But there could be no doubt of there being a large number of tenants, of holdings valued at above £30, who stood in need of the relief to be afforded by the Bill, and it was on behalf of these that he asked the Government to agree to introduce the principle of loan. Seeing that this principle had been so favourably received on both sides of the House, he hoped that no great objection might occur to the Government which would lead them to reject his proposal for the sufficient reason that not a single penny was asked for out of the Consolidated Fund. His proposal was simply that the relief asked for should be afforded by way of loan, and upon security which would insure the repayment of capital, together with reasonable interest, say, at the rate of 1 per cent per annum, in 35 years. He thought so little objection could be urged against this, and so strong were the reasons in favour of affording relief to the large mass of tenants standing at valuations above £30 a-year, that he ventured to hope the principle he advocated would commend itself to hon. Members on both sides of the House. He was, of course, not pledged to the precise form of the Amendment he was about to move; and it might be that the addition of some words relating to details would render it more workable in the judgment of right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench, and, if such were proposed, he would gladly accept them. He would, in short, be glad if the principle of the Amendment were adopted, in the belief that it would be a great and valuable contribution to the relief afforded by the Bill.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, after Sub-section (1), insert—"(2.) In the case of any holding valued at more than thirty pounds a year, the tenant of which is in arrears of rent, on proof that the conditions (a) and (b) have been fulfilled, the Land Commission may advance to such tenant, as a loan, a sum not exceeding one year's rent of his holding. Such loan shall be a debt due to the tenant to the Land Commission, and shall form a first charge on his saleable interest in the holding, payable at the rate of five pounds per centum per annum for a period of thirty-five years, and shall be recoverable in the manner provided by 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," for arrears paid under that Act."—(*Mr. M'Coan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Government were prepared to deal with the Amendment in the spirit indicated by the closing words of the hon. Member who had just sat down. With regard to the form in which the principle of the Amendment should be expressed in the Bill, the opinion of the Government was that it would be best to take advantage of the carefully-considered and carefully-drawn clause in the Act of last year, which dealt with the provision for arrears by way of loan. He would state briefly the general grounds on which the Government proposed to proceed. The hon. Member had now altered the form of his proposal, and had introduced the principle of loan, with limitation to all holdings of above the rateable value of £30 a-year. But the information of the Government was that this would be a very doubtful measure, and their opinion inclined to the adoption of the limit which the hon. Member himself had first suggested—namely, that of £50 a-year. But in passing from a system of gift to one of loan, they must do so upon the conditions which belonged to the latter system. They must get rid of the question of the tenant's inability to pay; they must get rid of compulsion, and they must have joint application on the part of the landlord and tenant, as well as joint security. He believed those who had regard for the future welfare of Ireland would approve what he was about to say—namely, that they could not assent to the placing of the State in the relation of creditor directly and immediately on the poorest portion of the occupiers of land in Ireland for a long series of years. The principle of limitation which the Government proposed to introduce into the Arrears Clause of last year, when they revised it and presented it in the shape of a new clause, and which they now undertook to do, would be to eliminate the term of 15 years, and adopt in its stead the term of 35 years for the repayment of the loan as suggested by the hon. Member. He did not invite the Committee to discuss the question on that occasion, because there would be an ample opportunity for doing so when the new clause was brought forward. He merely wished to point out to the Committee the basis on which the Government were prepared to deal with this subject.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, Irish Members could not but feel grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for the manner in which he had met the proposal of the hon. Member for Wicklow. He was, however, afraid that if the loans were to be made upon the joint application of the landlord and tenant the clause would not be so beneficial to the latter as it was intended to be, because he thought the landlords were not likely to assist the tenants in this matter. There were many cases of farms, even above £50 value, in which the tenants were quite unable to meet their arrears; and if the Government would allow them to obtain a loan upon a joint application of themselves or their landlords of one year's rent, even above £50 in value, they would confer a great boon upon a deserving class of individuals to enable them to get rid of some of their difficulties.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he hoped that the Committee would not enter into a discussion of this particular provision now. No doubt, that was the basis of the clause introduced into the Bill of last year; but then the landlords were called on in a great many cases in the West of Ireland to forfeit a large portion of their income. By this measure Parliament was attempting to provide for the bulk of these cases, and to meet the most urgent cases by a gift. This was only a case of providing a margin which was to be met in the shape of a loan. He would not enter further into the consideration of the question at that moment; but he would only say that the matter would be considered on the basis of the clause in the Land Act.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he did not propose to enter into a discussion of what the right hon. Gentleman had now said the Government were about to propose. They would entirely reserve any opinion on that (the Opposition) side of the House as to this proposal; but he was bound to say that, on a first examination of what the right hon. Gentleman had said, he thought it raised not only an important question for Ireland, but for England also. What was the principle upon which they had hitherto been acting with regard to the Irish tenants? They had been acting upon the principle of granting money to the Irish tenants. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House contended that the grant ought to be by way of loan, whereas Members on the other side contended that it should be by way of gift. But both sides of the House had contended that the reason why aid should be given to tenants was because they were poor, and because they were unable to pay the arrears; and for that reason—and that reason only—Parliament and the House, whether on one side or the other, had consented to the principle of the Government. They had consented solely on the ground that the tenants were totally unable to pay the arrears due. But now the right hon. Gentleman spoke of introducing loans for tenancies between £30 and £50 in value, without any question as to the inability of the tenants to pay. He ventured to warn the right hon. Gentleman that he was introducing a totally new principle, and one of a far wider range than any contained in the Bill.

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is the principle of the Land Act.

Mr. E. STANHOPE admitted that that was so to a certain extent; but it was now proposed to extend that principle to tenants between £30 and £50, and the tenants in England might be disposed to say that seeing the Irish tenant had had a good harvest, while the English tenant had had a series of bad harvests, the English tenant had a far greater claim to it than tenants who would not be called upon to show that they were unable to pay, but simply to show that the rent of their holding was between £30 and £50. In that case, upon a joint agreement between the landlord and the tenant, relief might be asked for. That seemed to him to be raising a very grave question. He would not discuss it further now; but he would reserve his opinion as to the new principle suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. CARPENTER GARNIER said, he regarded the Bill as a mere palliative. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that they were introducing a difficult question, and that the principle just suggested by the Prime Minister of making it a gift up to £30, and making it a loan after £30, would cause confusion, and, if adopted in the case of Ireland, would probably have to be hereafter extended to England.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the Committee that, although some observations have been made on both sides of the House with reference to the statement of the Prime Minister, it would not be regular to discuss a Motion which is not now before us; and, therefore, any remarks that may be made ought to be confined within a very narrow compass.

MR. CARPENTER GARNIER asked when the new clause would be placed before the Committee?

MR. GLADSTONE: Probably to-morrow.

MR. PARNELL said, he had ventured to recommend yesterday that it would be better for the Government to insist on this proposition in regard to proof of inability to pay. He did not think, however, that the tenant right should be taken into account in estimating the tenant's inability. He thought that would entail a very much smaller drain upon the Exchequer, and would better meet the cases of hardship which had arisen outside the limit of £30. There were cases of hardship which it was most desirable, for the peace of the country and for the maintenance of order in the country, to meet if possible. Of course, he did not wish to insist on his own notions in the matter, and if the Prime Minister thought it would be better to adopt the principle of the clause of last year, and leave the matter to be settled by a voluntary arrangement, he should not press his own judgment; but he still thought that for the purpose of meeting cases of hardship which had arisen outside the limit of £30, it would be better to insist upon proof of inability to pay on the part of the tenant, and to put compulsion upon the landlord when inability was proved. He did not think it was advisable to permit the Court to take into account the value of the tenant right.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) wished to withdraw the Amendment?

MR. M'COAN replied in the affirmative.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that before the Amendment was withdrawn he desired to make one or two observations. He thought the only objection that could be raised against the Bill was that they were doing in one measure what ought to have been done in two separate and distinct Bills. He thought it would be better to incorporate into the measure the clauses of the Act of 1881 in regard to land rather than insert new clauses. He differed from the opinion expressed by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) that it would be better to insist on proof of inability to pay, if he meant further proof. The landlord himself must join and give security, and it was not likely that the landlord would join and pledge his entire estate as security for the tenants unless there were some exigency that rendered such a step absolutely necessary. He wished to know when the promised proposals of the Government would be placed in the hands of the Committee?

MR. CHILDERS said, his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister had already stated that the clause would be on the Paper to-morrow.

MR. M'COAN said, that in view of the very satisfactory statement of the Prime Minister, on the whole, he would not insist on his Amendment, especially as he should have an opportunity of considering the question when the new clause was placed before the Committee. He would now withdraw the Amendment.

MR. J. DICKSON said, he wished to point out, before the Amendment was withdrawn, that if the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister insisted on the two conditions that there should be a joint application and that the landlords must give security for the repayment of the loan, the clause he was about to introduce would have no effect at all. He could state from his own knowledge that in Ulster there would be no joint application between the landlord and tenant, and in that Province the landlord would not enter into any arrangement to secure the advance of the tenant's arrears by the State. The result would be that, as far as Ulster was concerned, this Arrears Bill would practically be a dead letter; and he reserved to himself the right, when the clause came up, to endeavour to mould the Bill into such a shape as would enable the Ulster tenant to derive some advantage from it. He might point out that, as far as Ulster was concerned, and especially his own county, the entire benefit conferred by the Arrears Clauses of the Land Act of 1881 amounted to £68. This was entirely owing to the fatal blot in the measure that the landlord and tenant were to join in the application. The Prime Minister now got up and accepted, in substance, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan), and he was afraid that the only result which would follow was that no relief whatever would be afforded by this measure to Ulster tenants.

Colonel NOLAN said, he thought the Prime Minister was quite right in his suggestion that a hard-and-fast line should not be drawn with respect to advances. It would be very unjust that a man should get nothing because he happened to pay £1 more rent than the sum fixed. The man who paid £29 would get a very valuable concession, whereas the man who would pay £31 or £32 would get nothing at all. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) said the English farmers would want similar concessions; but the hon. Gentleman forgot the fact that at present the English towns borrowed very largely from the State, and received a considerably larger sum of the public money in advances than the Irish towns. He believed they obtained in that manner five or six times as much as the Irish towns under the different Acts of Parliament for granting loans. The English people were immensely larger borrowers from the State than the Irish nation, and a very considerable sum of money was at the present moment owing to the National Exchequer from various localities in England. He thought that that and other discrepancies between the two countries ought to be taken into account. English Members rarely reflected upon this point when they taunted the Irish people with coming to Parliament to borrow money.

Colonel RUGGLES-BRISE remarked, that the tenant farmers of his own constituency in Essex, and in many other parts of England, had more disastrous harvests to contend with than the Irish tenants, and perhaps they might derive some hope from the present measure that they might obtain assistance from the State in order to enable them to meet their losses. Certainly, the only hope they could entertain of any future agricultural prosperity was in a large increase of the capital of the tenantry of the country. Therefore, although he could not say that he altogether approved of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman, he could not help thinking that if it were carried it could not be limited to Ireland, but must be altogether limited to England.

Colonel COLTHURST wished to say one word in answer to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench (Mr. E. Stanhope). He believed there was no danger of this being made a precedent for England, and for a very good reason. The proposal was limited to tenancies rated at £50; and he should like to hear from the hon. Gentleman how many tenants in England there were who paid a less rental than £50?

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he could answer the question at once. He knew a very large number of tenants who came under that description. He warned the Committee that if they were going to extend this provision beyond that contained in the Act of 1881, which certainly went far enough, it would become a very serious question with the English tenants whether they were not to ask for as large a boon as that which the Irish tenants apparently were to get. He wished to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War whether the contemplated advance was to be limited strictly to one year's rent of the holding? He had not distinctly understood the Prime Minister's statement on that point.

Mr. CHILDERS replied in the affirmative.

Mr. P. MARTIN said, he had no desire to discuss the clause of the Prime Minister; but he should like to say, in reference to the observations which had been made by hon. Members opposite, that it was proved before the Richmond Commission and the Bessborough Commission that the pressure of distress and the inability to discharge arrears of rent had been shown to exist, not merely amongst those whose holdings were under £30, but, unfortunately, to as great an extent amongst those whose valuation exceeded that amount. As a matter of policy, and looking to the objects sought to be attained by the Bill, the larger holdings ought not to be excluded. The extension of the limit of those to be benefited by the proposed loans would cause no appreciable loss to the State. The condition of very many of those tenants who would be excluded was deserving of quite as much commiseration as that of tenants with holdings of under £30. He would ask the Government whether this limit of £50 might not be raised to £100?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not regular to discuss a proposal which is not before the Committee.

MR. P. MARTIN said, he was only going to suggest that on turning to the statistics it would be seen that the number of holdings between the figures suggested by the Prime Minister — namely, £30 and £50 in value, were very few indeed, and that if the limit were extended to £100 it would not to any appreciable extent burden the Imperial Exchequer.

MR. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, he had been very much struck by the remark made by the hon. Member who had just sat down that the tenant who paid over £30 a-year was more deserving of commiseration than the tenant who paid less than that. If there was anything in that argument, it was not that they should be allowed to borrow the money, but that the same provisions of the Bill should be applied to those who paid £30 as were applicable to those who paid less—that was to say, that their arrears should be wiped out in the same high-handed manner as was done in the case of the smaller tenants. It struck him that this was only another proof of how one wrong step involved another. It appeared to them that they would never know where to stop. The hon. Member who had just sat down suggested that the limit should be extended beyond the £50 mentioned by the Prime Minister up to £100. He (Mr. Donaldson-Hudson) did not see why the poor tenants should be the only persons whose sad condition should receive so much consideration. There were men who had embarked in trade, and been unsuccessful, who were worthy of quite as much compassion from the House of Commons as the unfortunate farmer who had gone into another trade —namely, raising beef and mutton and corn. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) suggested that it was only fair that the Irish farmers should be allowed to borrow this money, because the towns in Ireland were already enabled to borrow money.

COLONEL NOLAN said, the hon. Member misunderstood him. What he had stated was that towns in England—for instance, Birmingham — had borrowed large sums of money.

MR. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, that if the hon. and gallant Member had allowed him to continue his observations he would have found that he had not misrepresented his views. The argument of the hon. and gallant Member was that the towns in Ireland had not borrowed so much money as the towns in England; but he thought it must be evident to the hon. and gallant Member that the towns in England had not borrowed money on the security of anybody else, but that they had borrowed it on their own security. It was a perfectly fair transaction. Either a town or an individual might borrow as much as they liked under an Act of Parliament upon their own security or upon the security of the rates, and they paid for the money they obtained. That was a very different thing to borrowing upon the security of anybody else to pay it for them. There was no comparison between the two cases, and the argument of the hon. and gallant Member fell entirely to the ground.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the Committee that the discussion is not being confined to the Question before them.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that the landlords could borrow upon the same security; and he did not see, therefore, how his argument was so fallacious as the hon. Member opposite contended.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. FRESHFIELD moved, in line 4, after "Commission," to insert, "and on payment of the money with interest from the date of the order." He said, the Bill was intended to offer a discharge to all tenants with holdings not exceeding £30 per annum, who were unable to meet their arrears, on payment of one year's rent, with a second year's rent to be provided out of public funds. It was estimated, as he understood, that the gross sum to be thus raised and provided out of public funds was from £2,000,000 to £2,500,000. The sum appeared to have been variously estimated by different authorities; but the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister considered that £2,500,000 would be required. Now, the second year's rent was to come out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund primarily; but if there were no surplus to that Fund, then it was to come out of the Consolidated Fund. The Irish Church Surplus Fund had also been variously estimated. Some alleged that there was no surplus at all. Others estimated it at £1,500,000. The Secretary of State for War, who appeared to have paid great attention to the subject, was convinced that there would be a surplus quite sufficient to meet claims to the extent of £2,000,000. The clause provided for three preliminary conditions to be proved to the satisfaction of the Irish Land Commission before an advance was made. These conditions were—first, that the rent payable in respect of the last year of the tenancy had been satisfied; secondly, that antecedent arrears of rent were due to the landlord; and, thirdly, that the tenant was unable to discharge these antecedent arrears. Then the clause went on to say that in the event of the Land Commission being satisfied in regard to these preliminary conditions, they

> "May make an order for payment to or for the benefit of the landlord of a sum equal to one-half of such antecedent arrears not exceeding one year's rent."

He presumed that the word "may" really represented "must;" but he should like to have the opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General upon that point. The clause went on to say that—

> "On such order for payment to or for the benefit of the landlord being made by the Land Commission, all such antecedent arrears of rent shall be released and extinguished."

He (Mr. Freshfield) contended that it was unreasonable for a man to have to surrender his claim for rent, not for money, but for an order which might not be payable for a long time. He ought to say that by Clause 9 any liabilities incurred by the Land Commission on account of payments to landlords in respect of arrears of rent under this Act would be primarily a charge on the Irish Church Temporalities Fund, and, subject thereto, on the Consolidated Fund in such manner as might be provided by Parliament. The first thing, therefore, to be ascertained was whether there was any surplus on the Church Fund—this had to be ascertained in some manner or other. The securities of the Fund did not consist of money, but of interests in land in Ireland; and who was able to say whether those securities could be sold at all, and, if so, when? Under any circumstances there must be considerable delay. Then there was a claim on the Consolidated Fund; but that could not be made until it was shown that the surplus of the Irish Church Temporalities Fund was insufficient to meet the applications made under the Bill. These transactions would necessarily occupy a great deal of time, and it must be remembered that the discharge to the tenant would be compulsory as far as the landlord was concerned. The landlord had a right to say to the tenant, immediately on the issuing of the order—"Give me the money, and you shall take the discharge." But, according to the Bill, the discharge was to take place on the issue of the order. All he (Mr. Freshfield) asked was that, in the carrying out of the arrangement, the discharge should not take place earlier than the payment. The claim for interest on the Church Fund would be a very small one; but as there was to be delay, interest ought to be allowed to run. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had favoured the House with a Minute which he had addressed to the Treasury, and in that Minute the right hon. Gentleman stated that the Church Fund could be made to produce a surplus. Of surplus, at the present moment, however, there was none. The Fund was charged with debts amounting to between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000, and that money could not be repaid under the terms of the arrangement as it existed if a further burden were imposed. Some change would have to be made. There must be a delay and a prolongation of the term within which the money was to be paid. There were two parties to the bargain. The Treasury might be willing to postpone the payments; but the National Debt Commissioners, who held the existing charges, might object to extend the term for the payment of their debts. No doubt, the voice of the Prime Minister was all-powerful in most cases, and possibly it might be all-powerful with the National Debt Commissioners; but they must remember that the right hon. Gentleman might not always be Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman might, at some time or other, find the almost superhuman labours involved in the discharge of the important functions of the two important Offices he held too great for him, and he might resign. It might be a misfortune to the country, or it might not, if such a thing took place; but, whether or not, if it did, the result might be that the Chancellor of the Exchequer who followed him might take a different view of the matter, and say he did not consider it for the interest of the public that his claims should be postponed, and so the proposed arrangements might break down. If so, the charge would fall on the Consolidated Fund, which could not be touched without an Act of Parliament. There must be delay in passing such an Act, and the result would be that the operation of this Bill would give the landlord an order which did not involve present payment. The money held over in this way ought to carry interest; and, therefore, he proposed the Amendment on the Paper.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 4, after the word "commission," to insert the words "and on payment of the money with interest from the date of the order."—(*Mr. Freshfield.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHILDERS said, that anything that fell from the hon. Member, particularly on financial matters, was worthy of the greatest respect; but he (Mr. Childers) could not help thinking that on this occasion the hon. Member had conjured up a difficulty which could not exist, and which, if it did exist, would mean the total breakdown of all these arrangements. The very suggestion that interest must be paid involved the idea of a postponement in the payment that would be inconsistent with the principle of the Bill. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would allow any delay to take place in this matter. The order, when it was issued by the Commission, would be obeyed, and the money would be forthcoming at once. Whether or not the Irish Church Fund was sufficient to provide £2,000,000, there was no question whatever that under a Minute of the Treasury that amount could be at once raised. The fact of the Consolidated Fund being used as security placed it beyond all question that, immediately after this Act came into operation, the necessary amount, from time to time, under the arrangement that the Treasury Minute would express, would be forthcoming. The Treasury Minute would express most clearly the alterations of the former loans, and the operations that would be effected by the fresh loan would enable as much to be put to the credit of the Land Commission as might be necessary. He could assure the hon. Member that he quite sympathized with his object, that there should be no question whatever as to present payment. The orders would be upon the Funds that would be forthcoming in consequence of the issue of the Treasury Minute. The Amendment might be a most dangerous thing, as it would imply the possibility of delay in the payment of these orders, whereas arrangements had been made whereby the orders were to be paid immediately they were issued. The late Secretary to the Treasury, on the opposite side of the House, would know very well that anything like delay would be most dangerous. The payments must be made when the orders were drawn.

Mr. PLUNKET said, he could not say that he was much surprised at his hon. Friend having moved this Amendment. The hon. Gentleman had very clearly expressed his views on the subject, and the reasons why he had put down his Amendment. When the Treasury Minute was issued there would be a considerable amount of mystery as to how the money was to be obtained, and the Amendment appeared to him (Mr. Plunket) to be most harmless. It would do no harm if the money was paid; and if it was not, it would be a wise precaution. At the same time, as the Government could not see their way to accept it, and after the distinct assurance of the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that the payments would be made at once, he thought the hon. Member (Mr. Freshfield) might allow him to suggest that it would be hardly worth while to take a division on this subject.

Mr. CHILDERS: It would do harm, as it would imply a doubt as to the present payment of the orders.

Mr. SALT said, that, no doubt, the order for payment would be a cash order.

Mr. FRESHFIELD, in reply, observed, that he could not consider the statements of the right hon. Gentleman as satisfactory answers to his arguments; but as the right hon. Gentleman had given his assurance that arrangements had been made for payment of the orders as soon as issued, he would not put the Committee to the trouble of a division, but would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. HEALY said, he had an Amendment to propose which was only of a verbal character. A clause of the Act of last year contained words similar to those he was proposing, and they were much clearer than those contained in the present Bill. The point was this—that under the present measure, as it stood, if the words he proposed to leave out were retained, the Bill would simply refer to arrears for 1880, and not for 1881. It would, of course, follow, if the tenant had paid or satisfied his arrears, that not only all "such antecedent arrears," but all arrears would be cleared off. [The Solicitor General for Ireland assented.] The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Porter), it appeared, agreed with him, as he nodded his head, and, that being so, it would be unnecessary for him to dwell at any length upon this matter. His Amendment was simply to provide that if a landlord had been satisfied, and all the arrears had been removed, he should be prevented from subsequently coming down upon the tenant and saying—"You must now pay me the arrears, because times which were bad have become good, and I think I am entitled to participate in your improved circumstances." The Amendment would inflict no hardship upon anybody, and was merely, as he had said, a verbal matter. The point, he confessed, was one that it was exceedingly difficult to explain; and he (Mr. Healy) laboured under the disadvantage of having to describe a great technicality; but he desired to make it clear that the words he proposed to leave out only referred to arrears up to November, 1880. He wished to have it clear that all arrears up to 1881 should be cleared. Lower down in the clause he intended to propose another Amendment, but it was simply consequential upon this one. He trusted there would be no difficulty in accepting his proposal.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 4, to leave out the words "such antecedent."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, there could be no doubt as to the justice of the principle of the Amendment; but there was equally no doubt that the proposal was quite unnecessary. The hon. Member was quite right in saying that "such antecedent arrears" meant arrears antecedent to 1881, and the tenant could not get an order from the Court without having paid or satisfied the rent up to that date.

Mr. HEALY said, he agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman in his argument, as the hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to agree with him in his; but the hon. and learned Gentleman did not appear to see that the satisfaction might only be the landlord's acceptance. The landlord might simply say, "I give you this amount," no document passing between them. The landlord would acquiesce in the statement of the Court, but the Bill gave the tenant no acquittance. What he (Mr. Healy) desired was that the Bill should give the tenant an acquittance up to November, 1881. The affair was one of a merely verbal character, and the Solicitor General for Ireland must see that, without the proposed alteration, as a matter of fact, the landlord might be able to sue the tenant for the rent of 1881.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that they all agreed as to what was intended to be done, and the only objection of the Government was that it would interfere with the ordinary symmetry of the Bill. The rent for 1881 was to be satisfied or paid. He would suggest that the Amendment should be withdrawn.

Mr. WARTON thought the alteration might be highly dangerous, as it might have the effect of extinguishing three gales—one being in 1883.

Mr. HEALY wished the Committee to know, then, that the words, as he proposed them, were contained in the Act of last year, and no others. He wished to know how it was that they had grown wiser since last year. He was willing to withdraw his Amendment.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he thought they really had grown wiser since last year, and that they had drafted the Bill in better form.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GIVAN said, he proposed to move, in page 2, line 5, after "rent," to insert—

> "And any judgment, decree, or security which the landlord may have obtained therefor, or for any part thereof, since the first day of February last."

The Amendment required a little explanation. It was well known in Ireland, and to that House, that one of the causes of irritation and agitation in Ireland had been the readiness with which some landlords had proceeded by writs and other processes of law for the recovery of rents. He did not say that any such proceeding had taken place on large and well-managed estates in Ireland; but proceedings of such a kind had largely taken place on small estates, and notably since there had been a prospect of the introduction of this Bill. The Attorney General for Ireland knew very well that rent had always stood in as high, or in a higher position, than any other debt on the land. It had always stood in the position of a speciality debt, over which, as a general rule, no other debt could take priority. Since there had been a prospect of the introduction of this Bill there had been a practice of proceeding against tenants in a harsh and cruel manner by levying upon them, by the sale of their crops or stock, which was necessary for the due cultivation of the farms for the purpose of realizing arrears of rent due, before this Act in favour of the tenant came into operation. The point had been mentioned before—it had been referred to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) in a Question he had put to the Government. He (Mr. Givan) had had the matter brought to his attention by tenants in the county he represented. He had received a communication to the effect that a bundle of writs had been served upon the estate of Lord Rossmore, on the 11th of July, for the purpose, some of recovering two and a-half, some three, and some two years' rent, and so on. Not only were the rents due up to the 1st of November, 1881, proceeded for, but writs had been issued actually including May, 1882. And what had been the effect of these proceedings? The landlords who had adopted them had determined to have their pound of flesh, and they had had it; whereas the forbearing landlords, who had treated their tenants with kindness and mercy, would come in quietly acquiescing in the provisions of this Bill, whatever they might be. He did not think the former class should have an advantage over the latter. He did not think the House would be inclined to give the landlords who had acted in a harsh and unfeeling manner in enforcing their claims against the tenantry an advantage over landlords who had not adopted that course, and it was with the object of preventing this that he had put his Amendment on the Paper. He wished to provide that on the tenant paying the rent in November, 1881, and on the payment of the year's rent by the Land Commission, not only should the tenant be released from all arrears, but from all decrees and judgments which had been obtained for antecedent arrears since, say, the 1st of February. He did not fix the 1st of February as a hard-and-fast date, and he had only decided upon that for the reason that it might be taken as the period at which it was first shadowed forth that this Bill was likely to be introduced. If the Committee should think some other date preferable—the 1st of March, for instance—he should be willing to accept the suggestion; but, at any rate, he hoped the Committee would not allow a perferential security to those landlords who least deserved it.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, line 5, after the word "rent," to insert the words "and any judgment, decree, or security which the landlord may have obtained therefor, or for any part thereof, since the first day of February last."—(*Mr. Givan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GIBSON said, this was an Amendment which, on the first view, appeared very plausible, and which, on a later examination, might be thought could be accepted with a qualification as to costs, which were plainly not provided for by the hon. Member.

Mr. GIVAN said, he did not wish to raise that question; but had desired to leave it to the Committee.

Mr. GIBSON said, he was justified, therefore, in thinking that it was not an oversight on the part of the hon. Member, and that he (Mr. Givan) had refrained from dealing with the question of costs, in order that an Amendment might be proposed which he could accept. At first he (Mr. Gibson) had thought that this was the only hitch in the Amendment; but it had occurred to him a moment ago—and the objection seemed to come more home to him as he considered the matter—that the Amendment would be in conflict with the view taken and persisted in with all due consistency by Her Majesty's Government in the Bill throughout. The Bill was intended to be one which should operate only indirectly in ejectments and evictions, and would say to both parties—"You can procure the benefits and advantages of the Bill if you please." In no part did the Bill say that the landlord was to be put in jeopardy, or in any kind of penal position. It said to him —"You have the power of initiation, and you may submit to the operation of the Bill and get what is held out to you in the shape of a gift." That, all through, was the consistent statement of the Government; but when once they took up the position of dealing with evictions and ejectments, it was obvious they opened up a large question that would require a considerable amount of discussion. He admitted that openly and directly the Amendment did not deal with that question, but indirectly it did. Nowhere did it use the word "eviction" or "ejectment;" but it was, nevertheless, the fact that it would extinguish ejectments and evictions, because they would be all controlled by the words which governed the Amendment, and which would extinguish all decrees. He (Mr. Gibson) did not know whether that was the hon. Member's intention; but, if so, it did not appear on first reading the Amendment. He (Mr. Gibson) had not himself at first put that meaning on it; but, on further consideration, he thought that construction fairly applied; and if they were to have such a proposal before them, it would open up questions the discussion of which would indefinitely prolong the proceedings of the Committee, and, at the same time, it would give contradiction to the statements of the Prime Minister and all the other Ministers who had taken part in these debates. Under all the circumstances of the case, he (Mr. Gibson) did not feel himself at liberty to assent to the Amendment, and he should, therefore, be bound to oppose it. He should be glad, however, to hear from the hon. Member his view of the matter —he should be glad to hear the hon. Member explain in detail whether or not he proposed to deal with ejectments and evictions, and whether he intended to deal with the question of costs and matters of that kind. He (Mr. Gibson) looked on the question of costs as a secondary matter; but the matter of dealing with evictions and ejectments was vital.

Mr. GIVAN said, the question put to him by the right hon. and learned Gentleman was an extremely fair one, and he was obliged to him for the manner in which he had addressed it to him. He (Mr. Givan) did not think it would be fair to interfere with the landlord in proceeding for ejectment if the tenant failed to avail himself of the operation of the Act. In such a case it would not be fair to prevent the landlord from putting an ejectment decree that he might have obtained into operation. But if the tenant should avail himself of the Act, the effect of the landlord having an ejectment decree against him should not stand in his way. As to the ejectment, the tenant had the right of redemption, and the landlord was in no better position in regard to ejectment for non-payment of rent than this—that he might take the land from the tenant temporarily, and the tenant might, under the provisions of the Bill, effect a redemption. The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) would admit that under the provisions of the Act, subject to payment of costs, the tenant should have the right of redemption, if he acted in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Bill. In a case in which the landlord had elected since this Bill had been brought in, or immediately prior to it, instead of obtaining an ejectment for non-payment of rent, to obtain a judgment, or civil bill decree, or a promissory note, or bond, or mortgage on the tenant's interest in the farm, by such a proceeding he would obtain an unfair advantage over the tenant, and would put himself in a position better than he would occupy if such a proceeding were not taken. He (Mr. Givan) thought the landlord who had adopted such a sharp practice as that should be put on a level with the landlord who had mercifully permitted his tenant to remain in a position that would enable him to avail himself of the Act.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, it would be well for the Committee to see how they stood in this matter, and to know what the Government proposed to do, before they proceeded any further. The provision of the Bill was that when the condition was satisfied, which was the payment of the rent of 1881, the antecedent arrears of the landlord should be extinguished. The Amendment proposed that no judgment, decree, or security which the landlord might have obtained since the 1st of February should be put in force. As far as the Amendment dealt with judgments and decrees it would be perfectly reasonable, and for this reason, that the action might have been brought for rent since the 1st of February last, or the ejectment might have been made for rent since that date. If the action were brought for rent and not to obtain an ejectment, then the condition of things would be that the 1881 rent would have been paid and the 1880 rent would have been satisfied, and then what was proposed was that the arrears antecedent should be paid up whether there was a judgment or not. Then, if there were an ejectment, it would be for non-payment of rent since February last, and the condition of the tenant in that state of things would be that, as there were only five months since that date, his period of redemption would be running, and he would be entitled to be reinstated on payment of the arrears and costs. The rent of 1881 being paid, and the rent of 1880 advanced, the arrears would be wiped out and the tenant would be entitled to go back to his holding. What it came to was that there were two words in the Amendment, the words "or security," which he thought his hon. Friend would not consider necessary. If the process were a judgment or a decree, then the amount for which the judgment or the decree had been obtained would, in the way he had described, be satisfied, and the only thing that would remain outside that would be the costs. All the Bill proposed to do was to satisfy the arrears of rent, and that would leave the costs. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) would propose, in one form or another, on the part of the Government, to bring up on Report an Amendment to the effect of the one before the Committee, excluding the words "or security," and leaving the costs outstanding by the adoption of some such words as these, "on payment of the costs," or "except as to costs." If the costs were not paid, the judgment or decree should be security for the costs, though not for the debt. He thought this would meet the views of the hon. Member.

MR. GIBSON said, he only wished to have the matter fully considered. It was a very technical question, and he was quite satisfied that it would be better to leave it for Report, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland suggested. The words the Government proposed could be, if the matter were left for Report, criticized and examined before they came on for discussion, and so also could those of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan). A difficulty had suggested itself to his (Mr. Gibson's) mind as to the words in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan, "since the 1st day of February last."

MR. GIVAN said, he had only fixed the 1st of February as the time when he thought that the landlord had proceeded in consequence of this Bill being in course of preparation.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he quite appreciated the point referred to, and he thought that probably his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan might alter the date from the 1st of February to the 1st of March, so as to include the spring gale.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, that since this Bill had been introduced or foreshadowed the landlords in a great many parts of Ireland had insisted upon their tenants giving promissory notes. If this Amendment were omitted, the object of the Bill would be defeated by the landlords insisting on payment. He hoped the hon. Member would persevere with his Amendment.

Mr. PLUNKET wished to know for what reason the hon. Member wished to interrupt any legal process a landlord had taken in pressing the tenant for payment of his debt since the 1st of February—why had he fixed upon that precise date? In February the only indication of the possibility of legislation of this kind was in the form of a private Member's Bill—there was nothing to lead anyone to suppose that the Government intended to take up the Bill. It was absurd, therefore, to propose that date. The hon. Member might very well go back to the time at which the Government first decided to bring in the measure, although it seemed to him (Mr. Plunket) a strong proposition to say that they were to reverse the judgment of a Court of Law, before which a landlord had proceeded in accordance with his undoubted right, and from which he had obtained a judgment upon the footing of which he had subsequently made all his private arrangements. He (Mr. Plunket) knew no principle of legislation of this kind. As the Amendment stood, however, it was absurd; and he trusted hon. Members would have plenty of time to consider it.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the Government had decided that the House should have plenty of time to consider the question. The matter would be brought up again on Report.

Mr. GIBSON said, that, so far as he was concerned, he had not agreed to the adoption of any Amendment of this kind; but he was quite ready to allow the question to stand over until the Report.

Colonel NOLAN complained of some of the principal speeches delivered on the question before the Committee having been inaudible. [Mr. Warton: Speak up.] He should be glad to meet the wishes of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, who did not practice what he preached as to "speaking up." A great deal had come from the Front Benches on the subject of the Amendment before the Committee; but the Committee had not been able to gather a very clear idea of what was intended to be done. There were divergent views with regard to evictions—that was obvious from the speeches of the right hon. and learned Gentlemen the Members for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson and Mr. Plunket). ["No, no!"] He was glad to hear that coming from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Attorney General for Ireland, and not from the late Paymaster General, because he preferred the opinions of the late Attorney General for Ireland. The right hon. and learned Gentleman wished that all evictions should be included under this clause, and he (Colonel Nolan) understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman's Colleague not to wish that. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Attorney General for Ireland, in his first speech, said he was willing to accept the Amendment so far as judgments went. [Mr. Gibson: No, no!] That proved the correctness of his observations as to the Committee having failed to obtain a clear idea of the views of the occupants of the Front Benches in consequence of those right hon. and learned Gentlemen having spoken in a low tone of voice. What he (Colonel Nolan) had said had appeared to him to be the right hon. and learned Gentleman's meaning. In Connemara, amongst his constituents, there had been quite recently some hundreds of eviction decrees obtained. The case of these poor people was this—they were holders of farms of £3, £4, and £5 a-year, and their circumstances were such that even if they were not evicted, but were called upon for the costs of eviction decrees, the payment of the £2 or £3 which would be demanded of them would affect them most seriously. The Government, in drawing up the Amendment, should distinguish between reasonable and unreasonable costs. If a landlord obtained 40 or 50 ejectment decrees, the solicitor was in the habit of saying, "I don't care if the decrees are not enforced, I recover my fee," for although the fee in each case might be small in amount when there were a large number of cases, the total amounted to something substantial. He (Colonel Nolan) was anxious that the Government, in putting down their Amendment, should take care in it to deal with the amount of costs in regard to small holdings. They (the Government) might with advantage adopt some such words as these—"such reasonable costs as the Land Commissioners may think fair." He only suggested these words, because he thought it would be desirable to leave some discretionary power with the

Land Commission to settle what costs were reasonable. Otherwise, in Connemara, where there were so many small holdings, the tenantry might be seriously injured by the issuing of these ejectment decrees. He did not desire the landlord to pay the costs actually out of pocket; but in the interest of the poor tenantry there should be some limitation as to costs. If there was no limitation, proceedings might be encouraged by the solicitors, who might say to the tenants—"How can you object to paying the costs of these decrees when you are not going to be evicted, and are not going to pay the rent?"

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member withdraw the Amendment?

MR. GIVAN said, if he had a more distinct expression of opinion on the part of Her Majesty's Government as to the course they intended to take, he should be willing to withdraw the Amendment. He thought he saw a disposition on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) to accept the Amendment in a modified form.

MR. HEALY said, he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that it would be desirable in order to make the Amendment more comprehensive when he made the proposal on Report, to say, "any judgment, decree, or security, 'or any proceedings consequent thereupon.'" He presumed the Committee might gather from what had fallen from Her Majesty's Government with regard to the present Amendment that they would be also prepared to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, to the effect that when one year's rent had been tendered, that tender should be a bar to proceedings for ejectment.

MR. FINDLATER said, that with regard to the question of costs, he would submit to the Committee and to the Government that something should be done to prevent the landlord who had taken proceedings against a tenant, say, since the 1st of April—when the Prime Minister first intimated that such a Bill as this would be brought forward—from recovering his costs, especially where such landlord had taken proceedings in the Superior Courts when he might with quite as great facility have brought his action in a Civil Bill Court. He was sorry to hear what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for County Galway (Colonel Nolan) with regard to the practice of solicitors in lumping costs, and making much greater demands on the wretched tenants of the West of Ireland than those tenants were able, or ought to be asked to pay. He (Mr. Findlater) must say that such a practice was entirely unknown to him, and in that statement he thought he should be borne out by other Members of the Committee.

MR. PARNELL said, he thought the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) would not really effect the object the hon. Member had in view—that it would not do more than the Bill would already effect. What the hon. Member, seemingly, wished to effect was, that where decrees had been granted by the Court, and not yet executed, there should be some stay to the proceedings until the tribunal appointed by the Bill had given its decision with regard to arrears. It would then follow, in all probability, that the decrees which had been previously granted would be null and void, and could not be executed against the tenant. At all events, whether that was the intention of the hon. Member or not, that seemed to him (Mr. Parnell) to be the practical object they ought to try to arrive at. No Court in Ireland, when a decree had once been granted, had a right to stay the execution of it; and it followed, therefore, that in the case of all the decrees that had been granted by the different Courts during the last five or six months—and which had not yet been executed—for the eviction of tenants, the decrees might be proceeded with if the landlords desired it, and the tenants might be evicted, having nothing but the period of redemption to look forward to, and the admission of this claim to bar their being turned out of their holdings. He (Mr. Parnell) would draw attention to the fact that the practical object they wanted to arrive at was this—that in cases in which the decrees had been granted and not yet executed, and the tenant made an application under the Bill, there should be some plan by which the execution of those decrees could be put a stop to until the Court had had an opportunity of hearing the case. That would do all they wanted. It would carry out more than the Amendment, which would only affect what would follow after the tribunal had adjudicated on the question of arrears, and it might be a long time before that adjudication was given. The tenant might have been—very probably would have been—evicted. There was nothing to prevent the landlord evicting the tenant, throwing the costs on him, and turning him out of his house. Where ejectment decrees had been obtained to prevent tenants making applications under this Bill, on the tenant paying a year's rent the provisions of the Bill should require that there should be a stay of proceedings.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, these were two different things. The hon. Member for the City of Cork proposed that where a Court under the Bill had not given a decision, a judgment or decree should be arrested, the hon. Member for Monaghan proposing that the judgment or decree should be arrested on an order for payment of arrears having been made by the Land Commission.

Colonel NOLAN said, the hon. Member (Mr. Findlater), who had referred to him, had given to his words a colouring slightly different to that which he had intended. He (Colonel Nolan) had not intended to convey that solicitors in the West of Ireland did what was wrong. What he could say from his own experience was that the solicitors had an arrangement whereby, where there were evictions and the landlords had to pay the costs, there should be a certain scale of payment. He wanted the Land Commission to be able to say what scale of costs the tenants should pay.

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, it struck him that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had really suggested the right way of dealing with this question, and it was this—that after they had provided that all the antecedent arrears were released and extinguished, they should then stay all proceedings for the recovery of those arrears, and all judgments brought in consequence of proceedings for the recovery of the arrears.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, there was an Amendment of that kind to be proposed later.

Mr. GIVAN said, they were all agreed upon the subject; but the time for the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had not yet come.

Mr. PARNELL said, that his Amendment lower down only provided for the case of a tenant against whom proceedings were taken or were pending; but he doubted whether it provided for a tenant against whom a decree had been granted, but who had not yet been evicted. It appeared that the Government had an opportunity of meeting the case of such tenants in framing the Amendment they proposed to bring in.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that such cases would be met under the clause to be proposed by the Government.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. GLADSTONE proposed to insert, at the end of Sub-section 2—

> "For the purposes of this Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account in ascertaining whether the tenant is unable to discharge such antecedent arrears."

It was not necessary to indicate the tenant right in this way; but it was necessary to indicate what was intended. Some difficulty was felt by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) as to the wording of the Amendment, particularly as to the word asset; and he (Mr. Gladstone), as the Committee would see, had somewhat altered the Amendment. As it originally stood, the Amendment ran—

> "For the purposes of this Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account as an asset."

He was not quite certain whether he understood the exact nature of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's (Mr. Gibson's) objection; but there was no real necessity for the introduction of the word "asset" at all. His right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland was of opinion that the word "asset" might be very properly struck out; and, therefore, he (Mr. Gladstone) had amended the Amendment in the way the Committee would observe. He proposed to give the discretion to the Court, and thus to avoid any objection to the particular word "asset." It was impossible for the Committee to find any form of words in which a rigid rule could be embodied, and all that could be done was to give virtual directions to the Committee by a clear exposition of the general view of the Committee, and the Government thought that view would be conveyed effectually to the Commissioners' minds by taking this Amendment in conjunction with the words—

"Without loss of his holding, or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof."

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 5, at the end of sub-section 2, to insert the words, "For the purposes of this Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account in ascertaining whether the tenant is unable to discharge such antecedent arrears."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he wished to move an Amendment to the Prime Minister's proposed Amendment —namely, to leave out "may, if," and insert "shall, so far as." He was aware that ordinarily in Acts of Parliament the word "may" was interpreted as "shall;" but he could not help thinking that if they meant shall it was better to say shall. Moreover, even if "may" by itself meant "shall," he did not see how "may, if they think it reasonable," could be so interpreted. Moreover, he did not wish to leave the Commissioners to decide whether the tenant right should be taken into consideration at all, but only how far they should do so. The difference was very important. It was well that their meaning should be distinct in this matter, and that it should not be left open to the Commissioners to take the value of the tenant's interest or not as they thought right. In justice to the Commissioners, Parliament ought to make their meaning perfectly clear in this matter. The Committee would remember that in a previous part of the clause they had adopted the words—

"Without loss of his holding, or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof,"

and that limited the power the Commissioners would have. He could not help thinking that the adoption of these words would make the matter clear. The tenant right ought to be fairly taken into consideration, and the question was how far it should be taken into consideration. He believed that his Amendment would carry out the intentions of the Government, which he understood to be that the Commissioners should consider the value of the tenant right, subject to certain reservations. If his proposal were adopted, the Amendment would read—

"For the purposes of this Act the saleable value of the tenant's interests shall, so far as the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account," &c.

Such an Amendment would carry out the intentions of Parliament, and it would leave no doubt as to what was intended. He ventured, therefore, very respectfully to submit to his right hon. Friend his Amendment to the Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, to leave out the words "may, if," and insert the words "shall, so far as."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'may, if,' stand part of the said proposed Amendment."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was afraid the Government could not accept the Amendment. The view of the Government was that in many cases it would be quite right that the saleable interest of the holding should be taken into consideration; but it was also their view that in many cases that interest ought not to be taken into consideration. For instance, in the case of many small holdings, the saleable interest was of no value at all. He appreciated the position taken up by his hon. Friend; but he considered that the words proposed would be too binding upon the Commissioners.

Colonel BARNE infinitely preferred the Amendment of the hon. Baronet to the milk-and-watery Amendment of the Prime Minister. The tenants in arrear were virtually bankrupt, and it was a well-known principle of English law that in the case of a bankrupt all the assets should be placed at the disposal of the creditors. Why, therefore, should not all the assets of an Irish farmer be seized just as was the case in England in the matter of bankruptcy? Why were the Irish tenants to be treated with so much more mercy than the English people who fell into the same position? An English bankrupt was bound to meet his creditors in an honourable manner, but not so with the Irish bankrupt. Indeed, the principle upon which the House of Commons was now asked to proceed was that if a man committed an outrage, concession was to be at once made to him. The best advice that Englishmen could take now was to commit outrage upon their creditors, and the Government, according to their present principle, would at once legislate in their favour. He had not the slightest faith in the discretion of the Commissioners, and by the Amendment of the Prime Minister the whole thing was to be put at the discretion of those Commissioners, who had shown themselves one-sided throughout—who had gone against the landlords in every possible instance, had reduced the rentals by 25 per cent, and thereby mulcted the whole of the Irish landlords of about one-fourth of their incomes. The Conservative Party was supposed to be fond of permissive legislation; but now that legislation was coming from the other side of the House. Surely "shall" was a better word than "may," if it was desired that the legislation should have any effect at all. For these reasons he hoped the Committee would accept the Amendment of the hon. Baronet.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that this was as important an Amendment as could be introduced in the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had admitted that in many localities in Ireland there was a considerable tenant right which ought to be taken into account; and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was of opinion that unless the words were made stronger than those of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman—unless some such words as those proposed by the hon. Baronet were introduced, the Amendment would serve no good purpose. He knew there were many who would not agree with him when he said that Irishmen, as a rule, did not trust the Sub-Commissioners; and for this reason, amongst others, it was a very unfair thing on the part of Parliament not to lay down that which it absolutely meant. It was not intended to deprive the tenant of the means of cultivating his farm; it was not intended to seize his ploughs and harrows, and horses and cattle; but the right hon. Gentleman himself admitted that where there was a considerable asset in the shape of tenant right it should be taken into consideration. Therefore, in his (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) opinion, it ought to be an absolute instruction to the Commissioners that the tenant right should be properly and fairly valued. They learned the other night that all over Ireland there was tenant right, and it was stated on both sides of the House that not only in Ulster, but in the South and in the West—in fact, in all the Provinces of Ireland—there was a very considerable tenant right. There was something more stated, and that was that the tenant right of the small holdings, except those in the extreme West, fetched more money than the larger holdings. It was stated that the tenant right of one holding, the rental of which had been reduced from £3 15*s.* to £3, had fetched £70 in hard cash. It was proposed to tax the people of England, those who were little able to bear the burden, in order to make a gift to the tenant farmers of Ireland; and he therefore thought it was a most unfair, unjust, and unwise proceeding that in this matter all the assets of the people to be benefited should not be taken into account and fairly and properly valued. He hoped the hon. Baronet would not run away from his Amendment, but would go to a division. It was but fair and right and proper that the Commissioners should have a clear knowledge of what they were supposed to do.

Mr. GORST said, the objection he had to the Amendment now before the Committee was the very wide discretion which would be given to the Commissioners. The Amendment in the form in which it had been introduced by the Government was a very delusive one, because if there had been no Amendment proposed at all, and if no such principle as was contained in the Amendment were put in the Bill at all, the Commissioners would be obliged to take into account the pecuniary value of the tenant right, so long as the tenant was not displaced, and so long as he was not deprived of the means of cultivating his holding. It was but fair, in estimating the tenant's pecuniary position, that the full value of the tenant right should be taken into consideration, and if the words of the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) were adopted the Commissioners would have no discretion in the matter. The words of the right hon. Gentleman the

Prime Minister, however, would give the Commissioners most absolute discretion; they would not be obliged to take into account the tenant right at all. The proper form of words to carry out the views of the right hon. Gentleman would have been—

> "The Commissioners shall not be obliged, unless they think fit, to take into account the tenant right at all."

That was what he understood the right hon. Gentleman meant.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he had stated that it would be quite impossible to embody in terms directions to the Commissioners which would actually draw the distinction between cases in which the tenant right ought to be taken into account, and cases in which the tenant right ought not to be taken into account. That being so, there ought only to be a general statement of the intentions of Parliament.

MR. GORST said, that that was just what he had been contending. The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman left the absolute discretion to the Commissioners. There was no Court of Appeal which could make the Commissioners take into account the tenant right, if they did not think proper to do so. The words of the Amendment left their discretion in the matter completely unfettered. The Amendment of the hon. Baronet did improve the Amendment a little, because, under his Amendment, the Commissioners would be obliged to take the pecuniary value of the tenant right into their consideration, but only to the extent which they themselves pleased. Though they must technically take it into their consideration, they might put no value on it at all; so that, whether the Amendment as it stood, or the Amendment as amended by the hon. Baronet, was adopted by the Committee, the extent to which the pecuniary value of the tenant right was taken into consideration was in the most absolute discretion of the Commissioners. They had had experience of the results of giving the Commissioners a discretion of this kind, and Parliament ought to lay down rules which the Commissioners should observe. Parliament ought not to allow the Commissioners to lay down their own rules—in fact, it was the absolute duty of the Legislature to point out in what cases the value of the tenant right ought to be taken into consideration, and in what cases it ought not. In an earlier part of the clause it was provided that the tenant should not be deprived of the means of cultivating his farm; and, subject to this condition, it did seem to him (Mr. Gorst) right and proper that the Commissioners ought to take the tenant right into consideration. The Amendment, as now proposed, introduced a new and an unknown discretion. In interpreting this Act the Commissioners could take into consideration the tenant right or not, exactly at their own discretion, and that was what he strongly objected to. It was not the way in which they ought to legislate under any circumstances, and certainly it was not the way in which Parliament ought to legislate for Ireland. He called upon the Government to display in the body of their Bill when it was they meant the tenant right to be taken into consideration, and when they meant it not to be.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) objected to the Commissioners having any discretion whatever, and the analogy between the present case and the case of the Poor Law had been alluded to many times during the discussion; and he wondered whether the hon. and learned Gentleman was aware of the powers under the Poor Law; whether he was aware that the Poor Law was administered in an entirely different manner in different parts of England; whether he was aware that a man might possess considerable assets when receiving relief in the North of England, whilst he could not possess assets under similar circumstances in the South of England; whether he did not think that as much discretion as had always been vested in the Poor Law administrators should not be vested in the Land Commissioners in the present case. A circumstance was alluded to last night which strongly bore upon the present case. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) referred to what had been done in Lancashire in the time of the Cotton Famine. He (Mr. Arnold) was able to speak from experience of the way in which the funds voted by that House towards the relief of distress in Lancashire at that time were dispensed, and he knew that money was given to men who at that time possessed considerable assets. He knew of many cases in which men had shares in public Companies, and public

Societies, and Co-operative Societies, and care was taken that they should not be compelled to dispose of that little property before they could reap the advantages which were offered them by that House. The object of this clause was to enable the small tenants, in conjunction with the larger tenants of Ireland, to enjoy, and have the opportunity of enjoying, their rights under the Act of Parliament of last year; and it seemed absolutely necessary that the Committee should reject the Amendment of the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock). The Amendment of the hon. Baronet would compel the Commissioners to take into account, to a certain extent, the tenant right, however small it might be. The tenant right might be practically of no value—of no assessable value—but the Commissioners would be compelled, under the language of the hon. Baronet, to take account of it, however small it might be. The words proposed by the hon. Baronet seemed extremely objectionable, and he (Mr. Arnold) ventured to think that they would be so interpreted by the Committee.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, he hoped the Committee would accept the Amendment of the hon. Baronet, because, although, as his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) had just said, the Amendment was but a small improvement upon the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, still it was a substantial improvement. It would show the Commissioners, or whoever were deputed to administer this Act, that it was the intention of Parliament, in passing this measure, that the tenant right should be taken into consideration as an asset. He based his opposition upon the words which were used by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), the other night, when speaking upon this Bill in the House. The right hon. Gentleman, talking of the tenant, said—

> "That tenant right is his own property. He could not be evicted from his farm. The property is secured under the Act of last year. It should be, therefore, quite competent to those who adjudicate upon the matter, to ask the question and ascertain the value of the tenant right just as well as that of the cattle on his farm."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxxi. 1643.]

These being the words of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, who, he (Viscount Folkestone) presumed, was on that occasion speaking with a sense of responsibility which belonged to a Minister of the Crown, he thought the Committee would do well in accepting the Amendment of the hon. Baronet opposite.

Viscount GALWAY agreed with the views expressed by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that too much discretion ought not to be left to the Commissioners, and, in support of that contention, he might quote a speech of the Prime Minister, in which the right hon. Gentleman said that in a great many of the cases the Commissioners ought not to be able to take the tenant right into consideration. The right hon. Gentleman had cast some doubt upon the competency of his own Commissioners. He (Viscount Galway) saw no reason whatever why the tenant right should not be brought before the Commissioners; in fact, it was his opinion that every asset of the tenant, whether small or great, should, in this matter, be taken into account.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, it was satisfactory to know where they were. It was very satisfactory, because there had been a great many debates and a great many Amendments, and he admitted that if they could agree to meet on some plain issue, and settle the question, it would be greatly to the advantage of the Committee and everyone concerned. He was sorry to say he found himself in the uncomfortable position of differing from his hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), with whom he generally agreed, and he had also the still more painful feeling of differing from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. The issue that was placed before his (Mr. Magniac's) mind was perfectly plain. The real question was whether the Bill was to be a nullity or not. In one respect he thought the scope of the Bill had been very much over-estimated by hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House. If hon. Members had studied the Memorandum which was issued by the Treasury they would have seen that the Bill practically dealt with about 430,000 people, whose holdings averaged about £15. He was quite aware that an average was a very unreliable thing to go upon; but he thought that the margin was so narrow that an average for this purpose might fairly be taken.

The maximum rental under the Bill was £30, but the minimum rental was unascertained—he thought it would go as low as £2 or 30*s*. That was about the range of rental which was to be dealt with by this Bill. The 430,000 holdings represented a rental of about £6,000,000, and he understood that one-third of that sum would come to be dealt with by the Bill; and, therefore, it was absurd to talk of tenants going away with an enormous sum in their pockets. He (Mr. Magniac) thought it would be difficult to find an Irish tenant going away under the most favourable circumstances with anything that could be called a large sum. In fact, he believed that, with very few exceptions indeed, the sum which a tenant might possibly go away with would only be sufficient to take him to America, for instance, and support him there for about six months on his arrival. That was the maximum which could be expected under the Bill. ["Question!"] That was the question, because the Amendment had reference with regard to the point whether a tenant should go away with anything or nothing. The effect of the Amendment would be to strip the tenant, practically, of everything he had, and leave himself in that hopeless condition from which it was now proposed to raise him. The object of the Bill, as the Prime Minister said, was the protection of the tenant, and the better cultivation of the soil. A shorter description of the object could not be found. What was the Amendment which they were discussing? It was that the tenant's interest should be taken into account as an asset. They were dealing with 430,000 persons on the verge of pauperism, and in a state of discontent and disaffection. Did hon. Members suppose that by using the word "asset" they were going to settle this question? If they did, they were greatly mistaken. ["Oh!"] He had a right to state his opinion, based on a not inconsiderable commercial experience. He could not help thinking that the only way to realize an asset was either to sell it or to obtain a loan upon it. Sale must be contemplated if the Commissioners were to have in their minds that there was any money value whatever attaching to the thing. He did not quite know how they were going to deal with it by way of sale, although he knew that a Member of the Cabinet, a few nights ago, said the tenant's interest was a realizable asset. The Prime Minister, however, had said that this right could not be sold, for the simple reason that a sale would involve the loss of the holding. What were the Commissioners to take into account? If the tenant right could not be sold, how were they going to raise money upon it? Was the State to advance money upon a security which they themselves acknowledged could not be sold? What security would there be in case they advanced money in respect to the tenant right? The Committee was in this dilemma—that it was proposed to direct the Commissioners to take into account some species of security which they could neither sell, or lend money on, or induce other people to lend money on. He thought the Government did not know the strength of their own case, and he believed that, in a moment of enthusiasm, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) was carried away by visions of large sums of tenant right which were hung out to him from the opposite side of the House. He believed that at the moment the right hon. Gentleman did not take into consideration the existence of the possibility and probability of there being a vast proportion of cases in which his remarks would not apply. He (Mr. Magniac) felt certain that if the question had been dealt with by the right hon. Gentleman in the way in which he could deal with such questions, a certain reservation would naturally have been observed by him. He believed that in reality what was now proposed would not go nearly far enough for hon. Members opposite; but it went a great deal too far for all of those who had a strong desire to see the Act successfully worked. He trusted that hon. Members who were better acquainted with the question than himself would come forward and express their views. The sums realized by the sale of a tenant's right would, in nine cases out of every ten, not be more than sufficient, even under the most favourable circumstances, to take them across the Atlantic.

Mr. PLUNKET said, he did not intend to follow the hon. Gentleman who had just down through his speech, which he thought was applied to the question generally. As to the particular Amendment now before the Committee, the hon. Gentleman began by saying that he knew exactly where he was; but it turned out that he found himself unable to agree with the Amendment of the Prime Minister, or with the Amendment upon the Amendment, which had been proposed by the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock), and then, not being prepared to endorse either of the propositions, the hon. Member went on to discuss something which was in his own head, and not before the Committee. The only point to which he (Mr. Plunket) ventured to ask the attention of the Committee was this. At present they were concerned principally in discussing whether they should adopt the Amendment in the form proposed by the Prime Minister or in the form proposed by the hon. Baronet. Now, the Prime Minister proposed that—

> "For the purposes of this Act the saleable value of the tenant's interest may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account in ascertaining whether the tenant is unable to discharge such antecedent arrears."

And then the hon. Baronet proposed to alter that by saying—

> "That the tenant's interest shall, so far as the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account," &c.

Now, upon what ground was it that the Prime Minister was not prepared to adopt the Amendment of the hon. Baronet? The right hon. Gentleman refused to accept the Amendment on the plea of the extreme poverty of the tenants who were proposed to be relieved by this clause; but the right hon. Gentleman must remember that he had already, by words he had introduced in the Bill, disposed of those cases where a realization of the saleable interests of the tenant would create the eviction of the tenant, in so far as the tenant would be too poor to keep his holding, and in so far as the adoption of such a course might interfere with the proper management of his farm. It seemed to him (Mr. Plunket) that the difference between the form suggested by the Prime Minister and that suggested by the hon. Baronet was simply this. The Prime Minister's words would seem to make the presumption that the saleable value of the tenant's interest was not to be taken into account; the words of the hon. Baronet would leave the presumption that the saleable value of the tenant's interest was to be taken into account so far the Commissioners thought it reasonable. Now, it appeared to him that the words of the hon. Baronet entirely covered the case suggested by the Prime Minister—namely, that where the holding was very small, and that where the tenant was very poor, the Commissioners would not deem that it was reasonable to take the tenant right into consideration. The words of the Prime Minister put the matter in this way—they made it an exception to the general rule that the saleable interest of the tenant in his holding was not to be taken into account. Now, that was just the proposition which shocked the sense of the Committee when it was first made, and a proposition which was denounced by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright). It was because he (Mr. Plunket) thought it was most important to exclude from the Bill the principle that the saleable interest of the tenant in his holding was not to be taken into account that he should support the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock) as against the Amendment proposed by the Prime Minister. It really came to this. Whether the Commissioners were, in the first place, to regard the presumption that the saleable interest was to be taken into account, and then exclude such cases as they thought would be reasonable to apply the principle, or to assume that the usual saleable interest was to be included, and only exclude where they thought, from the extreme poverty of the tenants, it would be unreasonable to take it into account.

Dr. LYONS pointed out that if the Committee declined to insert the word "shall," instead of "may," they did not diminish the force of the obligation on the Commissioners to inquire into the circumstances of the tenant's position. This was an important Amendment, because it affected a considerable proportion of that class of people whom it was most desirable by the help of this Bill to relieve. The discretion given to the Commissioners enabled them to deal at once with a very large proportion of cases. All that great class of cases which lay under the valuation of £10 would practically come at once into view, and could be immediately disposed of. It would not be necessary to inquire into the question of the ability of the tenants to raise money or not upon their tenant right. It must be borne in mind that there was a very considerable majority of all the holdings in Ireland valued at between £4 and £10 — upwards of 400,000. It was not desired by the promoters of this Bill, nor was it a principle of the Bill, to evict the tenant from his holding. One of the main objects of the Bill was to keep the tenant on his holding, to put him in a better position for the future, and to enable him to work on into a position of comparative independence. If, however, tenants were forced to realize their tenant right, what position would they be left in? To all intents and purposes they would be ejected from their farms, practically they would have to go out of their farms; they must sell or they must borrow at a perfectly ruinous rate of interest, which would eventually lead to their eviction. Having once given the discretion to the Commissioners, it seemed to him that it must be left in their hands to decide whether, in any individual case, the tenant right should be taken into account. At a later stage of the Bill, he intended to propose that tenants found on inquiry not to be entitled to "gift" on account of the interest they were shown to have in their holdings should be entitled to apply for "loans" in a manner to be hereinafter provided.

Mr. SYNAN said, the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock), in proposing his Amendment, had said the Commissioners would be at liberty to exclude the small holders under certain circumstances. In this case there was no distinction between the words of the Amendment and the words of the Proviso; and if there was no distinction between the Amendment and the Proviso he would like to know why the Proviso was moved at all? It was obvious that the Proviso was not intended to leave the discretion to the Commissioners only as to the extent of the amount to which they should charge the tenant right; it did not leave discretion to charge it at all. Suppose if, in order to save the holding, to save the working of the holding, it was necessary for the tenant to raise money upon his tenant right, was it to be understood that the Commissioners should take into account the tenant right? Under the words of the hon. Baronet the Commissioners would be bound to charge it to a certain extent. He did not care whether they charged it to the extent of 1*s.* or 5*s.* or £10, they would have to charge it to some amount or other. He believed that upon the argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) the Amendment of the Prime Minister ought to be accepted.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Synan), and also the hon. Gentleman the Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold), seemed to forget that they had already adopted the words—

> "Without loss of his holding or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof."

The question they had now to determine was whether they were, or were not, to consider the value of the tenant right in deciding whether money should be given by the taxpayers of this country to relieve the tenant or not, bearing in mind that the tenant was not to lose his holding, or to be deprived of the necessary means for its cultivation. Personally, he would be quite willing to leave the discretion to the Commissioners. The Prime Minister had told them that the words "may" and "shall" meant the same in an Act of Parliament; but he (Sir John Lubbock) hardly thought the Committee would consider that the two words had the same meaning in this case. What would be the effect of the Prime Minister's Amendment on the minds of the people of Ireland, and on the minds of the people of England? It was very important that the people of Ireland should not think that the Commissioners were dealing hardly by them; and if Parliament left it to the option of the Commissioners to say whether they would take the tenant right into consideration or not, they would impose upon the Commissioners the burden of a very heavy responsibility. It must also be remembered that they were going to take a considerable sum of money from the taxpayers of England. He was quite in favour of that being done under the circumstances; but it was most important that the taxpayers of this country should feel that their money was not going to be lightly voted away. It was most desirable that they should feel that that money would not be granted to those people who were not in real necessity. He was anxious, therefore, that the Committee should leave no doubt whatever as to what the meaning of the clause was; and he ventured to think that the words which he had suggested were words which would best carry out the intentions of the Prime Minister himself.

Mr. W. FOWLER said, he could not quite understand the argument of the hon. Baronet, who said he intended that the Commissioners should have discretion. If they were to have a discretion, he could not see a great difference between the words he used and those of the Prime Minister. It seemed to him altogether a question whether there was or was not to be a discretion; and he thought, on the whole, that the words of the Prime Minister might safely be added. He agreed with the hon. Baronet that they ought to say " shall be " taken into account without any discretion, leaving the words already used to take away those cases of poverty indicated by the Prime Minister. He was afraid even a decision upon this Amendment would not close the controversy; but on this Amendment the Committee were discussing a very nice question of language, and not a material part of the matter.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, there was no doubt that both the Amendment of the Prime Minister and the hon. Baronet gave a discretion to the Commissioners; but the Prime Minister's Amendment rather favoured the theory that the property of the tenant should not be a saleable asset, whilst the Amendment of the hon. Baronet laid down a spirit of direction to the Commissioners that where a tenant was in a position to pay he ought to pay. This was a question which affected English Members and constituencies quite as much as those of Ireland, because the bulk of this money would come from the Consolidated Fund; and on that account he thought it desirable that the Committee should pass the Amendment in the form suggested by the hon. Baronet as giving a sort of bias to the decisions of the Commissioners, who would then be able to say that the intention of Parliament clearly was that where a tenant had a tenant right as an available asset that should be chargeable. He hoped the Committee would pass the hon. Baronet's Amendment.

Sir John Lubbock

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 229; Noes 155: Majority 74.

AYES.

Acland, C. T. D.
Acland, Sir T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Beaumont, W. B.
Bellingham, A. H.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, Sir T.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buxton, F. W.
Byrne, G. M.
Caine, W. S.
Callan, P.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carington, hon. R.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, right hon. H. C. E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Col. D. La T.
Corbet, W. J.
Corbett, J.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, W.
Dickson, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Earp, T.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Errington, G.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Givan, J.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Gray, E. D.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Healy, T. M.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, W.
Howard, E. S.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, C.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, E.
Johnson, W. M.
Jones-Parry, L.

Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lloyd, M.
Lymington, Viscount
Lyons, R. D.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
Macfarlane, D. H.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
Mackie, R. B.
M'Lagan, P.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Marjoribanks, E.
Martin, P.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M.H.Story-
Mason, H.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Morgan, rt. hn. G. O.
Morley, A.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Major F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Kelly, J.
O'Shaughnessy, R.
O'Shea, W. H.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, J. H.
Parnell, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Peddie, J. D.
Porter, A. M.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Power, R.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Samuelson, H.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, W.
Sheil, E.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Smyth, P. J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stewart, J.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, C. H.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woolf, S.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

NOES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Archdale, W. H.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hon. Sir M.H.
Bentinck, rt. hon. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T.
Burghley, Lord
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Cartwright, W. C.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Clarke, E.
Collins, T.
Compton, F.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Dawnay, Col. hn. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Digby, Col. hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Emlyn, Viscount
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzpatrick, hn. B.E.B
Fitzwilliam, hn. H. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Gorst, J. E.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Grantham, W.
Gregory, G. B.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, E. W.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Jackson, W. L.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Macartney, J. W. E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Mac Iver, D.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, C. W.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Murray, C. J.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
Northcote, rt. hn. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Onslow, D.
Paget, R. H.
Parker, C. S.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peek, Sir H. W.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Ramsay, J.
Rankin, J.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ross, A. H.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Schreiber, C.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Stuart, H. V.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, rt. hn. Col. T.E.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tottenham, A. L.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Winn, R.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.
Grey, A. H. G.
Lubbock, Sir J.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had an Amendment on the Paper which he hoped the Government would accept. He proposed to insert—"If the holding be over the value of £15, and."

His object was not only that the tenant right should be available, but to expedite the work, because it was obvious that a great deal more time would be required if the Commissioners had to inquire into the cases of tenants under £15 a-year than if they had to inquire into those between £15 and £30, and a great deal of time would be wasted if they had to inquire into holdings of £2, £3, and £5 a-year. Such a proposal came, he thought, very naturally from an hon. Member for a constituency in which there were many thousands of small tenants of this kind. If the Commissioners' work was limited by restricting their operations to tenants over a certain amount, a great deal of time would be saved. As to whether the limit should be £10 or £15, he placed himself entirely in the hands of the Government.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, after the word "if," to insert the words, "if the holding be over the value of £15, and."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not able to accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member. In the first place, if a line is to be drawn, it ought to be a line very considerably below £15; but, in the second place, drawing a line is not in our view consistent with the form we have given to the proposal. If we draw a line, then I think the correlative of that will be above that line the Commissioners shall absolutely take the tenant right into consideration. We have proceeded on the principle of discretion, and I do not think it would be right, or fair, or consistent with the spirit of the proposal we have made, to accede to the Amendment.

MR. PARNELL agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) that, to a great extent, the Amendment would facilitate the proceedings of the Commission, and that in all probability the adjustment of matters in the case of small tenants would proceed very much more rapidly; but still he appreciated to the fullest extent the objection of the Prime Minister. But if a line was fixed in the Bill, the tendency would be almost irresistible to the Commission to consider that they were impliedly directed to take into consideration the tenant right in a small holding. Therefore, as the principle of leaving a discretion to the Commissioners had been carried, he thought the Amendment had better be withdrawn.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. PARNELL moved to insert a sub-section, providing that—

"This section shall apply equally whether the landlord has or has not recovered any judgment or decree for the rent payable in respect of the year expiring aforesaid or for such antecedent arrears of rent, or any portion of same, which said judgment or decree is unsatisfied wholly or in part at the date of any application under this section, or any judgment or decree in ejectment for non-payment of such rent, or any portion of same, which said judgment or decree is unenforced by actual eviction at the date of any application under this section; and, where any such judgment or decree has been recovered, and the landlord is entitled to levy against the tenant any costs or expenses in respect of same, the Land Commission in making any order under this section for the payment of any sum to the landlord may also make an order for the payment to or for the benefit of the landlord of such sum in respect of such costs and expenses as aforesaid as the Land Commission, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, may think just; and, on such order being made, the landlord's right to such costs and expenses shall be released and extinguished."

This section, the hon. Member explained, provided first of all that the Court should not be interfered with because the landlord had an action pending against a tenant for ejectment, or for the rent paid in respect to arrear, or for such antecedent arrears of rent, provided that the judgment was unsatisfied. It provided for the want he had pointed out—namely, that the Commission could not stay proceedings which were actually going on; and it also provided for the payment of costs to the landlord by the Land Commission. This was a very important matter in regard to smaller tenants. A very large number of decrees had been obtained in the North and West of Ireland, particularly since this Bill had been introduced; and although those decrees had not been enforced up to the present time, they might be enforced, and the costs would be recoverable by the landlord in respect to them. In these cases the tenants were exceedingly poor, and it would be a very great hardship to them, and tended very much to destroy the efficiency of this

Bill, if the landlord retained his right to recover from these tenants the costs after the Court had decided that they were unable to pay their rent. The sum required would not be very large, and he did not suppose it would increase the amount to be provided under this Bill by more than £75,000 or £85,000. That would be comparatively a small amount, whereas it would be an immense boon to those smaller tenants if they were relieved from liability for costs, and it would also be a boon to the landlords, because, as he understood the Bill, they would not be able to recover costs by ejectment, but would be left to the ordinary remedy of selling a tenant's interest or distraining upon his stock. They would not be able to recover by ejectment, and it might happen that the question of costs being left open might prove a source of irritation between the parties. If this question regarding antecedent arrears was to be settled satisfactorily, it was desirable there should be no payment for rent outstanding.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 5, after the word "extinguished," to insert the following sub-section:—"This section shall apply equally whether the landlord has or has not recovered any judgment or decree for the rent payable in respect of the year expiring aforesaid or for such antecedent arrears of rent, or any portion of same, which said judgment or decree is unsatisfied wholly or in part at the date of any application under this section, or any judgment or decree in ejectment for non-payment of such rent, or any portion of same, which said judgment or decree is unenforced by actual eviction at the date of any application under this section; and, where any such judgment or decree has been recovered, and the landlord is entitled to levy against the tenant any costs or expenses in respect of same, the Land Commission in making any order under this section for the payment of any sum to the landlord may also make an order for the payment to or for the benefit of the landlord of such sum in respect of such costs and expenses as aforesaid as the Land Commission, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, may think just; and, on such order being made, the landlord's right to such costs and expenses shall be released and extinguished."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, as the hon. Member had pointed out, this Amendment was in two parts. As to the first part, that had been accepted by the Committee in principle, and on Report the Government would consider whether it should be added to the Bill as a clause. The second portion of the Amendment was one really of finance, and the Committee would recollect that he had guarded himself when speaking of the hon. Member for Monaghan's (Mr. Givan's) Amendment with reference to the costs of the landlords. That was a matter of finance, and the burden which the State had already undertaken was so large that the Government could not undertake to pay costs.

MR. HEALY said, he thought it would be of great advantage if the Land Commission were empowered—if it seemed desirable for the general peace and quietness of the country—to advance at least a certain portion of the costs. The Government were in this matter in a position of some difficulty; but, between now and Report, they would have time to consider the matter. He hoped they would give some expression of view upon the point.

MR. GORST rose to a point of Order, and asked whether the latter part of this Amendment could be put, as it empowered the Land Commission to make a payment of certain sums to the landlord? If that order was made, then, under Sub-section 7 of the Act, it would be charged primarily on the Irish Church Fund, but, subject thereto, on the Consolidated Fund; and the Attorney General for Ireland had already said that, inasmuch as there was a financial charge on the Consolidated Fund, he could not entertain the Amendment. If that answer was right, then, according to the Rules of the House, the Amendment could not be put.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is quite within the instruction of the House to the Committee to be very wide as to the manner in which the Consolidated Fund may be taken or carried out under this Act.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he had expressly stated that the Government had accepted an arrangement, and would bring up a proposal on Report.

MR. GIBSON thought that, with reference to the point of the Amendment as to the charge, it would be found that the Exchequer Clause of this Bill only said any payment with reference to arrears should be primarily charged on the Irish Church Fund, and subject thereto on the

Consolidated Fund. That would not, however, extend to the power of making payments to officials employed under the Act. It was not with reference to arrears, but to costs incurred through legal process on the part of the landlord.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the difficulty was that this proposal introduced what was an entire novelty in official proceedings. He had never heard of any case in which the Government had borne the costs of both litigants, and the novelty was so great that he thought the Amendment had better stand over.

Mr. PARNELL said, he would withdraw the Amendment; but he did not think any money could be better spent by the Government than in carrying out the object of his Amendment. The desire of the Government was to restore law and order in Ireland. He did not know that it was the desire of certain hon. Members on the opposite side, for in watching their proceedings in this Committee he had been frequently tempted to think that they desired to throw every obstruction in the way of this measure. The expenditure of this money would be a very small matter; and he pointed out that by the alteration in principle which had been adopted, giving power to the Commissioners to take the tenant right into account—undoubtedly a very considerable amount of money, which would otherwise be met under this section—would be saved to the Imperial Exchequer. It was extremely probable that, owing to the introduction of that Amendment, no demand would be made on the Imperial Exchequer, but only on the Church Fund, and that anything the Imperial Exchequer would have to advance would be in the shape of loan, and not of gift. Under these circumstances, he was induced to press this Amendment on the consideration of the Government before Report. There were a number of cases in Ireland of small holdings from which the tenants had been sold out, and it would be a great hardship to these people to be deprived of the benefits of this Bill owing to the costs. He would ask the Government to reconsider this matter carefully before Report, and see if they could not meet him in this way. He wished also to ask the attention of the Attorney General for Ireland to a special matter—he found that this Amendment did not provide for the point to which he had drawn attention, and he hoped the Attorney General for Ireland would introduce in the new clause he intended to bring up a provision that proceedings, as regards the execution of decrees, might be stayed by the Commissioners.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, he thought it would be an unfortunate thing if that suggestion was not adopted. If the costs were left hanging round the necks of the tenants one of two things must occur. These costs were secured by judgment—perhaps by ejectment. If the judgment remained in force, and it would until the costs were satisfied, then would arise a technical difficulty which would have to be met in regard to the costs; but if he was wrong in that, and the judgment for ejectment was not preserved by reason of the non-payment of costs, still the costs would remain as a weight round the necks of the tenants; and in those cases where the landlord had proceeded in a Superior Court, it was perfectly certain, at least in many cases, that the costs of ejectment or of the proceedings in a Superior Court would be quite equal to a year's rent, and perhaps more. Unless this difficulty was met there would be many cases of hardship.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he thought it would not be right for him to let the Committee labour under the impression that the Bill would accomplish much for the small tenants in the West of Ireland. If they were reinstated tomorrow, and received a year's rent, they would be overwhelmed by the legal costs incurred in consequence of ejectment. Therefore it would be idle to allow the Committee to believe that the Bill would touch the difficulty in regard to those tenants. The Committee must realize that there were two Irelands—a pauper Ireland, which must be dealt with as paupers were dealt with; and another portion, which could be dealt with under this Bill, where the people had the means of subsisting if only left in their own homes.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he felt very deeply with reference to the observations of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), that there would be no doubt that the Bill would fail wholly and completely to meet the necessities of those who, above all others, needed assistance. There were hundreds and thousands of tenants in the West of Ireland to whom this Bill would be no relief or assistance whatever; they would remain in the most complete state of destitution, without the possibility of relief under the Bill.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GIBSON said, he had an Amendment to propose of considerable importance, and one which he hoped the Government would consider with a view to arriving at something like an understanding. It was an instruction in regard to the working of the Bill. He had already referred to this question on two occasions, and, it might be, a little prematurely; but he thought it fair to give the fullest information to the Government. It was now clear that one of the preliminary conditions to be satisfied was that the rent payable for the year 1881 terminating on the last gale day was to be paid. That was a perfectly clear requirement, and anyone could understand it. But he proposed, when Sub-section 3 was reached, to omit the whole of the sub-section, because, in his opinion, that sub-section so confused the matter that it was impossible to work out anything like the intention he should like to attribute to the Government. That sub-section said that—

> "All payments on account of rent made by the tenant to the landlord in or subsequent to the year expiring as aforesaid, shall be deemed to have been made on account of the rent payable in respect of that year."

He would take two cases. The Government had said they meant the tenant who was to get the benefit of this Bill should satisfy the condition of having paid the rent due in 1881; but this sub-section said something that might be entirely different, and it said this construction was not only possible, but necessary—the tenant and the landlord might have agreed with reference to the arrears for 1880, and if that was paid in the year 1881, the landlord would be satisfied, and would take it on certain terms. Instead of asking the whole, he would take it with a very large reduction—perhaps as large as 50 per cent—and under this section, if the landlord, after the last gale day in 1881, agreed with the tenant that the whole arrears up to 1881 should then be satisfied by the payment of 50 per cent, and the landlord undertook in that case to remit the other 50 per cent, and a receipt passed between them describing that transaction; if that was the clear understanding between the parties, without any pressure either one way or the other, that payment and remission would, under the operation of the sub-section, be violently removed from 1880, and placed to the credit of 1881. Surely that could not be intended. That was construction No. 1. He asked the attention of the Government very clearly to this matter. In order to make this Bill apply at all, there must be an antecedent arrear of 1881, and it would not do for the tenant to owe the year 1881 and subsequent gales. Under the operation of this clause there might be such a transfer and appropriation of payment that an artificial arrear would be created, and the Act would be applied whether the Government liked it or not. The payment that had been made after the last gale of 1881 in respect of the whole year 1880 might, by this section, be violently transferred to 1881. The parties might fix the arrangement in 1880; but the Bill fixed it in 1881, and that would leave 1880 unsettled, and so create an artificial arrear. If this sub-section stood, it would create a vast number of artificial arrears, and increase the liabilities of the tenants in a way not anticipated. He hoped he had shown the obvious difficulties that arose on this position, and, in order to get rid of them, he proposed to omit the whole section. Take the case of the hanging gale, which existed in some of the best-managed properties in Ireland, which the reprinted Bill attempted to deal with in a most curious and ambiguous way. He did not at present see what object was gained or served by retaining this subsection in the clause. As this measure was drafted, it would be possible to create artificial arrears for the purpose of bringing parties under the operation of the Bill, although, substantially, there would be no valid arrears to justify such action. As to Sub-section 4, it stated—

> "A remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted."

He assumed that the policy of the Government in reference to requiring this payment for 1881 was a two-fold one—first, in order to be satisfied that they were not relieving a tenant absolutely a pauper; and in hopes, he dared say, to elicit the fact that the tenant had been one who had, in spite of the political condition of Ireland, had the courage and honesty to pay a year's rent. He was disposed to think, assuming that these were the views of the Government, that they had not chosen the wisest way to carry them out. It would have been wiser and more simple to have said that the payment of any year's rent within the last two years would be enough, without going into this confusion of accounts. He had not been aware that the Amendment would come on to-night, otherwise he would have endeavoured to shorten his remarks; but he hoped he had said enough to show the Government the difficulties which had passed through his mind, and that in moving the rejection of the sub-section he had done so on account merely of the difficulties the provision presented.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, to leave out sub-section 3.—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. CHILDERS said, he rose with some diffidence to reply to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, not having been able to follow him through all the technical points he had discussed. He (Mr. Childers) had endeavoured to follow the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and believed he had succeeded in discovering that, minutely as the right hon. and learned Gentleman had gone into the matter, he had not quite grasped the full extent of the argument in favour of the provision. What the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not observed was that the Bill assumed that the tenant was unable to make any payment before the one year's payment in respect of 1881. That was the assumption with which they started, and which underlay the whole object of the clause. Then the clause said that if the tenant had paid at the proper time a year's rent in respect of 1881, then, the other conditions of the Bill having been satisfied, he should be entitled to have the relief afforded by the Bill. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had put two or three difficult and exceptional cases, and had asked them how they proposed to apply their principle? Some of them he might pass lightly over, because they were met by the Proviso at the end of the clause, which was to the effect that if the payment was made at the customary time of credit it should be held to be a payment for the year. If he understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman's main objection, it was this — that if the tenant paid during the term of credit for the rental of 1881 certain sums which were on account of the previous year, and as to which the landlord had made some remission, that would not be complying with the conditions of the Bill, which said that the tenant must make a payment in respect of the year 1881, either the full amount of the rent of that year or such sum as the landlord took in satisfaction of that year. On this ground the right hon. and learned Gentleman said that the sub-section did not fully carry out the intention of the Government. He (Mr. Childers) was bound to say that in one respect the right hon. and learned Gentleman was right. It was intended to provide that the tenant should pay in respect of the year 1881 the full amount required by the landlord—that was to say, either the entire rent, or such sum as the landlord accepted as the entire rent, or if he made payment in respect of the previous year. It seemed to him that in the case described the condition for the full amount of a year's rent would not have been satisfied; and though he (Mr. Childers) did not see that the words in the clause were insufficient—for they seemed to him exactly to carry out the intentions of the Government in this matter—yet, if they did not, the Government would be prepared to introduce some words into the clause at a later stage to carry out the desired object. This was an extremely difficult section, and the Bill had been altered in this respect, when committed *pro formâ*, because the Government were most anxious to express their intentions beyond the possibility of a doubt. The object was, assuming that the tenant could not make any payment beyond that for the year 1881, if a full year's rent for that year was paid and accepted by the landlord, the conditions were fairly satisfied, and the tenant was entitled to relief. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that was not the point; but as to the suggestion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman with regard to the failure of the clause, he (Mr. Childers) had promised him that if it were shown that the words proposed did not fulfil the meaning of the Government, other words should be brought forward which would.

MR. GIBSON: Would not the payment for 1880 be at once transferred to 1881?

MR. CHILDERS said, that was the intention of the clause. He (Mr. Childers) did not pretend to be able to argue with the right hon. and learned Gentleman as to the drafting of the clause; but he maintained that the clause carried out the intentions of the Government, and they must adhere to it.

MR. GORST said, that if the Government would look carefully at the clause they would see that it did in many cases create an artificial arrear, and this was a point he had tried to enforce when the Bill was read a second time. Let them take a case in which the rent had always been punctually paid, on which there were no arrears at all. He would not take the case of a hanging gale, but a case where, from time immemorial, the rent had been punctually paid. Supposing in 1880 the landlord, knowing that the tenant had been pressed by bad years, had allowed him to remain a short time in arrear—not in a customary arrear, but had allowed the rent which should have been paid in November, 1880, to run over to 1881—that arrear would, by the clause as it stood, be forcibly applied to the rent of 1881, so that the rent of 1880 would be half-a-year in arrear. In that way they would have created an artifical half-year's arrear, and might charge the Consolidated Fund with three months' rent on an estate in connection with which there had never been any real arrears at all. He challenged the Solicitor General for Ireland, who was the only man who had been listening to him, to say that he was not correct in supposing such a case possible.

MR. O'SULLIVAN confessed that, of all the sub-sections of the Bill, this sub-section was the most confusing. He had read it over and over again, and yet he found it confusing, and he could not but think that the draftsman had had in view the common practice on several of the estates in Ireland, which was to keep the tenant always in arrear, to give him always a receipt on account, and never a final receipt. The tenants on these estates never knew how they stood, but had been getting receipts on account for the past 10 or 15 years, and it was to meet such cases that this sub-section had been put in. If the tenant got a final receipt up to a certain date, he (Mr. O'Sullivan) was sure this sub-section was not wanted here.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON), said, that if the policy and intention of the clause was clearly understood, it would be seen that its wording was plain enough. It was necessary to understand first the intention of the clause. The policy of the Bill was that every tenant should have a clear discharge from arrears up to the end of the year 1881. The conditions precedent to getting the benefit of the Act were that he must have satisfied the entire of the rent for the whole of the year 1881, either by payment in full, or by such arrangement as the landlord agreed to. It was intended to strike at the system of arrears; it was intended that, in wiping out all rent up to and including the last gale day of 1881, there should be a complete and clear acquittance of everything, and that the rent of 1881 should be paid for out of the year 1881, so far as it was possible to do it. On most of the estates in a particular portion of the country there had been a practice of keeping alive arrears—often large and fictitious arrears—arrears that no one ever expected to be paid, but which were kept alive for certain purposes. It was intended that that system, so far as State money was concerned, should be entirely put an end to, and that in every case where State money was advanced the tenant should start fresh in 1881. They were dealing with tenants only able to pay one year's rent, and no more; and to accomplish their intention it was considered that no tenant should be excluded from the benefit of the Act if, in the course of the year 1881, he had paid the rent which in the ordinary course, if he had not been in arrears, would be assumed to be paid for the year 1881. Not to complicate the matter with the question of the hanging gale in the case of a tenancy regulated by the ordinary rule, if, after May 1881, a half-year's rent was paid, that was to be accepted, under this Bill, as the May rent of 1881, even though the tenant might have had three or four years' arrears debited to him in the rent-book. If the rent was paid at such a period in the year 1881 that, if the tenant had not been in arrear, it would have been credited to the year 1881, it was intended that it should be so under this Bill. The second portion of the clause, which had been commented on as obscure, was intended to meet another class of cases. The Government had assumed that it was not the intention of the tenant to pay his rent in advance; accordingly, the payment of the rent in 1881 before it was due was not put down to the 1881 rent. This was not a new policy; it was carrying out, so far as circumstances would permit, the policy of the Land Act and the Loan Clauses of the Land Act, which provided that, if there was a voluntary agreement between the landlord and the tenant, the payment of the rent should correspond with the rent of 1881 under the Bill.

Mr. GIBSON: Where is the agreement here?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, there was none. This was to be a compulsory clause. Take the case of the tenant who owed three years' rent. He paid in 1881 sufficient to cover one year's rent. It was paid in the ordinary way in the rent-office; but the tenant knew right well that, if it were not for this Act, that payment would be credited on the estate books, not for 1881, but for 1879 or 1878. Though the tenant knew that he had the money on the understanding that it would be so paid, it was intended by this clause that it should be attributed to the year 1881, provided that the man was in a position to show that he could not pay any more. If he could not pay any more, then only he was to have the benefit of the Bill. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had pointed out by two illustrations cases in which it was possible, under this Bill, that what he had called an artificial arrear should be created, and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had illustrated the matter. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) was not there to say that there might not be cases in which, if the other conditions of the Bill operated, there might not be what the right hon. and learned Gentleman called an artificial arrear. He did not see that such cases would be at all likely to arise under the circumstances the hon. and learned Member for Chatham had mentioned, for in the case of the tenant who had always been regular in his payments, and had never been in arrear but on one occasion, and then only to the extent of one six-monthly payment, it was hard to think what tribunal would come to the conclusion that he was unable to pay. But he could conceive it might occur that the man who otherwise would only have paid his rent for 1880, and who was in arrear and unable to pay in 1881, he might get the benefit of the Bill. It had been pointed out, in dealing with this matter of finance, that in a very much larger number of cases the operation of this clause would be freely accepted. The case put by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) was a case in which a tenant had paid in the year 1880 a sum of money under a distinct and positive agreement which was to go towards the wiping off of the debt of 1880. Take the case of a man who had made a bargain to pay £10 to clear off his rent. Now, they came to 1881, and he quite admitted that it would not only be unjust and improper, and contrary to the wording of the section, that a man should get credited as against the 1881 rent for any more than the actual amount of cash he paid. That was never for a moment intended, and if it could be pointed out that there was such a difficulty in this clause, the Government would be quite willing to meet the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson). There was nothing in Sub-section 3 which had in the slightest degree any tendency towards such a result. The whole Act was to a certain extent arbitrary, and whilst that, to a certain extent, was an arbitrary clause, it must be borne in mind that it only applied in cases where there was inability to pay. Sub-section 4 only applied to the transactions of 1881. If arrangements had been made with regard to the years 1877, 1878, 1879, or 1880, or for any other year, by which the landlord had given up a portion of his claim, that arrangement was to hold good. The landlord, however, was not bound to transfer the arrangement he made for 1880 to 1881. Then, again, the sub-section dealt with a case in which the tenant was not able to come within the Act, because he was not able to pay the entire rent for 1881. It would be for the mutual benefit, as regarded the 1881 rent, that the tenant should be placed in the same position as if he had paid the rent in full. The sub-section was not to have any effect in drawing down for 1881 an arrangement intended for another year. That was the object and scope and intention of the clause. It might be right, or it might be wrong, that there should be an arrangement of that kind under the sanction of the Legislature; but if they once conceded that that was the policy and intention which the House should carry out, it seemed to him the language of the clause effected that purpose as simply as it was possible.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, that anyone who had listened to the explanation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, who was one of the ablest lawyers in Ireland, must arrive at this conclusion, that if this provision were retained, the object of the clause was not likely to be attained — namely, that the clause should apply to the poorest and most ignorant occupiers in Ireland. He would ask anyone who had not had a legal training to explain what was the object of this sub-section? He raised the point on the Motion for going into Committee on the Bill, and he could not understand why the Government, their object being perfectly clear, did not make Sub-section (*a*) complete in itself, which they could easily do on Report. What the Government wished to do, he understood, was this. They wanted the tenant to pay a year's rent, or the equivalent thereof, and that the rent so paid should be credited to the year 1881, whether it belonged or not to that year. If so, why not state it, and if they stated it in the 1st sub-section, then let them say that that obligation must be fulfilled by a certain date. If they were to add the words "November, 1882," to the 1st sub-section, the matter would be perfectly clear—that was to say, that the rent for 1881 must be satisfied by November, 1882. They would then get rid of Sub-section 3, and all its complications. There was another advantage in putting in some date by which these payments must be effected. He called attention before, and he must do so again, to the fact that there was nothing in this Act to force payment of rent until the tenant's case came before the Court for adjudication. Now, a particular case might not come before the Court till the year 1884, and in the meantime what was the landlord to do? The Treasury Bench said he was to have recourse to his ordinary power—that was to say, he was to evict. It seemed that if they wished this Bill to be a summary Bill, it would be by a provision by which the payment of the rent must be made and accepted by the landlord by a certain date. In that case they would get rid of all the complications; the tenant would have fulfilled his obligation by a certain date, and the landlord would have no need to have recourse to the unpleasant process of serving notices to quit.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, those were narrow conclusions, and did not involve any principle. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had opened a point with regard to which they were perfectly agreed. That was to say, that if the landlord had received payment in 1881 which he had taken on account of rent in 1879, and if in consideration of the bad season of 1879 the landlord had made considerable remissions from that payment, it would be most grossly unfair that that payment should be put down in full for 1881. The object that the Government had in view was to counteract the injurious action of a defective system prevailing upon many of those Irish estates where there were heavy arrears, and where payments, really arising out of the year 1881 and made in the year 1881, were in point of fact, by the custom of the estate, put down to a former and perhaps remote year. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) raised for the third time the question of the possible long delay before the cases could come for adjudication, and then he suggested that some date should be fixed. That was a suggestion which the Government were willing to consider, and they would endeavour, if they could, to fix upon some arrangement which would meet the objection which the noble Lord had stated.

Colonel COLTHURST wished that the Solicitor General for Ireland would answer a question with respect to the hanging gale. As he regarded the Bill, a tenant who had paid a year's rent before May, 1882, would have to pay another six months' rent before he could enjoy the benefits of the Bill; whereas, if a tenant had retained his rent until after May, 1882, he would get a discharge for 1881 by paying 12 months' rent? It was a very intricate point, and he should be glad to find he was mistaken.

Mr. GIBSON said, he did not propose to trouble the Committee by going to a division. The Government had stated that they were willing to concede one point he had raised. He would not, however, withdraw the Amendment, but allow it to be negatived. He was not satisfied with the objects of the Bill which the Government stated would be carried out by this section, and he believed his difficulties had not been met.

Mr. PARNELL said, the sub-section which the right hon. and learned Gentleman referred to proposed to place the tenant who had disobeyed the "no rent" manifesto on an equal footing with the tenant who had not.

Amendment *negatived.*

Mr. PARNELL, in the absence of his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), proposed to leave out, in page 2, line 10, from "provided," to "due," in line 16, inclusive. The words proposed to be left out formed a provision which the Government inserted in the Bill after it was committed *pro formâ.* It was a provision which made a very material alteration in the clause, and an alteration very materially disadvantageous to the tenant. Now, as the Bill originally stood, it gave to the tenant credit in respect of the year expiring November, 1881, for any payment made within that year, that any payment made in that year should be taken as having been paid in the year expiring 1881. By the insertion of this Proviso in the sub-section, this was brought about—that where, according to the custom of an estate, it was the custom to make a payment in respect of any year six months after gale day, the tenant would be at a decided loss of six months in his reckoning. For instance, if the payment was made by a tenant in 1881—they would suppose on the 1st day of November, 1881, for the gale days were in May and November—if the payment was made of six months' rent on the 1st day of November, 1881—and it was the custom of the estate to take a gale day due May in November—and he got a receipt for it, the tenant would lose his right to credit himself with that six months' payment in 1881. He (Mr. Parnell) submitted that this was a disadvantage effected by this Proviso. He also wanted to ask the Government a question as to the meaning of this Proviso. Did it apply to the whole section, or did it only apply to the sub-section? He noticed that in the Proviso which he proposed to omit it was said—

> "The usual day of payment shall be deemed for the purposes of this section to be the time at which the rent accrued due."

If it was intended that this Proviso should apply to the whole section, it appeared to him that it would make a very material alteration in the section to the disadvantage of the tenant, for the tenant would lose six months as regarded the settlement of 1881. He did not know if he had made his point very clear, and he regretted the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was not present, because he had made this matter his special study. As, however, the hon. Member had now returned to his place, he would leave the matter in his hands.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 10, to leave out from the word "provided," to the word "due," in line 16, inclusive.—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) pointed out that the arrangement between landlord and tenant in Ireland had always been that there should be six months' grace, and that, accordingly, the half-year's rent due in November would be paid in the following May.

The object of this Proviso was simply to substitute the customary gale day.

Mr. HEALY said, that this was indeed a most intricate matter, and it was exceedingly difficult to make oneself clear to the Committee. He had to complain that a provision of this character, and so involved that it was almost impossible to understand it, and which was not in the original Bill at all, should now be placed in the Bill by the Government, owing, as he was sorry to think, to the undue influence brought to bear upon the Government by certain members of the landlord section. He regretted that he had to make the charge; but it was a most remarkable thing that the Proviso which was contained in the lines from 10 to 15 of this sub-section did not originally stand in the Bill, and that when the Committee assented in good faith to the Bill being committed *pro formâ*, they should afterwards find the Government taking advantage of the *pro formâ* arrangement, and project in the Bill a provision which did not exist in it originally, and which was introduced simply to give Lord Kenmare and Lord Lansdowne, and a few other friends of the Government, and one of them a Member of the Government, the benefits of their hanging gale. He was sorry the Committee had not the advantage of the presence of the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell), a Gentleman who so thoroughly exposed the wretched principle of the hanging gale on the estates of Lord Lansdowne, and he (Mr. Healy) believed also on that of Lord Kenmare. Notwithstanding the exposition of the hon. and learned Gentleman, the Government introduced into this Bill a Proviso which did not exist originally, and they had now put it forward without the smallest explanation. It would be necessary for him (Mr. Healy) to go a little into this matter; and what he would point out was this, that this provision actually made the tenant pay a half-year's rent, which, as the Bill originally stood, he would not have been called upon to pay at all. He defied the Attorney General for Ireland to say that the effect was not that the tenant would have to pay in November, 1882, the gale nominally due in November, 1881; whereas, as the Bill originally stood, he would not have had to pay it. Sub-section 3 had been objected to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), and he (Mr. Healy) would only say, with regard to the objection of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, that it was no stronger than his; but if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would allow the original lines to stand, there would be no need for his (Mr. Healy's) present Amendment. The introduction of this Proviso projected into the year 1882 a half-year's gale, which the tenant nominally was owing, but which, in point of practice, was not due. If the words proposed to be left out were not in the sub-section, what would happen would be, that the tenant would be released on the payment of his year's rent for 1881—that was, an actual year's rent. Anyone who knew the practice in Ireland knew that this hanging gale was simply an instrument of torture. A man going into a farm on the 13th of July would, as a matter of fact, go in owing one year's rent. If a farm were taken from Lord Kenmare to-day, the tenant would go into it with a year's rent due. That was a most anomalous state of things, and yet, to give the benefit of the hanging gale to Lord Kenmare and other Members of the Whig Party, the Government had introduced the words of this sub-section. He deeply regretted the Government had taken this step. If they had not taken it for the purpose of giving the Whig landlords the benefits of this fictitious hanging gale, he could not understand why these words were inserted. He had always understood that what was wanted by the Government was that the actual rent up to 1881 should be paid or satisfied before a tenant could receive the benefits of the Act. What had the Government to do with artificial arrangements existing between landlord and tenant? On the ground of policy, what had the Committee to do with arrangements of a private character existing between landlord and tenant? The rent due in 1880, as a matter of fact, would not be dealt with by this Bill, because the Government, by this system of hanging gale, had projected November, 1880, into March, 1881, and they tried to transpose November, 1881, into 1882; so that, as a matter of fact, the landlord gained the advantage of the hanging gale. He must admit that the matter was so intricate that it was almost impossible for anyone to understand it, and the Government had the Committee to a certain extent in their hands. He trusted that the Government would admit that the introduction of this Proviso was a great mistake.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had taken great interest in this subject; but he (Mr. Childers) must deny that the Government had been actuated by the motives attributed to them by the hon. Gentleman. The hanging gale was one of those unfortunate institutions which a great many people, including Irish landlords, would like to see abolished, if the management of the estates in Ireland were to be put upon a better footing. There was not the smallest foundation for the impression that the difference between the clause as originally drafted and as it appeared now was due to the circumstances of either one estate or any number of estates in Ireland. What happened was this—when the clause was drafted the meaning of the Government was that the payment should be made on the customary day, and the words "accrued due" were supposed by the Government to have that effect; but afterwards, when they looked into the Bill more carefully, it became quite clear that the words "accrued due" were not sufficient. The Government wished to bring the law in consonance with the practice and cusoms of the country,

Mr. SYNAN said, he thought there could be no doubt that the mode in which the Bill had been drafted had given rise to the objection of the hon. Member for Wexford. As this Bill was originally drafted, any payment made from the 1st of January, 1881, to the 1st of May, 1881, would go in discharge for the rent of 1881. This Proviso was brought in to protect the rights of the landlord; but it would prejudice the rights of the tenant. The object of the Bill was to get rid of arrears caused by distress and bad seasons; and as it was originally drafted, in his opinion, the intention was that the tenant should pay rent for 1881, and that any payment made from the 1st of January to the 1st of November, or to the 1st of January the next year, would go in discharge of rent for 1881. This Proviso would, however, defeat that object, and would prejudice the tenant by imposing upon him six months' rent, and, therefore, he thought his hon. Friend had a right to complain that the tenant was so prejudiced; but he would not say whether that was with any object or not. He admitted that on a great many estates in Ireland the custom of hanging gale did exist, and he thought it would be well if the circumstances of the country allowed that custom to be put an end to. He was afraid, however, that that could not be; but here was a Proviso bringing in the hanging gale to the prejudice of the tenant, who now would have to pay a year and a-half's rent. Therefore, the tenant was prejudiced; and it was for the Government to consider whether they would restore the Bill to its original position, and so save the tenant, and throw all prior payments into antecedent arrears. They could do that if they wished; and if they did they would make the Bill consistent with its original object, which was to protect the tenant and relieve him from antecedent arrears.

Mr. PARNELL said, he was very glad to hear the explanation from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers), because it showed the intention was to save the hanging gale to the landlords. That was a course to which he most strenuously objected; and he thought the Government ought not to have introduced such a proposal *pro formâ*, and, without doubt, notice should have been inserted in the Bill in such a way that he who ran might read, and not have been left to be drawn from the Government at that late hour of the night, when it was impossible for Members to decide upon their action. The effect of the Proviso was that a tenant who should have obtained protection and a clear receipt for rent up to November, 1881, by paying his rent, would now have to pay a year and a-half's rent in order to get the same protection and receipt. That was a very important change in the Bill, and one which diminished its utility immensely; for whereas the Bill proposed a free acquittance to the tenant who had paid one year's rent and satisfied the Court that he was unable to pay antecedent arrears, this Proviso would require the tenant to pay one and a-half year's rent in order to get that protection. The Bill would fail in protecting tenants if this Proviso was inserted. Just where the tenant wanted protection he would not get it, and instead of being clear of all liability up to November, 1881, he would only find himself clear up to May, 1881. Under all these circumstances, and in order to give Members time to consider what course they would take, and what Amendments they would propose, he would move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. CHILDERS said, he hoped the Committee would consent to finish the discussion upon this subject. It had been discussed at great length, and he had fully explained that the clause, as it now stood, was as it was always intended to be.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought that Irish Members must ask the Government to take further time for the consideration of this section. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) had stated that the intention of the Government was to clear the tenant from November, 1881, as the result of paying two gales. That would have been plain if the sub-section had been allowed to remain as it was originally introduced; and he thought there was reason to complain of what amounted to a breach of good faith in regard to this sub-section, for it seriously altered the form of the Bill. Unquestionably, the poorer tenants would be in this position—having paid two half-years' rent in 1881, they might be told that they had not paid up to March, 1881, and, in consequence of that, they could not go before the Court. The Prime Minister had described this as an Act not to be governed by strict rules of political economy; but, unless the Government wished to shut out a large number of the most needy people from the benefits of the Bill, they would do away with this monstrous provision of a hanging gale. Considering how the law had been used by the landlords, and that this Bill was intended to modify the evils of that law, it was better to say that a provision of that kind was an effort to maintain the consonance of the law. This was a sop to the landlords, and a device by which the poor tenants would be compelled to pay 18 months' rent.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought it rather remarkable that, after all that had been said against the Conservative Party for obstructing Business, Progress should now be moved by Irish Members in a manner not likely to promote the early passing of the Bill. As he had one or two Amendments on the Paper, he should be glad if the Government would go on with this sub-section a little further; but if there was to be a further discussion, or a prolonged wrangle, the Committee ought not to be asked to take any further Government Business this evening.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he wished to put to the Solicitor General for Ireland a case in which a tenant had paid £20 in May, and £20 in November, 1881, and £20 in May, 1882, and asked whether those three payments under this clause would not be credited to 1881? If so, they were justified in saying that that tenant would have to pay three gales, and not only a year.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, it was never intended to assume that the tenant was paying rent in advance; accordingly, the Government attributed to 1881 all payments which, in the ordinary course, might have been ascribed to that year, but it was never intended to apply to 1881 payments which were made in advance.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was rather surprised at this new-born zeal on the Front Opposition Bench to make such speedy progress, considering that hon. Gentlemen on that Bench had spoken six times as often and six times as much as all the Irish Members below the Gangway. The real point why he thought Progress ought to be reported was that the Prime Minister was not now in his place. This clause was exceedingly important on the point raised by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but, of course, it was perfectly hopeless of him to think of outvoting the Government. All that he could hope was to convince the Government, and he might reasonably desire for the Prime Minister to be in his place, in order that he might put his views before the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. HEALY said, if the Government declared for the hanging gale they might as well keep their Bill. He had rejoiced at the introduction of the Bill, because it proposed to abolish the greatest engine of oppression possessed by the landlords; but if the Government were not prepared to abolish the hanging gale they might as well keep their Bill, for he despised it. There was no active oppression which the landlords did not perpetrate by means of the hanging gale. If a tenant did not vote as the landlord wished, or did not send his children to the school approved of by the landlord, or did not repair or cultivate his holding in a certain way, or refused to preserve game in the way the landlord wished, all that the landlord had to do was to serve the tenant with a notice that unless he did so-and-so he must pay up the hanging gale. What was the result? The landlord was not really bound to give the customary notice to quit, and the tenant could be put out at once. There was scarcely a tenant on Lord Kenmare's estate who could not be thrown on the roadside under this system of hanging gale. The Government might pass 100 Arrears Bills; but, unless they abolished the hanging gale, they would leave the tenants at the landlord's mercy.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he thought that, from the way in which hon. Gentlemen spoke of the hanging gale, one might imagine that it was an imposition on the tenant, whereas it was just the other way. The hanging gale was an act of indulgence on the part of the landlords who had allowed the tenants to have the gale run in arrear. The result of this system showed the use of making concessions to the Irish peasantry.

Mr. HEALY said, that, so far from the gale being an indulgence, he had received a letter from a Protestant clergyman, stating that, although he took a farm in 1880, on the day he took possession he was told he was 12 months in arrear.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN desired to give the Government some time to consider this matter, and also that Irish Members should have time to consider their course. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite had said the hanging gale was an evil institution; the Secretary of State for War had said the same, and had added that it would be a good thing for the country if the hanging gale did not exist. That was just the state of the case; but what did the Government do now? They proposed to give this evil institution a new lease of life, and a new force which it had not hitherto had. It was true that this hanging gale had been used in Ireland mainly as an instrument of torture and terrorism over the tenants, and he could tell the Committee of instances in which it had been so used. Some time ago an Irish county, of which he knew something, returned to that House a Member who was not a landlord, as the previous Member had been. What did the landlord do? He was put out of the representation of the county, and in order to punish his tenants for exercising their judgment in the election of a Member he called up his hanging gale. That was his mode of punishment, and that process was for all purposes an act of vengeance; and to this process the Government now proposed to give new force and new life. The sub-section would minimize the utility of the Bill, and would take away much of its character as a Relief Bill, while it would strengthen this evil institution of the hanging gale, and in that way it was calculated to defeat the intentions with which the Government introduced the Bill.

Mr. PARNELL said, the Secretary of State for War had stated that the tenants would only be required to pay arrears of rent. Suppose a tenant on an estate where this hanging gale existed owed three years rent up to November, 1881——

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH rose to Order, and asked whether the hon. Member, having moved to report Progress, could enter upon another discussion?

The CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member desires to make an explanation with a view to withdrawing the Motion, that would facilitate the Business.

Mr. PARNELL said, he should be very glad to withdraw his Motion if it was possible, although he was afraid that was not possible. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) might be able to give such a reply as would enable the Motion to be withdrawn. The case he wished to put was this—Suppose a tenant upon an estate upon which the hanging gale existed owed three years' rent up to November, 1881, he could not by the custom of the estate be called upon to pay the rent due in November, 1881, till November, 1882; that tenant might have paid nothing until now, and, on the passing of this Bill, he went into

Court and tendered or paid a year's rent; would that tenant be clear up to November, 1881?

Mr. CHILDERS: According to the words of the sub-section, if the tenant pays a year's rent he will come within the Bill.

Mr. PARNELL: Would he be entitled to get a legal receipt from his landlord or from the Court clearing him of his rent up to November, 1881?

Mr. CHILDERS: Yes. That payment of a year's rent would be a payment of a year's rent within the meaning of the sub-section; there can be no question about that.

Mr. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to putting that in the Bill?

Mr. CHILDERS: It is in the Bill.

Mr. HEALY said, he begged pardon—it was not in the Bill. ["Oh, oh!"] If the Tory Party did not keep quiet, the Committee had better divide. He quite understood the manœuvre of the Tory Party—they wanted to delay the Bill. They desired that, if possible, the delay should come through the Irish Members by Motions to report Progress—they desired to get the Irish Members into an entanglement with the Government, in order to be able to say by-and-bye that any Obstruction that had come to the Bill had come from the Irish Party, and that the Government had been obliged to refuse a Motion to report Progress sprung on the Committee not by the Tories, but by the Irish Members.

An hon. Member rose to Order. The hon. Member for Wexford had already addressed the Committee.

Mr. HEALY said, he was afraid, if he was out of Order in addressing the Committee a second time, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had been very much out of Order in these debates. The hon. Gentleman who had called him to Order could not have been very much in the House of late, or he would know how often right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench had risen to discuss the provisions of this Bill. If the Government would make it clear that all they desired was that a year's rent should be paid to satisfy the landlord under this Bill up to November, 1881, and whether there was a hanging gale or not, the tenant should get an acquittance; that was a fair and reasonable thing. If the Government would make that clear, the Irish Members would be willing to meet them; but the sub-section as it stood was by no means fair.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that if the words of the sub-section were found by the Government on further consideration to be vague, they would try to make them more clear. He must say, at present, he believed them to be perfectly clear; therefore, he asked the Committee to accept the assurance the Government had given as to the meaning of the sub-section, and allow it now to be passed. If ambiguity was discovered before the Report, that ambiguity would be removed.

Mr. PARNELL said, he was willing to accept the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, and to withdraw the Motion, which he now asked leave of the Committee to do. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman, however, that when he had put his question, and the right hon. Gentleman had answered in the affirmative, the correctness of that answer was at once disputed by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson).

Mr. CHILDERS: I am bound to say that I did not hear that.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. CHILDERS said, that as they had now got through the sub-section, he would move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Childers.*)

Mr. GIBSON said, he should like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman when the Committee might expect to see on the Paper that most important sub-section foreshadowed to-night in the speech of the Prime Minister?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he hoped it would be on the Paper to-morrow morning.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Will it be in the shape of a sub-section or a new clause?

Mr. CHILDERS: A new clause.

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 147.]

(*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading be deferred until to-morrow."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE asked whether it was intended to take the measure at the Morning Sitting on Saturday, if there was to be such a Sitting?

Mr. MUNDELLA said, the Order for Second Reading was about to be postponed until to-morrow, with the idea of then fixing the day for the second reading.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked whether it was understood that the Bill was to be taken on Saturday?

Mr. MUNDELLA said, it would be taken on Saturday.

Motion *agreed to.*

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES (QUINQUENNIAL RETURNS) BILL.—[Bill 228.]

(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE said, the object of the Bill, as stated in the Preamble, was the repeal of that part of the Friendly Societies Act of 1875 which obliged the Societies to furnish Quinquennial Returns of their sickness and mortality. In the opinion of the authorities of the Registrar's Office sufficient data had been furnished for the calculation of the required Tables. The Returns now available extended over a period of 25 years, and gave, on the lowest calculation, 10,000,000 years of life from which to construct the Tables. The purposes of that part of the Act of 1875 to which this Bill referred being fulfilled, there was now no occasion to continue what had been a heavy, but necessary, burden on the Societies. It was only fair to the officers of the Societies to say that the Returns had been furnished with great regularity, and with much neatness and accuracy. He begged to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

Mr. W. H. JAMES said, he believed the Bill would meet with general approbation, not only from Registered Friendly Societies, but from all Friendly Societies throughout the country. Would the hon. Gentleman state when the Report of the Registrar of last year was likely to be published? The last Report they had received from the Registrar of Friendly Societies was in the year 1880, and in that Report the desirability of bringing forward a measure was pointed out, not only in regard to Quinquennial Returns of mortality and sickness, but in regard also to the large questions which it was impossible to include in the draught of this Bill—namely, improvements, alterations, and amendments in the law, which some of the Societies considered necessary. It was very desirable that the opinions of the Societies should be known on this important matter, and that they should be laid before Parliament and the public. At that time of night it was not possible to go into the question; but he should like to know when the Return of which he spoke would be laid on the Table? Great complaint had been made by the officials of the Societies, that pressure was brought to bear upon them if they were irregular or late in making their Returns; and he thought he, on the other hand, had a right to make some complaint in the House of the Registrar being so much behindhand in publishing his annual Return.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the Return in question was of an involved and intricate character. He would make inquiries with a view of ascertaining whether its production could not be expedited.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.—[Bill 140.]

(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. COURTNEY, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said he might, perhaps, explain once more that it was merely a formal proceeding. He had already explained that it was extremely desirable to have the Bill reprinted in order that the full financial proposal of the Government might be before the House. It could not be discussed until it was before the House, and right hon. Gentlemen opposite must admit the necessity of having it reprinted. It was proposed to have the Bill read a second time to-day, committed *pro formâ* to-morrow, and to take the formal discussion on the Question that the Speaker do leave the Chair on some early night, when it would be made the first Order, and when those who had put down Motions on the second reading could bring those Motions forward. He believed all the hon. Members who had put down Motions—with, perhaps, one exception—had agreed to this plan, which, if adopted, would assist them and the House. He, therefore, earnestly hoped that the proceeding to-night, which, he repeated, was merely a formal one, would be allowed to take place without debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

MR. E. W. HARCOURT said, he was sure no one would accuse him of wishing in any way to obstruct the Business of the House; but in this matter he was in a peculiar position. He had already given way to the Government once this Session in a matter in which he took great interest, and in which he believed many other hon. Members took great interest. As he had had only a very unsatisfactory explanation with regard to a promise which the Prime Minister had made him in the presence of the House, hon. Members would excuse him if he said a word or two on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman, when he (Mr. Harcourt) withdrew his Motion on the 24th of February, acknowledged that he saw that the corner-stone of that Motion was that immediate relief should be given to the taxpayers and ratepayers of the country. The right hon. Gentleman said that the promise he gave was to be independent of any legislation with which he might find that the House was not in perfect accord. Well, the way the right hon. Gentleman had met him had been by saying that he would take a tax to put himself in funds; but the tax that it was intended to propose, he (Mr. Harcourt) believed was one with which the House was not in perfect accord. Therefore, if it was found that the tax was not one that the House generally approved of, if the right hon. Gentleman said that by the course he had taken he was fulfilling his promise, he (Mr. Harcourt) could only say, with all respect to the right hon. Gentleman, that he was escaping from his promise by a side-wind. This was an unworthy way to carry out a promise made before the whole House, and on the strength of which he (Mr. Harcourt) had withdrawn the Motion upon which he had wished to address the House. He certainly did thank the right hon. Gentleman for so much of his promise as embraced the principle that the cost of the main roads should not be put upon the rates; but he did not think that the proposal the right hon Gentleman made was a wise one; but, because it was not wise, the rejection of that proposition by the House would not release him from his promise. There were plenty of other means which the Prime Minister, with his great wisdom and great financial knowledge, could make use of for raising the required funds without the Carriage Tax. He considered the Carriage Tax would be an unfair tax, even if the present tax only were appropriated for road purposes, much more so if that tax was to be increased. Firstly, because the £540,000 which was produced by the Carriage Tax was chiefly collected in the towns; and, secondly, because the carriages which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to tax were not the chief offenders. Any legislation in this matter must lay on the users of the roads their fair share of the maintenance. Turnpikes did this in a rough and extravagant way. Turnpikes were gone, and now the taxation was unjustly thrown upon the ratepayers. The right hon. Gentleman promised him before the House that he would give immediate relief in the matter. It went without saying, that relief must be just or else it was worthless. He had received vast numbers of suggestions from all parts of the country on these matters. He saw an objection in many of the methods proposed, which was that persons who did not use the roads would be heavily taxed. Well, then, the Carriage and

Horse Tax at first presented an appearance of greater fairness; but he had already shown what his reasons were for disliking the former tax; and, as to the Horse Tax, why it had but lately been taken off, and he was sure those who were interested in the matter would not approve of its being re-imposed. If a fresh tax were necessary, it would be more fair that vehicles should pay in proportion to the use they made of the roads; for instance, carts and waggons used on the land only should not be taxed. Hauliers, brewers, butchers, and tradesmen whose vehicles were always on the roads, should be rated in proportion to the tolls they formerly paid to the turnpikes. This was easily got at. He believed it would be found that waggons of the above description paid about £10 a-year; carts about £7 10*s*. a-year. Traction engines drawing heavy weights of course should pay at a higher rate. He was only roughly sketching what might be done. Another scheme which recommended itself to notice was a terminal railway rate. Supposing one penny were charged on each ton of goods discharged by railways and canals for carriage on roads in England, they would find that, as 240,000,000 tons were so discharged each year, £1,000,000 would be realized. There would be no difficulty in collecting the rate; and as far as railways were concerned it would be a positive gain to them, for they would then be relieved of their liabilities respecting roads and over bridges. Towns would receive their fair share, and the rate would fall very lightly on small consumers. The right hon. Gentleman laughed at him about appropriating the Beer Tax for the roads; but there were other licences connected with beer that might be made use of. There were many other methods also which the genius of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was quite capable of conceiving; but it was not open to him to say that, if one proposition was distasteful, therefore he was absolved from making any other. He was in the recollection of the House in these things. He believed the sense of justice of the House was on his side. He would not enter more fully at this late hour into the merits of the case. He had promised not to detain the House long, and would therefore conclude by moving, as an Amendment to the second reading—

"That the financial arrangements comprised in the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill will not be satisfactory unless provision is therein made for giving immediate relief to the ratepayers from the incidence of rates levied for the maintenance of main roads in England."

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the financial arrangements comprised in the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill will not be satisfactory unless provision is therein made for giving immediate relief to the ratepayers from the incidence of rates levied for the maintenance of main roads in England,"—(*Mr. Harcourt,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. MAC IVER said, he would move the adjournment of the debate; and he did so because he believed that he and many other hon. Members had great reason to complain of the course the Government had taken. The Secretary to the Treasury had been good enough to inform him that he (Mr. Mac Iver) was the obstacle to the progress of this measure—or, rather, that the obstacle was the Motion which stood in his name on the Paper. That, however, was not quite correct. He should at any time be willing to withdraw a Motion that stood in his name in order to facilitate the despatch of Business if he were able to elicit a really definite promise that there would be full opportunity given to debate his Motion. The discussion on this important Bill had been held over since the 25th of April. They had now arrived at an hour when it was quite useless to make speeches; therefore, he would not detain the House with the subject of his Amendment. He would only move that the debate be now adjourned.

[The Motion, not being seconded, could not be put.]

Mr. COURTNEY said, he was surprised that the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) had taken this course. It was inconvenient that these questions should be raised in the absence of the Prime Minister, who was the person who had made the promise, and who was the only person who could offer the necessary explanations.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the absence of the Prime Minister might be stated as a reason for adjourning the debate.

MR. COURTNEY said, that if the second reading were now allowed the hon. Member for Oxfordshire would not lose much. He, no doubt, would lose the opportunity of saying the same thing twice over—first, on the second reading, and again on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; but it was not usual to say things twice over in that way. The hon. Member would have the most ample opportunity of making his statement or complaint, of pressing his claim, and of calling on the Prime Minister to redeem his pledge, on the night which would be set apart for the discussion of the Bill. He (Mr. Courtney) hoped the hon. Member would forego the discussion on his Amendment to-night, and take the discussion on it when the Question arose that Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, the hon. Gentleman, in his laudable desire to promote the Business of the Government, really overlooked the position of private Members with regard to this matter. The hon. Gentleman said that the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) would lose nothing at all by consenting to the second reading of this Bill being taken now, and the Bill being committed *pro formâ*, because an opportunity would be offered to him to bring forward his Motion, on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair. If the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxfordshire was the only Member who had a Notice of Amendment on this Bill, there might be something said in favour of what the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury had said. But, in point of fact, there were no less than 11 Gentlemen who had Notices of Motions on the second reading of this Bill. Therefore, if the hon. Member for Oxfordshire were to wait for the occasion which was promised him by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, the probability was that he would lose his opportunity altogether, because some other of those Gentlemen whose names were down would very possibly have precedence of him. In considering this matter they must take into consideration the position of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire himself. The hon. Member brought forward his Motion with regard to Local Taxation, especially with respect to highways, at an early period of the Session. He had an opportunity of making an excellent speech on the subject, and of testing somewhat the opinion of the House; and if the matter had come to a vote, they would have seen how far the House were prepared to accept the views of the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman, however, on that occasion was interrupted by the proposal from the Prime Minister, who seemed to promise the hon. Member all he asked for; therefore, the hon. Gentleman abandoned the opportunity which he had, and, by so doing, he facilitated the progress of other Business. He sacrificed his own opportunity; but he looked forward to an arrangement which would be satisfactory to him. In the course of the discussion which had since taken place there had been suggestions made which seemed to show that there was, at all events, a doubt in the mind of the Prime Minister whether he would or would not be able in the present Session to fulfil the promise which he made to the hon. Member for Oxfordshire. It was something more than a doubt; and, therefore, the hon. Member now said—"I wish to bring the matter to an issue; I wish to take the sense of the House on this important question. It really does not signify for that purpose whether the Bill is exactly in the form which it is ultimately to assume." The question was one of a general and broad character, and it was one on which his hon. Friend (Mr. Harcourt) had a fair right to test the sentiment of the House. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury now said that it was unfair to bring forward this proposal in the absence of the Prime Minister, and in that way spring a surprise on the House. Why, the Prime Minister only that very day said there were a number of Notices on the Paper with regard to this Bill; but he understood that only one Gentleman intended to press his Motion. He (Sir Stafford Northcote) called out "two;" but the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would not believe that that was the case. It really was not the fault of the Opposition if the Prime Minister would not believe that which he was told—namely, that there would be no objection made to proceeding with this Bill to-night. He (Sir Stafford Northcote) must say that the House had been extremely forbearing. The hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury knew perfectly well, and all old

Members of the House knew perfectly well, that, as a general rule, what happened in financial matters was something of this kind. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement in a general way, and then it was subjected, perhaps, to a little conversation; but no regular discussion took place upon the first night. Usually a day was named within the week of the introduction of the Budget for the discussion of the proposals of the Budget in Committee of the Whole House. At every stage of the Bill they had been asked by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to forego their usual opportunity of discussion. Nothing was done to stand in the way of the progress of Government Business; and now, when the second reading of this Bill was proposed, there was an attempt to withdraw the promise which had been made to the House. The House was not receiving fair treatment at the hands of the Government. Hon. Members were willing to admit that the Government had a great deal of pressure upon them this Session, and they had endeavoured, as far as they could, to make allowance for that pressure. They had given the Government a great deal of time; they had given them precedence for one Bill, and then for another Bill; and, in fact, they had done all they could to forbear interfering with the progress of Government Business. Having had so few nights for Supply, having had so few opportunities of bringing forward questions that ought to be brought forward, he thought it was a most unprecedented and most inexcusable thing that the Government should make the present demand upon them. The hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) came forward very gallantly and said—"I am quite prepared to take this opportunity of taking the sense of the House. I waive the opportunity of asking for an adjournment and having a full discussion, if you will allow us to come to a vote on this important question. If the Government do not feel they are in a position to come to a vote now, and will let us adjourn the discussion, let us take it upon some subsequent evening, I am quite content; but do not call on the House to forego the legitimate opportunity now at our disposal." He (Sir Stafford Northcote) must say there were many grounds why they should be very chary indeed how they assented to the proposals of the Government, until they had some further explanation with regard to some points in the Estimates to which attention had been directed. He had no desire at all to unduly hurry over the consideration of the Financial Bill, yet he thought the proposal of his hon. Friend (Mr. Harcourt) might be very legitimately discussed now. The House might do very well even now in coming to a vote. Of course, if the Government thought the matter required further consideration, it was in their power to move the adjournment of the debate.

COLONEL MAKINS said, the hon. Member (Mr. Courtney), in moving the second reading, stated that his object was solely to get the Bill re-committed—that was to say, to bring the Bill before the House in another form. He (Colonel Makins) only rose to suggest that if the hon. Member was not prepared to come to a vote on the Bill in its present form, there was another course he could take—namely, to withdraw the Bill and bring in a fresh one. That would give an opportunity for discussion on the second reading. If the House agreed now to the second reading of this Bill, one of the stages would be lost on which a discussion could take place.

MR. PELL said, that one of the objections he had to make to the proposal of the Government was this. There appeared to be a general understanding that if the proposals of the Government were now assented to, and this Bill read a second time, those who had subjects for discussion during the progress of the Bill would remain exactly in the same position as if they insisted upon this stage not being lost. That would hardly be the case. He (Mr. Pell) had had a Motion on the Paper for a long time, which he intended to move on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair, and he intended now to take this opportunity of making the Motion, because he observed that there were so many Motions on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill. What he wished to draw the attention of the House to was this—that if this Motion was agreed to, he would not get precedence, but his Motion would remain behind the Motions of the 11 Gentlemen which were now on the Paper. For his own part, therefore, he objected to the proposal of the Government. Hon. Members had to represent their constituents, and they did undoubtedly look for an opportunity of giving expression to their views and to those of their constituents upon such an important Bill as this. Although he did it with extreme reluctance, because he was aware of the difficulties which surrounded the Government and the Parliamentary Business this year, he could not consent to lose this opportunity of discussing the subjects raised by the Bill.

MR. MAGNIAC said, he happened to represent a very considerable class in the country, and he held in his hand a Memorial, signed by 1,000 commercial firms in the country, which had been intrusted to him for presentation. He stood in this position, that by the action of the Government not only had he no opportunity now of introducing the Motion he had on the Paper with regard to this Bill, but he should have no opportunity of introducing his Motion until the Motion was made to go into Committee on the Bill. He (Mr. Magniac) certainly thought that the best course for the Government to have taken would have been to have had the Bill reprinted and brought in again. That course might have been followed 10 days ago, and, had it been followed, no complaints would have arisen.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he could hardly think that the present occasion was one on which it would be convenient, as his hon. Friend had suggested, that they should try the experiment of withdrawing the Bill for the purpose of introducing a fresh one; and he could hardly think that that was a proceeding which would commend itself to the House. He could scarcely agree with what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt); and he could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote), that if the course now proposed by the Government was followed the hon. Member for Oxfordshire would practically lose an opportunity for discussion. The right hon. Gentleman had pointed out that there were 11 Notices of Amendments on the second reading of this Bill; but, strange to say, he omitted to mention that that of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire was the 11th on the Paper, and therefore he would have had very little chance indeed of being able to take the opinion of the House on his Motion. The probability was that one of the previous Amendments would have been moved; and although, no doubt, the hon. Member for Oxfordshire would have been able to have ventilated his views on the Motion brought forward, whose ever it was, in all probability he would not have been in the position to have taken the sense of the House on his own Motion. If the hon. Member did not like the course the Government had taken, and was desirous to take a Vote, he (the Marquess of Hartington) did not see why the Government should object. He did not know that it would be a very convenient course, or one that would be satisfactory to the hon. Member himself, who had shown a disposition to discuss this subject fairly with the Government. It was not altogether desirable to obtain votes; but what was really desirable was that they should have a fair discussion of the proposals of the Government. As he had said, the Government would not object to a division; but he could not help thinking that it would be more convenient if the discussion were taken on a subsequent occasion, and when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in his place. The real question before the House was whether the House would consent to the form of proceeding recommended by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and whether they would virtually make this Bill unopposed, in order that it should be reprinted. If, however, the hon. Member for Oxfordshire desired it, the Government had no objection to take a division.

MR. RAIKES said, the noble Marquess appeared to treat the issue before the House as if it were merely one between the Government on the one hand, and the hon. Member for Oxfordshire on the other.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he only referred to the hon. Gentleman opposite because he had proposed an Amendment to the Motion.

MR. RAIKES said, the noble Marquess laid stress on the inconvenience which might be sustained by the hon. Member for Oxfordshire in not being able to bring forward his proposal. He (Mr. Raikes) wished the House to consider that the question was one between the Government and the House, and not between the Government and any individual Member. If there was any one question in the whole course of the year on which the House was entitled to express its opinion, after full and exhaustive discussion, it was the question of the second reading of the Bill which involved the Government's financial policy. They were now told by the Secretary to the Treasury that they should abandon the opportunity of discussion on this occasion, partly because it was 2 o'clock in the morning, partly because the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not in his place, and partly because the Secretary to the Treasury was good enough to promise the House an opportunity of discussing the measure on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair. It appeared that the Secretary to the Treasury, who had not been very long in his Office, must believe that Members were singularly ignorant of the Forms of the House when he endeavoured to beguile them by telling them that because they were to have another opportunity of discussion, which everyone knew they would have, they should give up the first legitimate opportunity of discussing this measure. He (Mr. Raikes) wished to call attention to the manner in which the Government in the present Session was conducting the Financial Business of the country. The finance of the country was being conducted with a total absence of debate. The ordinary opportunities for the discussion of Supply were abrogated; every chance which might be given to Members to raise questions were swept away; and now, when they had reached the great culminating occasion of the year on which the Government's financial policy came under revision, they were asked to abandon the most legitimate and Constitutional opportunity which the House had for discussing the question. He thought he ought to point out that that was only one of the inconveniences which arose from the fact that two of the most important Offices of the State were combined in the same person. No one would begrudge the Prime Minister that rest he had so laboriously earned; but it was an unfortunate circumstance that the Prime Minister could not be in bed without the Chancellor of the Exchequer being absent, and that the House should be left to the guidance of the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), who was entirely unacquainted with the Constitutional procedure of the House.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 149; Noes 131: Majority 18. — (Div. List, No. 256.)

Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. H. H. FOWLER understood the Financial Secretary to have stated that this Bill would be taken as the first Order of the Day at the Evening Sitting. Would the Government give it precedence of the Arrears of Rent Bill?

MR. COURTNEY said, he had said that this would be the first Order of the Day, and would be taken on the first opportunity for discussion. He was not aware of any difficulty in carrying out the intention of the Government; but he was not prepared to give an absolute pledge.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, a Morning Sitting between 2 and 7 was practically between 3 and 7, and that would be sufficient.

MR. COURTNEY said, that would not be so; but the Bill should be put down the first thing possible for a Morning Sitting.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

MERCHANT SHIPPING (COLONIAL INQUIRIES) BILL—[*Lords*].—[Bill 235.]

(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY explained that the Supreme Court of Victoria had by a decision thrown considerable doubt on the question whether Colonial Courts of Inquiry into casualties could deal with any cases outside their own territorial jurisdiction. It would be very inconvenient if a case of casualty could not be inquired into by a Colonial Court because the casualty had not taken place inside the ordinary jurisdiction of that Colony.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

[BILL 200.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will resolve itself into the said Committee upon Saturday."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

COLONEL MAKINS said, he thought he had a right to complain of the intention of the Government to take this Bill at a Morning Sitting on Saturday. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) had stated earlier in the day that there was no intention to oppose the Bill as a Bill, and that the only intention was to raise certain questions upon one or two principles which had been for the first time introduced by this Bill. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to have given him an assurance that there would be a proper opportunity of discussing this measure in a full House, and he hardly thought the right hon. Gentleman would be carrying that pledge out by putting the Bill down for a Saturday Sitting, when there was certain to be so few Members present that a full discussion would be impossible. He did not want to throw any obstruction in the way of progress; but one of the points involved by this Bill was so novel and so important that it ought to be discussed in a full House, and, therefore, he should move that the Bill be taken on Monday.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the words "Monday next,"—(*Colonel Makins,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question."

MR. BUCHANAN said, if the hon. and gallant Member opposite divided on this question he should support him, not on the Electric Lighting Bill, but on another Bill. Subsequently to the Electric Lighting Bill one or two other Bills would be taken which would lead to opposition, and one of these was the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill, to which no less than 11 Notices of opposition had been given. That was the only Bill relating to Scotland brought in by the Government this Session, and when it was introduced there was no opportunity for a discussion upon it. The Bill was read a first time on the 1st of May, and now the Government proposed to make it the second Order of the Day for to-morrow. He did not think that was the proper way to treat Scotch measures in that House; and, therefore, he should support the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he certainly thought when the Prime Minister stated, a few days ago, what Bills were, and what were not, to be proceeded with, he said that the Government would not proceed with any measures mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. Among those measures was, not the Electric Lighting Bill, but the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill. That was the intention stated, and he thought that to devote a Saturday Sitting to Bills of this kind at that period of the Session was trifling with the time of the House. There was plenty to do in voting Supplies, and it seemed to him that all the time the Government could spare ought to be devoted to the financial interests of the country.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot but think that the difficulty raised by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) is a little premature, because the proposal is that the Electric Lighting Bill be taken on Saturday. The question whether the Scotch Bill shall be taken on Saturday also is a question which I mentioned for the consideration of the House earlier on; but it is not now before the House. With regard to that question, the Government were under the impression that a great majority of the Scotch Members were really interested in the progress of this Bill, and desired to see its stages taken whenever there was an opportunity for its discussion, and that they would be glad of any opportunity for its discussion. The Government are under the belief that the Electric Lighting Bill, although it will raise some great points, will probably not extend over any lengthened period, and that will afford an opportunity for taking the Scotch Bill such as the Scotch Members would desire; but if the Scotch Members would rather take their chance of a better place at a later time—if, in consideration of the present state of Business, they would rather postpone the measure—certainly the Government will not offer any opposition when that point comes to be discussed; and there will be an opportunity to raise that question to-morrow when the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill has been put on the Paper. Going back to the proposal as to the Electric Lighting Bill, I am sure the hon. and gallant Member would not wish to misrepresent me, but I must disclaim having given any pledge.

Colonel MAKINS: I did not say pledge; I said I understood that intention from what you said.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I will explain what I understood from our conversation. I asked the hon. and gallant Member and other Members having blocks to remove them, as I thought their blocks applied to matters which were properly for Committee, and I said if they would remove their blocks I would consult them as to when the Committee should be taken, with a view to an adequate discussion; but the hon. and gallant Member and other hon. Members were unable to comply with my suggestion; and my only chance was to take the Bill at a time when it could be discussed. Such an opportunity is given by putting it down as the first Order for a Saturday Sitting. In addition to what I said at an earlier period, as the Bill went before a Select Committee of this House, it is probable that it will have to go before a Select Committee in "another place," and I think that is an additional reason for taking it at an early opportunity.

Mr. W. HOLMS said, he was opposed to the Electric Lighting Bill being taken on Saturday, because hanging upon that was the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill. No pledge was given by the Government that this Bill would even be taken as the second measure. Scotch Members would be perfectly contented if the Scotch measure was taken first, as they regarded it as a measure of great importance.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, the right hon. Gentleman said the Scotch Members would have an opportunity to-morrow of discussing the Scotch Bill. It was put down for 2 o'clock to-morrow, but it could not possibly be reached until 10 minutes to 7, when, of course, no discussion could take place.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he had put down the Bill for Saturday, and that would give an opportunity to Scotch Members to make any statements they wished.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he thought some hon. Members would agree to a Saturday's Sitting if they knew what would be taken. He understood the Government were going to take the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill. That raised a question of considerable importance, and he thought Saturday would not be a favourable opportunity of discussing it. He wished, therefore, to know whether the Government did intend to take it on Saturday?

Mr. FAWCETT said, this Bill proposed to carry out very important administrative changes, which he would explain to the House.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 130; Noes 109: Majority 21.—(Div. List, No. 257.)

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he hoped that, considering the evident distaste of the House to sitting on a Saturday, Her Majesty's Government would, at any rate, not take more than the Electric Lighting Bill on that day. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) had said that at 2 o'clock to-morrow he proposed to ask the House to consider the desirability of taking the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill on Saturday; and what he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) wished to know was, whether there would be an opportunity of discussing that proposal? What he feared would happen would be this—that when the Arrears of Rent Bill came to an end at 10 minutes to 7, the right hon. Gentleman would make his statement, and ask for the decision of the House, and there would be no opportunity for discussion.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that, when at a few minutes before 7 to-day it was proposed that the Bill should be taken on Saturday, any hon. Member might object, and then the Motion would have to be adjourned to the Evening Sitting, when it might be discussed. Thirty-five Scotch Members had intimated to him, in the course of the evening, their desire that the Bill should be taken.

Colonel MAKINS said, he had some Amendments to the Electric Lighting Bill; but he would not bring them forward on Saturday. He would defer them to the third reading.

MR. BUCHANAN: Can we object to the Saturday Sitting to-morrow?

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) has stated the case correctly. If the Motion is opposed at the Morning Sitting to-morrow, it will go over until the Evening Sitting, when it can be discussed and a vote taken.

MR. BUCHANAN said, he would ask the Prime Minister at 2 o'clock today whether it was still his intention to take the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill on Saturday; and, if so, as it was the only measure of first-rate importance relating to Scotland introduced this Session, whether the Bill would be made the first Order of the Day?

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee upon *Saturday.*

GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND ASSURANCE BILL.—[BILL 190.]

(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday."—(*Mr Fawcett.*)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he begged to renew his appeal to the Government not to put down these Bills for Saturday. This Government Annuities and Assurance Bill was a most important measure, and one which had been carefully considered by the Select Committee to which the subject of it had been referred, although he ventured to say that that Committee had only heard one side of the question. If they were on Saturday to have a long debate on the Electric Lighting Bill, with a probability of another on the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill, it was ridiculous to suppose that they could discuss the Annuities Bill. He would move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

MR. FAWCETT said, the right hon. Baronet said that only one side of the question had been heard by the Committee. As Chairman of the Committee, he (Mr. Fawcett) had taken every possible pains to obtain evidence on both sides. The evidence given before the Committee had been published in the newspapers, and the Insurance Societies and the banks had been well represented. The Bill carried out the unanimous recommendations of the Royal Commission; and although the Report consisted of 31 paragraphs, in considering it not a single division had taken place. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) was on the Committee, and the Bill was not so much his (Mr. Fawcett's) as that the Select Committee had recommended. There were only two serious points to be discussed in Committee—namely, the limits of insurance and annuities. He would do everything in his power to insure the full discussion of these points in Committee.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, the objection to this Bill was not so much a question of evidence as a question of principle—whether or not the Government should undertake business for the sake of profit. He would put it to the House how was it possible that they could have a good opportunity of discussing the measure on a Saturday Sitting after disposing of two important Bills? They did not know how long Her Majesty's Government proposed to sit; and he really would appeal to them, under the circumstances, to accede to the suggestion of the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach).

MR. R. N. FOWLER wished to know how long the Government proposed to sit on Saturday? There was nothing, he believed, to prevent their sitting until 12 o'clock at night or until Sunday morning if they chose; and, under these circumstances, it would be most undesirable that the important question alluded to should be debated and divided on at a late hour, say 11 o'clock at night.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that nothing could be more unfortunate than to fix a time at which a debate should cease, as it led to some hon. Members keeping away until that time. He would venture to submit that if there were a Saturday Sitting it should be utilized. An hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Makins) had just given Notice that he intended to withdraw or postpone to another occasion some Amendments he was prepared to move to the Electric Lighting Bill. The discussion on that Bill, therefore, would occupy a very short time, and it was probable, after what they had heard this evening, that the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill would not be brought on on Saturday. It was desirable, therefore, if they put the House to the trouble of meeting at all, that there should be some Business before it. The House would think that, if the Electric Lighting Bill did not last three hours, it would be a favourable opportunity for raising a discussion on the other Bills which would be put down on the Paper.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that to take this particular Bill was an unfortunate thing. An important principle was involved in the measure, and it might possibly happen that hon. Members who were much opposed to it might come down in large numbers to oppose it, whilst the great mass of Members, having made other arrangements, would not come down at all. There was a danger of a very hostile discussion. It appeared to him that the discussion on Saturday was almost sure to be a complete waste of time.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 101; Noes 84: Majority 17.—(Div. List, No. 258.)

Second Reading upon *Saturday.*

SETTLED LAND (*re-committed*) BILL [*Lords*].

(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

[BILL 223.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 6th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 20, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Capital money under Act; investment, &c. by trustees or Court).

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had an Amendment to move, in page 11, line 28, after the word "shares," to insert the words "or in any debentures or debenture stock issued under 'The Local Loans Act, 1875.'" He had not been aware that Trustees authorized to invest in railway debentures were also authorized to invest in local loans. There was considerable doubt about it in the country; therefore, to set the matter at rest, he proposed this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, line 28, after the word "shares," to insert the words "or in any debentures or debenture stock issued under 'The Local Loans Act, 1875.'"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he hoped these words would not be inserted. A great advance had been made in the way this money, which was originally real estate, might be invested. As to the loans under the Local Loans Act, they stood on a different footing to many of these loans. This applied to local authorities, who were entitled to raise a rate for any purpose whatever, and in many cases security of this kind was such as they would not like to see in the Bill. Debentures were payable to bearer, and they would hardly be desirable for the purposes of an Act of this description. The question had been thoroughly discussed, and though opinions were equally divided, he did not think it would be desirable to accept the Amendment.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, they ought to be very careful that they ran no risk whatever in this matter. The question had been discussed by a Committee, and he would prefer to take the opinion of that body.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there could be little doubt that the Act of 1875, coupled with the Bill, would have the desired effect. All he wanted to do was to give notice to tenants for life and to trustees that they had this power under the Act.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, they were only to invest in first-class railways which had paid dividends on their first stock during the last 10 years.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 45; Noes 88: Majority 43.—(Div. List, No. 259.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

PLURALITIES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

[BILL 236.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

MR. DILLWYN said, the Bill required considerable discussion, and it ought not to be discussed at that time of the morning. He would, therefore, move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 49; Noes 35: Majority 14.—(Div. List, No. 260.)

Second Reading *deferred* till *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 14*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Copyright (Musical Compositions) * (159); Public Offices Site * (184).
Committee — Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * (181); Corn Returns (No. 2) * (187).
Committee — Report — Baths and Wash-houses Acts Amendment * (180).
Third Reading—Judgments (Inferior Courts) * (110), and *passed*.

LONDON RIVER-SIDE FISH MARKET BILL.

LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Commons reasons for disagreeing to certain of the Lords Amendments *considered* (according to order).

THE EARL OF MAR AND KELLIE, in moving that the Lords do insist upon the Amendments to which the Commons had disagreed, wished, as a Member of the Committee, to state his reasons for the Motion. He admitted that the noble Duke who presided over the Committee (the Duke of Leinster) did not share his opinion on the subject; but he desired to point out to their Lordships that the Bill was promoted by a private company, and that its object was to erect a fish market about two miles lower down the river than the existing market. It was admitted that the present Billingsgate Market was in a very unsatisfactory position, and that access to it was specially difficult, the consequence being that fish had to be carried a considerable way by water. But he felt a difficulty in disregarding the Charter which granted the Corporation a monopoly of the fish markets within seven miles of London, a Charter which had more than once been renewed, and relying on which the Corporation had spent no less a sum than £300,000 upon the market already existing. Under those circumstances, he failed to see why compensation should be refused to the Corporation, at least on river-borne fish, more particularly when the promoters of the new scheme relied upon securing a dividend of 7½ per cent as soon as the market was opened, and presumably a larger one in the future. Their Lordships also might do well to consider the policy of handing over to a private company, of which the principal promoter was one of the largest North Sea fishermen, the entire control of the sole fish market in London. He thought it was desirable that some public body should have the control of the fish supply of the Metropolis, and that it should not be allowed to become a monopoly in the hands of any company.

Moved, "To insist on the said Amendments."—(*The Earl of Mar and Kellie.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he hoped that their Lordships would not insist on the retention of the Amendments introduced into this Bill by a Select Committee of their House. That Billingsgate Market was now totally inadequate for the wants of the Metropolis, and that the inconvenience, obstruction, and nuisance existing there were absolutely intolerable, was a matter on which there was no difference of opinion except on the part of the Corporation of the City of London. The question before their Lordships was whether the Select Committee of their House which inquired into that Bill, and affirmed its principle, did not unintentionally introduce into it Amendments which enhanced the cost of its working, and interfered so much with its operation as to render it practically a nullity. The first of those Amendments empowered the Corporation of London, at any time within six months from the passing of the Bill, to purchase that undertaking on payment of the taxed costs of the promoters. The result of that provision might reasonably be expected to be that the body which had hitherto impeded all improvement in this matter would simply convert the Bill into so much waste-paper. The reason why a new fish market was proposed to be erected by a company was because the Corporation of London, closing their eyes to the insufficiency of the present accommodation, had persistently refused to supplement it. But supposing the Corporation did not exercise the option of purchase within the six months, a further Amendment had been introduced into the Bill requiring the company to make full compensation to the Corporation for all loss and injury which they might sustain by reason of the establishment and continuance of the new market, of the tolls and dues of Billingsgate Market, and the basis of such compensation was to be the tolls and dues taken at Billingsgate in the year 1881. Was it, he asked, dignified that a Corporation professing to represent the people of London, and to have at heart their interests, and also presumably possessing its powers for the public good, should claim compensation on account of the erection of a much-needed new market which they had themselves frequently refused to provide, and the sole object of which was to facilitate and cheapen the supply of fish to the Metropolis?

The Duke of LEINSTER said, that, as Chairman of the Select Committee which had inquired into the Bill, he had always been of opinion that these clauses would injure the Bill very much, and that the proposed new market would be of great advantage to the Metropolis, reducing, as it would do, the existing rate of tolls by one-half; and he, therefore, hoped that their Lordships would not insist on their Amendments.

Lord WENTWORTH said, he thought the supply of fish to the Metropolis was a matter of such great importance that it should be dealt with rather by a Public than by a Private Bill; and he should not be sorry to have the question taken out of the hands of the Select Committee and decided by the House itself. At the same time, he thought there never was a clearer case for compensation than that made by the Corporation of London. There was in the case of the Bill establishing the Central Metropolitan Meat Market a precedent for such compensation. If necessary, the Corporation might be reformed; but that was not a reason why they should be deprived of their property without compensation.

Earl DE LA WARR said, he was of opinion that the Corporation had rather encouraged inquiries in regard to markets. The Corporation also had always endeavoured, as far as possible, to make such provision for the supply of fish as would meet the demand. Within the last 10 years Billingsgate Market had been entirely rebuilt and enlarged, and between £200,000 and £300,000 had been laid out upon it. That seemed to him to have some bearing on the question of compensation.

The Earl of SHAFTESBURY said, he earnestly hoped their Lordships would not insist upon these Amendments. A more important Bill for the welfare and comfort of the people had seldom been introduced. They had never utilized to its full extent the enormous supply of fish in the Metropolis, and what London required was that they should have a market to which they could have easy access, and to where the fish would be cheap and abundant; and the present Bill gave the people what they wanted. Sixteen public bodies, besides the Metropolitan Board of Works, had presented Petitions in favour of the Bill, with 1,563,000 signatures. The question was one of the sustenance of life, and, therefore, very serious. The Corporation of London opposed the Bill on the ground that Billingsgate Market was sufficient for the purpose. Their plea also was that they would be deprived by the Bill of their tolls and dues; but they were in receipt of large public funds which were to be spent for public purposes. No doubt they had laid out a large sum upon Billingsgate Market; but they had done so in a very improvident manner. In his opinion, the Corporation had no ground to stand on in the present case, and he hoped their Lordships would not insist upon the Amendments.

On question? *resolved* in the *negative.*

COPYRIGHT (MUSICAL COMPOSITIONS) BILL.—(No. 159.)

(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, the Bill provided that no assignment of any copyright of a musical composition should be held to convey the right of performance unless the intention of the parties was so expressed. But then it went on to provide that on every copy to be hereafter published there should be printed a notice that no performance could take place without the consent of the proprietors of the reserved right, and that, unless this were done, the reserved right should be forfeited. The owner of the reserved right could have no control over the publication of any copy, which would be the act of the owner of the copyright; so that, under these provisions, one man's property would be lost by the neglect or default of another, over whom he had no power. These provisions were obviously inconsistent, and the Bill, as it stood, would be wholly unworkable. He therefore hoped the noble Earl (Earl Cadogan) would not press it to a second reading.

EARL CADOGAN said, that his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns) had framed some Amendments to the Bill in concert with Lord Bramwell and Lord Blackburn, which it was proposed to introduce in Committee, and which he thought would obviate the objections of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. He would, therefore, ask their Lordships now to read the Bill a second time. Should the noble and learned Lord, however, object to that course, he was willing to postpone it.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, after the explanation of the noble Earl, and having regard to the high authorities mentioned by him, he would withdraw his objection to the second reading. Of course, the Amendments would be printed and Notice given of them before going into Committee.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE BILL.—(No. 184.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD SUDELEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to enable land and houses to be purchased for the erection of a new War Office and Admiralty. It was proposed to purchase five houses fronting Charing Cross, the whole of New Street, Spring Garden Terrace, aad one side of Spring Gardens. By pulling down the existing Admiralty, sufficient space would be obtained for a large quadrangle between the Horse Guards and Spring Gardens, by which both the War Office and Admiralty could be accommodated. The area would be about four acres, and would have a frontage from the Horse Guards to Messrs. Cock's and Biddulph's Bank in Charing Cross. There would be a façade of about 440 feet in length along the street, and a space of about 420 feet between the street and the Park. It would give 59,200 square feet for the War Office and 52,800 square feet for the Admiralty, which would amply suffice for their requirements. The great advantage of the scheme was that it would bring the War Office and the Admiralty under the same roof, which had been so many times recommended by Committees that had sat on this subject. It would also place the War Office next to the Horse Guards, and leave the Admiralty on its old historic site. Both offices would also be on the most convenient site for the public that it was possible to place them. There would be three handsome façades, one looking into Parliament Street, another into the Horse Guards, and a third up the Mall, which would afford full scope for a handsome architectural structure. For a number of years the question of a site for these new offices had been under consideration by different Governments. But from a variety of causes, and more especially the difficulty from a financial point of view, the settlement of the question had been delayed, and it had been reserved for the present First Commissioner to propose a solution of the difficulty, which it was hoped, while fully affording all the accommodation required, would enable this great improvement to be carried out at a very moderate outlay. In 1877 a Committee of the other House went very fully into this question, and had three distinct proposals before them. One was the site known as the Great George Street site, under which it would have been necessary to purchase all the houses bounded by Great George Street, Parliament Street, and St. James's Park. That scheme was estimated to cost £1,300,000.

The second, proposed by Mr. Mitford, was estimated at £2,000,000; he advocated placing the Public Offices along the whole length of the west side of Charing Cross and Parliament Street, with the Horse Guards in the centre. The third proposal, made by Mr. Cates, was to locate the Public Offices on the Fife House site, the other side of Parliament Street. That Committee, after careful consideration, found themselves unable, owing to the great difficulties connected with it, to make any definite proposition, but wound up their Report by stating that—

> "They could not too strongly urge upon the Government the expediency of losing no time in proposing some plan by which the evils complained of might be remedied."

The late Government had found themselves unable to take any steps in the matter, and five years had now elapsed since that Report was made. After giving most careful consideration to the question, the Government had now come to the conclusion that, as the Courts of Justice and other buildings were near completion, the time had arrived when steps should be taken for the erection of these Public Offices. In addition to the advantages which he had already mentioned, the cost of the site contemplated under this Bill would be in every respect considerably less than that of those hitherto proposed; and owing to a large portion of the land and of the houses belonging to the Crown, it would, to a considerable extent, represent a book transaction between the Government and the Crown. The total cost of the site was estimated by Sir Henry Hunt at about £460,000, and of that only about £165,000 would have to be paid to private persons—the remainder being Crown property. A very large amount of property would also be freed by this arrangement, the War Office in Pall Mall and Winchester and Adair Houses. Sir Henry Hunt, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, had stated that, when the proposed buildings were completed, the total sum which could be realized by the Crown, or by the Consolidated Fund, through the sale of property now in use, would amount to £522,680. When this question was raised in the early part of the Session in this House, some noble Lords expressed their regret at the Great George Street site not being adopted; but when the enormous difference of the cost was taken into consideration there could be little doubt as to the desirability—in point of finance, at any rate—of carrying out the present plan. Shortly stated, the money actually out of pocket to the Government would in the one case amount in sums paid to private individuals to £165,000, and in the other to something over £1,000,000. There would also have to be deducted from the cost of this plan the value of the houses which had been purchased on the Great George Street site. One objection which had been raised was that by giving up the Great George Street site all chance of widening Parliament Street must be for ever abandoned. That view was by no means taken by the Government. Sir Henry Hunt had given evidence to the effect that there could be no doubt that such a widening would be a great Metropolitan improvement, and that the cost of the property to be acquired would be recouped by the vacant land which would be set free after the street was widened and the improved frontages obtained. The cost of the proposed buildings, it was estimated, would be about £670,000, to be spread over about 10 years. It would be unnecessary to move the Admiralty until new quarters were ready. The commencement would be made by erecting new buildings in place of the Paymaster's Office and the house of the First Lord of the Admiralty; and the staff would be transferred while another wing of buildings was being erected. An objection had been raised that the Horse Guards would be spoilt. The Horse Guards Parade would remain intact, and if the proposed plan were carried out, there would be full opportunity in future years to erect further buildings on the site of the present official residence of the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, which would balance the new quadrangle on the opposite side of the Parade, and which could accommodate the Board of Trade and some other Departments. Dover House site could then be adopted for an official residence. Care would also be taken that the buildings immediately adjoining the Horse Guards should not be two high, so as to dwarf the Horse Guards. Another objection raised to this plan by the Institute of Architects was that no provision was made for opening a broad avenue from the Mall into Charing Cross. It was not proposed under the Bill to adopt this suggestion, as it would involve an additional outlay of about £150,000, without, apparently, any great corresponding advantages. There was, however, nothing to prevent such a road being made during the 10 years before the completion of the offices, if at any time it should be thought desirable. Under the proposed plan the entrance to Charing Cross by Messrs. Drummond's Bank would be widened to 60 feet, so that there would be ample means of access to the Admiralty in Spring Gardens. A very small portion of the Park, amounting to one-tenth of an acre, would be taken; but a considerably greater extent, nearly half-an-acre, would be added to the Park. This Bill did not pledge the House to any definite plan, or to any special architecture, but merely to the purchase of the required land. The First Commissioner of Works had paid great attention to this matter, and the Government believed that the selection of this site would be of far greater advantage and convenience to the Public Service than would be obtained by any of the other suggested sites, while at the same time the scheme could be carried out at a reasonable and moderate cost. He might say that a block plan of the proposed buildings had been placed on the Library Table for the convenience of the House. His Lordship concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL said, that circumstances had long given him a personal acquaintance with the locality in question. He could not think that the noble Lord had advanced any argument in favour of this project. There were two main objections to it. The first was, there were no plans to enable the House to forecast clearly the nature of the proposed construction. The noble Lord did allude to some plan, but it was not contended that any plan existed from which their Lordships could arrive at a clear view of the proposed construction. To preserve anything like uniformity they would be obliged to build the new houses at least as high as Drummond's Bank; and another objection was that this construction was to be built on a space so limited that elevation had to be resorted to. The opinion of *The Builder* was that it would be impossible to produce anything like an architectural effect in the building to be erected in Spring Gardens. There was, moreover, no authority in favour of this scheme. It did not represent the prudence of any architect, it was not the result of any body of men, while the Council of Architects protested against it. It would annihilate Spring Gardens, which had been inhabited by several distinguished men—the late Lord Dudley, Secretary of State, Sir Astley Cooper, the distinguished surgeon, Sir John Lefevre, and others. It was an accepted principle that we should preserve as far as possible domiciles with which the names of distinguished men were associated. A sufficiently conclusive argument against this scheme lay in the fact that it would not only annihilate domiciles with which certain recollections were connected, but it would take away a place of worship—namely, St. Mathew's Chapel, which, many years back, was well known. It appeared to him that the scheme was adopted mainly because it was economic. He thought, however, that the question of expense ought not to stand in the way of having good Public Offices, and he might instance the example of the French Government, which had, immediately after the destruction of the public buildings by the Communists, rebuilt the Public Offices at a cost of £5,000,000. He was led to hope that many noble Lords had come to the House for the purpose of strongly opposing this Bill, and he would conclude by moving that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Amendment *moved* to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

LORD LAMINGTON said, he understood that the principal advantage of this scheme was that it was economical. He regretted that the authorities had neglected to follow the recommendation of the Committee of 1877, and to take advantage, in accordance with that recommendation, of the ground in the neighbourhood of George Street. He was of opinion that it would have been well if the plan submitted by Mr. Mitford had been adopted. The Admiralty would then have been close to the Colonial and Foreign Offices. There would, in fact, have been a concentration of Public Offices in proximity to the Houses of Parliament. The scheme would have made no extraordinary demand on the public purse. The whole of it might have been completed for £1,000,000 or £1,500,000. The plan at present proposed would deface the Public Parks, and leave Parliament Street in its present unsightly condition. He would appeal to the Government and ask them whether it was wise to do something which could not be undone, and which would be a standing disgrace to the Metropolis.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET asked whether all the passages through which the people could at present enter the Park were to be closed? He would suggest that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, if there was any chance of its coming back again in sufficient time for legislation. In his opinion, that might be done in three or four days. Meanwhile, consideration should be given to the means of enabling the people to enter the Park.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that, although the plan might be open to some objections, he did not think that the House of Lords would stand in the way of something being done which would give them a new and convenient War Office. The proper place for the War Office was near the Horse Guards. The accommodation in the present War Office was quite inadequate. If any of their Lordships would examine that part of the Office which was set apart for the Commander-in-Chief, they would see at once how unsuited the building was to the purposes of a Public Office. At present engineers were in one place, clerks in another, and on many occasions when it was desirable that high officials should communicate with the Secretary of State he hesitated to send for them, because they were so far from his Office. He was, therefore, delighted to hear that a scheme was to be carried out which would bring all the officials of the War Department into one building. He feared that if the plan suggested by the Government were not accepted they might fail to get anything at all. He could not understand why buildings worthy of the nation should not be erected on that part of the Park which was to be devoted to this purpose. For his own part, he should be very glad to see buildings designed simply, if they contained proper offices, than fine architectural buildings with no accommodation for the proper transaction of business. He trusted, also, that a system of drainage would be adopted which would not kill the inmates.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, he thought that the public were very much interested in having good and noble Government Offices, and did not think they would grudge the scheme. He should like to know what difficulty stood in the way of opening a road from Hyde Park Corner to the corner of Sutherland House, and of opening a road from there to Charing Cross? Such a line of communication would, in his opinion, be of great accommodation to the public.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he thought that their Lordships should have been supplied with a fuller plan than that which he had seen. The plan afforded very little information as to the objects proposed. He admitted that in the choice of a site the responsibility must rest upon the Government; but he doubted very much whether there was sufficient space to have all the Offices, both of the War Department and the Admiralty, concentrated on the spot selected. So far as the quadrangles were concerned, they would be very much smaller than those of the Offices lately erected, and these were smaller than they should be.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he entirely agreed with what had fallen from the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) that nothing could be so bad as the present accommodation of the War Office. Though he had been often in it, he never could find his way to the office of the Commander-in-Chief without a messenger to guide him. The Admiralty Offices were very much better than those of the War Department, still he was bound to say that there were the same grounds for having the different offices under the same roof. No one would doubt that it would be greatly for the advantage of both Departments that they should have their offices in juxtaposition. The noble Lord had said that the Admiralty was in constant communication with the Colonial and

Foreign Offices; but it was still more important that it should be in communication with the War Department. It was admitted that the proposed plan was economical, and the objections were —first, that the space might be insufficient. With regard to the Admiralty, he had satisfied himself that there was ample space for the offices, and he was informed that the same conclusion had been come to with respect to the War Office. As to the objection that the Admiralty would be put to inconvenience by being twice shifted, he was told by the First Commissioner of Works that a plan would be arranged by which that inconvenience would be avoided. He could not find in the Report of the Committee of 1877 any recommendation of the Great George Street site. What he did find was something entirely in favour of the present Bill. Having mentioned three or four sites, the Committee said they thought that the Government should recommend "some site" to the consideration of Parliament. He understood from his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works that both the architectural design and the precise disposition of the ground were to be left for future consideration. All that their Lordships would do by passing this Bill would be to approve of the site upon which the buildings would be placed. Having on different occasions considered several sites, he believed the proposed site was the best for the purpose. He hoped their Lordships would pass the Bill, which had been referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and passed without objection from a single Member of that House.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he had taken great interest in this subject, and it was with great regret that he saw the site of Parliament Street and Great George Street given up. It was obvious that there was no more difficulty in building on one site than on the other; but if they took the Parliament Street site they would avoid disturbing the Admiralty until such time as the new offices were ready. The object ought to be to improve the town at the same time that they provided better accommodation for the Public Offices, and he believed there could be no greater improvement to the town than by taking Parliament Street for the site of these buildings.

LORD SUDELEY stated that the First Commissioner said that if this plan was adopted the Admiralty would not be removed until the new offices were built.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL said, he believed it would be in accordance with the feeling of the House if he were to ask their Lordships to pronounce upon the subject.

On question, that ("now") stand part of the Motion, *resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

PAUPER LUNATICS (IRELAND).

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF ROSSE said, he rose to call attention to the Report of the Poor Law Union and Lunacy Inquiry Commission (Ireland) so far as it relates to lunacy, and to ask the Lord Privy Seal, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose legislation with the view of carrying out the recommendations of that Commission as to providing in workhouses the additional accommodation so urgently required for the chronic insane? The Commission recommended that these buildings should be prepared for the reception of harmless lunatics. In the year 1857 there were 5,000 lunatics in Ireland, and that number increased to 7,500 in 1867. In the year 1877 the number was 11,500, and at the present time the number was about 13,000. In the same period the number of asylums had increased from 10 to 22. The cost of providing asylums was very large, amounting to from £150 to £180 per head, and it was stated before the Commission that £15 per head would be sufficient to fit up the buildings belonging to the workhouses.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he could add very little to what had fallen from the noble Earl, and he was not in a position to give any pledge on the part of the Irish Government or of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant with respect to bringing in any measure dealing with the subject. The noble Earl, however, was thoroughly justified in bringing the subject before their Lordships' House, and in calling attention to the valuable Report which had engaged the attention of several successive Governments. More than one Report had been laid before the Government, which displayed very distinctly the present condition of Ireland with regard to these matters. At the same time, the noble Lord must be aware that not Ireland alone, but this country also, was interested in this subject. It was a subject which had been very much discussed, and the point had been often raised as to whether it was wise to incur the cost of erecting large expensive lunatic asylums for the treatment of all classes of lunatics indiscriminately. Much might be said about it, and it did appear to him that in the case of harmless incurable lunatics they might be very well treated in the workhouses. He did not know whether there would be any objection on the part of the workhouse authorities to devoting a portion of their buildings to such a purpose; but the recommendation of the Commission which had sat to consider the subject was that there might be a distinct portion of the workhouses set aside from the rest of the buildings for the treatment of incurable lunatics. The noble Lord must be aware that with regard to Ireland circumstances had somewhat changed since the date of the Report, because since 1840 the number of paupers had considerably increased. There was not that amount of accommodation now that there was then. But the Irish Government were quite aware of the importance of the matter, and, when possible, would take it into consideration.

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 14*th July*, 1882.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Militia Acts Consolidation * [123].

Committee—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [213]—r.p. [*Fifth Night*].

Committee — Report — Turnpike Acts Continuance * [233]; Customs and Inland Revenue * [140-239].

Lord Carlingford

Committee — Report — Third Reading—Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns) * [228], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) * [195].

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 4) *, and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

CRIME (IRELAND) — AGRARIAN OUTRAGES—RETURNS.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can give the House any information as to the number and nature of agrarian outrages reported in Ireland during the months of April, May, and June 1882, and the number of cases in which any persons have been convicted, committed for trial, or summarily punished for any, especially the more serious, of such outrages?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have just laid on the Table of the House a Return giving the information asked for by the right hon. Baronet with regard to agrarian outrages in the three months specified in the Question.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — MR. P. J. DUFFY.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. P. J. Duffy, of Belmullet, is still detained in Kilmainham Gaol; and, whether the Lord Lieutenant has reconsidered his case.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the case of Patrick Duffy, who is detained in Kilmainham Gaol on reasonable suspicion of arson, was considered by His Excellency on the 6th instant. He decided not to release him for the present, but will take the case again into consideration shortly.

ARMY—MILITARY CANTEENS (IRELAND).

Mr. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that the Military canteens in Irish garrisons procure their supplies of groceries, provisions, &c. from co-operative stores, and whether Army officers are largely interested in these co-operative stores as shareholders; whether it is the fact that Limerick bacon, supplied to soldiers recently in garrison at Limerick, had, in obedience to rules, to be sent across to London to be stamped with the brand of the co-operative store, and then sent back to Limerick; and, whether he will reform the rules for the management of canteens, so as to prevent a preference being given to establishments in which officers are interested over those of the ordinary tax-paying traders of the Country?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to state that the War Office does not interfere with the detailed management of canteens and coffee shops, each of which is under the control of a committee of regimental officers, as I explained in moving the Estimates. I have no knowledge of the sources of purchase at any particular station. Goods are obtained in the most economical way, and any profit goes to the benefit of the soldiers of the regiment. The system works extremely well, and I see no reason to interfere with the responsibility of the managers.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACTS—THE INDEPENDENT MUTUAL BRETHREN FRIENDLY SOCIETY.

MR. ACLAND asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is true that the Independent Mutual Brethren Friendly Society's Valuation Return shows an estimated deficiency of £147,000 on realised assets of £6,705; and, whether the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies has any, and, if so, what powers to compel the Society to put its affairs on a proper footing before taking in new members?

MR. COURTNEY: I am informed, Sir, that the figures given in the Question are substantially correct. The Chief Registrar has no independent authority to compel a Society whose valuation gives unsatisfactory results to put its affairs on a proper footing. But upon the application of a certain proportion of the members—which in this case would be 500—the Chief Registrar has power to investigate the Society's affairs, and either to award its dissolution or to suspend his award so as to enable it to make the necessary alterations in its contributions and benefits.

LAW AND POLICE—THE TREDEGAR RIOTS (SOUTH WALES).

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can confirm or deny the statements made in the "Cardiff Western Mail" and the "South Wales Daily News," in reference to the anti-Irish riots at Tredegar, to the following effect:—That the houses of at least sixty Irishmen were completely gutted, and that all the furniture in these houses was burned in the public streets; that not only men, but women and children were attacked by the mob; that, in the house of Patrick Harrigan, the mob set fire to the bed on which his youngest child, a few months old, was sleeping; that a woman was, in one case, stripped naked, dragged through a street, and beaten to a pulp; whether many of the women and children had to take refuge on the mountains at Sirhowy, and remain huddled together there for the night under severe showers of rain, and whether others had to hide in the churchyard of the town; whether, in many cases, owing to the entire destruction of their furniture and the robbery of all their provisions and money by the mob, a number of women and children were left without food for twenty-four, and sometimes forty-eight, hours; whether one woman has already died from the shock, and what is the total of persons killed and wounded; whether a bad state of feeling was known to exist for a considerable time between the Welsh and Irish population of the town; and if any precautions were taken to meet a riot such as afterwards occurred; if he could explain why the fifty or sixty special constables who were sworn in on Saturday night were not employed in the early part of Sunday; and whether, if, when they were brought into action on Saturday night in defence of Mr. Spooner, in the Circle, they did not succeed in immediately dispersing the mob; whether it is true that the military sent from Cardiff were sent back in consequence of a telegram, and, in consequence of this delay, did not reach the town until three o'clock on Monday morning, when the rioters had completed their work; and, if so, who was the author of this telegram; how many of the ringleaders in this riot have been arrested; and, if a Special Commission will be employed to deal with this outburst of crime?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, although I have had several Reports since last Sunday upon this matter, there are some details which I shall not now be able to answer. I can, however, answer the more important points. In the first place, it is unfortunately true that a very serious and disgraceful riot has taken place at Tredegar, in which a large number of houses of the Irish and their inhabitants have been attacked and injured. I am happy to say that it is not true that any person has been killed directly in consequence of these attacks; but there has been an unfortunate case of a woman who miscarried and died, it is supposed, from fright and alarm caused by those proceedings. It is true that there has been for some time a strong feeling of exasperation in that district against the Irish population. In consequence of the knowledge of that ill feeling, precautions were taken on the Friday and Saturday preceding that Sunday by increasing the Police Force and swearing in special constables. These precautions did not, unfortunately, prove adequate on account of the extent of the riot, and on Sunday morning I received an application for military assistance, and orders were given and a force sent accordingly. It seems there was some delay in the arrival of the military, into the cause of which I shall inquire; but I am sure it was not due in any way to the action of the local authorities. I am informed that 10 persons are under arrest for taking part in the riot, and that proceedings against them will take place on Monday next, when, of course, the facts will be more accurately ascertained than at present. As regards further details in the Question, I think it better to postpone them until that investigation has taken place. Since Sunday tranquillity has been preserved, and the precautions taken have proved adequate.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought the answer was very satisfactory; but there were one or two points in reference to what took place on which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had given him no information. For instance, whether "in the house of Patrick Harrigan the mob set fire to the bed on which his youngest child, a few months old, was sleeping; and that a woman was, in one case, stripped naked, dragged through a street, and beaten to a pulp;" whether the special constables were not brought into activity at an early part of Sunday; whether a number of women were obliged to take refuge in a mountain close by, and remain there under rain; whether the exodus of the Irish population from this district still continued; and, whether a man, who was brought up before the magistrates charged with throwing stones at the police, was let off with a fine of 10*s.*?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that yesterday he sent down the Question of the hon. Member with a request that the information on the different points should be sent by telegraph to-day; but the replies received did not enable him to answer the Question fully. He found, however, that the statement about the woman being stripped naked, &c., was not correct. No doubt, as an attack was made upon these houses, a good number of these people were driven out. The special constables were spread over a wide extent of the town; but were unable to cope with the entire of the attack. He had no reason to think that the local authorities were to blame. As to the question about a man being let off with a fine, he had heard nothing of it.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS—PENSION FUND.

Mr. RANKIN asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, in view of the generally expressed opinion of the Elementary School Teachers in England and Wales in favour of a system of compulsory subscription to a pension fund, the Government have taken into their consideration the question of establishing such a fund; and, whether, in order to facilitate the views of the school teachers on this matter, the Government would give as an unopposed Return the number and ages of the Certificated Elementary School Teachers in England and Wales?

Mr. MUNDELLA: I have no evidence, Sir, that there is a general feeling among elementary teachers in favour of a compulsory pension fund. On the contrary, I believe, there is a great division of opinion on the question; and, while I think such a scheme would be very desirable, if it were practicable, I cannot see how we could enforce subscriptions upon the teachers, seeing that we have nothing to do with the payment of their salaries. The Return asked for would entail much labour and expense; but I will consider the question, and communicate with the hon. Member respecting it. I shall be glad to do anything in my power to facilitate the establishment of a pension fund.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. JOHN LADRIGAN AND MR. DANIEL MACSWEENEY.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether His Excellency has yet given any decision in the case of Mr. John Ladrigan, confined in Kilmainham Gaol since the 17th February; whether Mr. Daniel MacSweeney, of Donegal, has been confined in Dundalk Gaol for over twelve months; whether his district is peaceable; and, if the Government can see their way to releasing him?

Mr. TREVELYAN: His Excellency has decided that he cannot at present order Mr. Ladrigan's release. I may inform the hon. Member that Mr. Jennings, as to whom he made an inquiry lately, as being in ill-health, has been released from detention.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ESTATES OF THE EARL OF KENMARE.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has received further information which shows the number of Lord Kenmare's tenants who were arrested under the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act; whether it was twelve, and not three, four from the Farranfore district, and the remainder from about Rathmore; whether five of them are still detained in Kilmainham; and, if there is any reason in the existing state of their districts for their continued detention?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received further information on the subject of this Question. There were but three of Lord Kenmare's tenants arrested under the Protection of Person and Property Act. Nine sons of tenants of his were arrested, and four of these are still detained under the Act. Having regard to the fact that Lord Kenmare's caretaker was shot at and wounded last Sunday morning, His Excellency cannot at present order the release of these four persons.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—BOUNTIES TO IRISH MILITIAMEN.

Mr. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in reply to a question last year, he stated that he would give an undertaking that Militiamen arrested under the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act would not be deprived of their bounties; and, if so, on what ground Sergeant James Bourke, who has been in the Clare Militia for the past eight years, and who was arrested under the Coercion Act in February last, has been refused his bounty by the commanding officer?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that I have made inquiry into this case, and I find that the officer commanding the 7th Brigade of the South Irish Artillery Division referred the matter to the War Office, and on the 4th instant he was informed that Sergeant James Bourke should receive his bounty. I presume that it has been paid to him.

VACCINATION—ALLEGED DEATH OF CHILDREN AT NORWICH FROM EFFECTS OF OPERATION.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has received a Memorial from Norwich, giving a list of eight children, four of whom have died, and the rest are in a dangerous condition, from the effects of vaccination performed by the public vaccinator on the 13th of June last; and, whether he will cause a searching and public inquiry to be made into all the circumstances of the case, and direct that facilities be given for the friends of the children to be duly represented at that inquiry?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, a representation as to these cases was received on the 11th instant, and Dr. Airy, one of the Medical Inspectors of the Board, was at once instructed to proceed to Norwich and make full inquiry into the circumstances. He is now occupied in the inquiry, which will be conducted in the usual manner, and the friends of the children will have a full opportunity of making their statements to him.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR: Will they be allowed to have legal assistance?

Mr. DODSON: No; they will have an opportunity of making their statement.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.

Sir JOHN HAY (for Captain Price) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If it is true that two guns of Her Majesty's ship "Alexandra" split during the action of the 11th instant, and that the ship has had to withdraw to Malta for new guns; and, have any other failures occurred to the guns of the Fleet?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, I would respectfully but confidently ask the House to allow me to decline giving an answer to this Question, or to any other similar Question which may be addressed to me. I am sure that the right hon. and gallant Member and the House generally will perceive that it might be injurious to the public interest, while it is difficult to see what good could possibly be done, if it became the practice to publish to the world on such an occasion as this the detailed effect of an engagement upon the ships of Her Majesty's Fleet and their armament.

LAW AND POLICE—THE SALVATION ARMY—RIOTS AT SALISBURY.

Mr. CAINE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he is aware that Salvation Army riots have again broken out at Salisbury, and that, on Wednesday last, a crowd of more than a thousand persons surrounded the Army and assailed them with rotten eggs, bags of flour, fireworks, and other missiles, to the serious injury of many; if it is true that the Police did not interfere, and that the magistrates of Salisbury refuse to protect the Army assembled in the streets of that town; and, if he has yet recalled the circular issued by the Home Office to the magistrates throughout the Country on the subject of the Salvation Army, and issued fresh instructions in accordance with the recent decisions in the Court of Queen's Bench?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have no information in this matter, Sir. The magistrates of Salisbury have not consulted me upon it. I have not recalled a Circular, because I have not issued a Circular, and I do not propose to issue instructions in the matter. If the magistrates ever ask my advice, I shall advise them to follow the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench; and, as far as I can observe, that course seems to have been taken here—a strict policy of non-intervention.

SPAIN—THE ZAMORA WATERWORKS COMPANY.

Mr. J. R. YORKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government have received any further communications from the Spanish Government since the 8th August last with reference to the payment of the amount due to the Zamora Waterworks Company from the municipality of Zamora, the Company up to the present having been unable to obtain any satisfaction?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, various communications have passed between Her Majesty's Minister and the Spanish Government since the date referred to, the latest Note received from the Spanish Minister of State being dated the 20th ultimo. The Spanish Government have pledged themselves to the immediate and final settlement of this question.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—STANGMORE NATIONAL SCHOOL—RESULT FEES.

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether in April, 1878, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, Inspector under the Board of National Education in Ireland, refused to allow the teacher of Stangmore National School, in county of Tyrone, to earn results fees on the examination of six scholars who, he stated, had not made the requisite number of attendances; whether, upon the application of William Barcroft, esquire, patron of said school, an investigation was held by the Head Inspector of the district, Mr. James Morel, and as the result of such investigation the six scholars were proved to have made the requisite number of attendances, and three pounds ten shillings of results fees forwarded to W. Barcroft, esquire, for the teacher;

whether in 1880 the said National Board of Education advised the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington not to allow results fees to the same teacher; whether, on Mr. Barcroft again applying for an investigation into the state of the school, he received for reply that the National Board had full confidence in Mr. Hamilton; and, whether the Government will order the Report made in 1878, respecting Stangmore School, by Mr. Morel, to be printed?

MR. TREVELYAN: I find, Sir, that in 1878 results fees were disallowed to this teacher in eight cases, because Mr. Hamilton, the Inspector alluded to, reported that the requisite number of copy lessons to entitle the teacher to the fees had not been written. On the application of Mr. Barcroft, the patron of the school, the head Inspector was sent down to investigate the matter. In one case he found that the necessary requirements had been fulfilled; in the other seven he could get no evidence bearing on the matter in dispute; but, as a mistake was found to have occurred in one case, the National Board took an indulgent view of the matter, and paid the fees in all eight cases. In 1881 the Board, acting on a general rule, objected to the recognition of the science class of this school by the Science and Art Department, in consequence of the unsatisfactory condition of the school, as reported by the Inspector in his Results Report for 1880. The Board did send the answer to a further application from Mr. Barcroft, as quoted in the Question. The Reports of the Inspectors have invariably been regarded as confidential and privileged documents; and although I understand that the publication of this particular Report would cause no official embarrassment, I cannot consent to establishing the dangerous precedent of granting it.

EGYPT—STATE OF AFFAIRS AT ALEXANDRIA.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government will give instructions to Sir Beauchamp Seymour to take measures to ascertain definitely the position and condition of the Khedive; whether his life is safe; and, whether he is in need of succour? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would be kind enough to give the House the latest intelligence in regard to the Khedive?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir. I will confine myself in answering the Question strictly to the Question itself, which relates to the position of the Khedive. We have received information both from the Admiralty and through Mr. Cartwright upon that subject. The information received through the Admiralty was to the effect that the Khedive is safe in his palace, garrisoned by 700 Marines. That is partial information, which is materially extended by a telegram received a little later this morning from Mr. Cartwright in Alexandria. It states that the Khedive returned to Alexandria at 4 yesterday afternoon from Ramleh with his family, having secured the loyalty of the guard of soldiers and the cavalry left by Arabi to watch him. He has sent for Sherif Pasha, and will summon all the leading Pashas and try to re-establish order in the town and in the country.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can state the reasons of the Government for not having ordered a sufficient force to land at or near Alexandria during the bombardment, in order to save the town from ruin, to protect the lives and property of Europeans, and to cut off the retreat of Arabi and the Egyptian Army?

MR. MAC IVER wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman, before he answered that Question, whether any further information could be given with regard to the objects which the Government had in view in bombarding Alexandria; also, why no efficient measures had been taken for the protection of British shipping using the Suez Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: I must beg the hon. Member for Birkenhead to have the kindness to give me Notice of his Question. It will be well that he should not assume in his Question that no effective measures have been taken. With respect to the Question of the hon. Member for Eye, of which I have Notice before me, I must ask to be excused from stating the reasons of the Government for not having done several things which the hon. Gentleman indicates, and as I think with very great forgetfulness of a number of most important reasons that bear upon the conduct of the Government in this question. My ground for declining to enter upon that is, that it appears to me distinctly to efface the line of distinction between Questions and a debate. When a debate arises, I shall be very happy to state the reasons which have guided the Government.

Mr. MAC IVER said, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to-morrow whether there was any truth in the report which appeared in the newspapers, about a tea ship having been looted in the Suez Canal?

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY wished to ask whether the Marines who were said to be guarding the Khedive were English Marines or Egyptian Marines?

An hon. Member: Horse Marines.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Marines are English Marines. The Khedive is not exclusively guarded by English Marines. He is likewise guarded, according to Mr. Cartwright's telegram, by a guard of soldiers and cavalry left by Arabi, not for the purpose of guarding him, but for the purpose of watching him.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If it is still his intention to take the Second Reading of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill on Saturday; and, if so, whether, as it is the only Bill relating to Scotland introduced by the Government into this House, it will be placed first on the Orders of the Day?

Mr. ANDERSON said, before the right hon. Gentleman answered the Question, he wished to ask whether he was aware that out of about 48 Scotch Members in the House last night, 36 were anxious that the Bill should come on, and that the opposition to it was really from a very small section?

Mr. GLADSTONE: My statistics of the number of Scotch Members are not so accurate or precise as those of the hon. Gentleman; but I am under the impression that a very large proportion of the Scotch Members are desirous that the Bill should go on, and it will be brought to issue in the regular manner. With respect to the scope of the first Question, it is our intention and our pledge to proceed with the second reading of the Educational Endowments Bill on Saturday. That, of course, presumes that the Sitting of the House is confined within a moderate number of hours, because it is not to be considered that this Bill is to be carried to an all-night Sitting. I am given to understand that the Electric Lighting Bill is not likely to occupy any great length of time, and, therefore, I am in hopes that the Scotch Educational Endowments Bill will be taken at a very early period of the day.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked after what hour the Bill would not be taken?

Mr. O'SULLIVAN wished to know whether the Prime Minister would not also put down the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Election Bill for to-morrow?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he could not do that, because the House had been asked to assent to a Saturday Sitting for a definite purpose.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he supposed it might be taken for granted that no other Government Bills besides those that had been mentioned would be taken on Saturday, and that no private Members' Bills would be taken?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Of course, we cannot control the House; but we shall be parties to no other proposal.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I think it has always been so understood.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked whether the Educational Endowments Bill would be taken immediately after the Electric Lighting Bill, and if the right hon. Gentleman declined to name an hour after which the Bill would not be taken? He should also like to ask whether the Prime Minister was himself one of the 36 Scotch Members supposed to be in favour of the Bill, and how many Members of the Government were included in that number?

Lord ELCHO said, he gathered that the first Bill to be taken was the Electric Lighting Bill, and the second Bill was to be the Scotch Education Bill. He wished to know whether an hour could be fixed after which the Sitting would not be prolonged, or whether it was to be prolonged indefinitely, and whether private Members could put Bills down for the Sitting?

An hon. Member: Or Motions?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is in the discretion of private Members whether they put them down, and of the House whether it proceeds with them. The Government will move the adjournment of the House when their Bills are disposed of. To fix the precise hour at which a Sitting shall close sometimes holds out a dangerous inducement to certain Members to prolong discussion. There is an understanding that the Sitting will be closed at a time compatible with the convenience of Members. Motions stand in the same position as private Members' Bills.

MR. BRAND asked the Chairman of Committees, whether, considering the importance of the changes he proposed to make in the Standing Orders respecting Private Bills, he would put them down for some day other than Wednesday, when they could be discussed in a fuller House than on that day?

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, that the state of Public Business would render it impossible to take them on Wednesday, and he would, therefore, put them down for Tuesday week.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE ORANGE PROCESSIONS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether he had any official information as to loss of life or personal injury arising out of the Orange celebrations in the North of Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have received the following telegram:—

> "Sub-Inspector at Newry reports a slight disturbance there last night (Thursday), during which William Miller, shopkeeper, wounded Edward Kearney, labourer's son, aged 15, with revolver in the leg, not dangerously. Miller arrested. Police dispersed mob, which threw some stones. All quiet in an hour after. Motive party spirit. Sub-Inspector at Lurga reports some stone-throwing at police last night; Army Reserve man fired at police and was arrested; no harm done."

There was likewise a riot at Omagh, in which an Orangeman was wounded, I believe slightly. These occurrences are unfortunate, and I am very sorry for the poor people who are wounded; but, on the whole, I hope the House will congratulate itself on the celebrations having passed off quietly.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—THE LOANS CLAUSE.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What additional sum will probably be required under the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill for the purpose of making loans to tenants under £50 valuation?

MR. GLADSTONE: It will be my duty to propose the clause, and in proposing it I will give the best estimate in my power.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE SUEZ CANAL.

SIR HENRY PEEK asked whether it was true that the "Glenlyon" steamer had been looted by Arabs in the Suez Canal?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I suppose this Question would be more properly addressed to the Secretary to the Admiralty; but, in view of the great interest felt in the subject, I may say that I have made inquiries, and I find that neither at the Foreign Office nor at the Admiralty have they any official confirmation of the report. At the same time, I ought to add that on the receipt of the report steps were immediately taken at the Admiralty to ascertain its truth, and I understand that the Secretary to the Admiralty will be prepared to state them to the House.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In answer to this Question, and also to one previously asked with respect to the steps taken to protect vessels passing through the Canal, I have the following statement to make. Yesterday afternoon we asked the senior officers at Port Said and Suez whether traffic was proceeding as usual through the Canal. At half-past 9 last night, Commander Edwards of the *Ready*, at Suez, telegraphed in reply — "Canal traffic as usual." At 20 minutes to 12 last night, Captain Seymour, of the *Iris*, at Port Said, reported that several steamers were waiting to pass the Canal. The senior officer at Port Said has been authorized, under the circumstances, to employ the gunboats now stationed at Suez and Port Said to accompany British vessels passing through the Canal if it should be found necessary. Inquiries have been made as to the accuracy of the report in this morning's papers that the British ship *Glenlyon* was ashore in the Canal, and was being looted by Arabs, and we have just received information that the *Glenlyon* has passed through the Canal.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to ask whether the Government has any further information with regard to the state of affairs in Alexandria which they can communicate to the House, either as to the state of the town or as to the amount of destruction; also, whether they can say anything with reference to the report that Arabi Pasha has left his Army?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: With regard to the last point, Mr. Cartwright, in his telegram, dated 7 a.m., a portion of which has been read, said that efforts were being made to disperse the mob, and that Arabi had fled in a boat on the Canal, it was not known where. His troops are believed to be dispersing; but it is somewhat hypothetical information.

Mr. M'COAN: Will the proceedings at the Conference interfere with or impede any further military action at Alexandria, should circumstances make it expedient?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I must really ask for Notice; but even with Notice I do not think it is a Question which it will be possible for me to answer.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Can the hon. Gentleman state how many thousands of Europeans were massacred at Alexandria?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Neither Sir Beauchamp Seymour nor Mr. Cartwright has mentioned a massacre. Several persons are mentioned as having been killed; but there is no mention of a massacre on a large scale. They do not use the word massacre.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not know whether or not an answer can be given to my Question—whether the Government can give us any general account as to the present state of things in Alexandria?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I think the statement of my hon. Friend the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs was meant as an answer to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman. It contains all the information we have.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In order to complete the answer, perhaps I may read a telegram which appears in the early editions of the papers, which is the only telegram received at the Admiralty. It is dated 7.10, and is as follows:—

"Regret distance from cable ship impedes my telegraphing rapidly.

"Have occupied Ras-el-Tin with marines of squadron, and spiked guns in six batteries opposite.

"Alexandria still burning, but am clearing streets.

"Khedive safe in Palace, garrisoned by 700 marines.

"Please express thanks of officers and men of the squadron for the gracious and kind message from Her Majesty.

"Conduct of officers and men beyond all praise.

"In reply to message from Her Majesty, majority of wounded doing well, including Lieutenant Jackson, of *Inflexible*."

We replied to that telegram, stating that the proceedings of the Admiral were approved.

Sir HENRY TYLER: Have the Marines been landed for police purposes?

Mr. J. LOWTHER: It was mentioned yesterday, in a telegram which was read, that Admiral Seymour was instructed to place himself, if necessary, in communication with the Ottoman Commissioner, Dervish Pasha. I would like to ask if the Government have any information as to the whereabouts and attitude of Dervish Pasha, and as to whether he is associated with the Khedive in these attempts to restore order?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I must refer the right hon. Gentleman to the Admiralty telegrams, because the Foreign Office telegrams are silent upon that point. I believe the whereabouts of Dervish Pasha were mentioned last night.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That was a short telegram received last evening to the effect that the Khedive and Dervish Pasha were reported safe on board ship in the harbour.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: The Question is, whether he was associated with the Khedive in the attempts to restore order?

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: I beg to give Notice that on Monday I shall ask the Secretary for War, If it is true, as stated in the newspapers, that 5,000 mules have been purchased in Spain and Algiers, at a cost of not less than £100,000, and under what Vote in the Army Estimates this amount would be forthcoming; and, failing such provision, to ask how soon it is the intention of the Government to ask for a Vote of Credit?

Mr. CHILDERS: I can answer the Question at once; there is no truth in the report.

Mr. BOURKE: I wish to give Notice that on Monday I will ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs whether he can give any information with regard to the Conference?

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question, which I think is of some importance, and I hope that he will be able to answer it now. A telegram in *The Standard* states—

> "When morning broke on Tuesday"

—that is, before the bombardment commenced—

> "a deputation of Turkish officials waited upon the Admiral, with a letter from the Ministry. In this communication the deputation, deprecating hostilities, offered to dismount their guns and give satisfaction to the British demands. The Admiral replied that the time for negotiation had passed."

I wish to ask my hon. Friend, if that were so, whether that answer was given with or without the knowledge of the Home Government?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I saw the statement in *The Standard;* but we have had no sort of confirmation of it or any statement in the least in that direction from the Admiral. There is nothing in the least bearing upon the question. I would advise my hon. Friend to put any further Questions upon the subject to the Admiralty, because it more strictly concerns them.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: A similar statement has appeared in *The Times.* I beg to give Notice that I will repeat the Question to the Secretary to the Admiralty; and I hope that they will inquire into the truth of the report in the meantime.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I may say at once that no such information has reached the Admiralty.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Will my hon. Friend make inquiries as to whether there is any truth in it?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Admiralty have generally avoided sending inquiries to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, thinking it undesirable in the present circumstances to trouble him unnecessarily.

MR. M'CULLAGH TORRENS: I beg to ask whether any information has been received as to the removal of the archives and records of the European Courts at Alexandria before the conflagration began?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: May I supplement that Question by another? I understood the hon. Gentleman to have read only a portion of the telegram he had received from Mr. Cartwright. I wish to ask whether he could, without detriment to the Public Service, give any further information?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir. I have given almost the whole of the telegram. The small omission I made was one I thought in the interests of the Public Service. It was only two or three words. With regard to the archives and records of the Courts, no information has been received; but I think the matter is one of such importance that I will see that a telegram is addressed to Mr. Cartwright upon the subject.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I wish to ask the Prime Minister by what authority Mr. Cartwright makes use of the expression, which the right hon. Gentleman emphasized, that "the troops that were about the Khedive were left by Arabi for the purpose of watching him?"

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, I do not know what the hon. Member means by "emphasizing." I merely called attention to the words themselves. Nor have we the means of knowing on what authority Mr. Cartwright makes his statement; but generally he has been very accurate and careful in the telegrams he has sent. Of course, in a period like this, he may be misinformed, and we must not take it that he is absolutely certain on every point; but we have very great confidence in his care and discretion.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 213.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 13th July.*]

[FIFTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

SETTLEMENT OF ARREARS OF RENT.

Clause 1 (Settlement by Land Commission of arrears of rent).

Captain AYLMER moved, in page 2, line 17, to leave out Sub-section (4), which provided that a remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect of the year expiring should be deemed to be a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted. There were many cases in which it was quite possible the landlord might have made a remission of the rent which, under altered circumstances, he would not have made. He could himself mention a number of cases in which, under existing circumstances, there had been a remission, which remission, under the operation of the present Bill would never have been made, and he did not think the landlords should be bound by remissions they had made under very different conditions.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 17, leave out Sub-section (4).—(*Captain Aylmer.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 4 stand part of the Bill."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, the Government were altogether unable to accept the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived.*

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH moved, in line 17, after "landlord," to insert—

> "In writing under his hand, according to a form to be prescribed by the Land Commission."

He explained that his object was simply to secure that the remission should have been made with some kind of formality, so that the Commission might be fully satisfied in regard to it, and also that there should be some additional security against collusion between the landlord and tenant. He thought that a little formality would be very advantageous for this purpose.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, line 17, after "landlord," insert "in writing under his hand according to a form to be prescribed by the Land Commission."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Colonel NOLAN said, the Amendment seemed to him to be of a totally different character from the explanation of the right hon. Baronet. Under the clause as it would stand, if the Amendment were adopted, it would be necessary that any remission of rent by a landlord to a tenant should have been specified upon a written form. Although the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet did not actually state so, any remission made in any other way would not be taken into account. Of course, in regard to the future, the Amendment would be of little consequence one way or the other, except that it would impose a condition of formality which would give trouble. He considered it an unnecessary formality, but not one that would be of importance in its consequences. In regard to past remissions it might, however, have a very prejudicial effect.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that as a matter of principle the Government entertained very much the same view as the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan). He did not gather whether the right hon. Baronet proposed to make it a condition of the remission that the landlord should have had a certain written form at his hand before he granted it; but if the right hon. Baronet did, then the Government certainly could not accept the Amendment. Any landlord who had made an abatement in the past must be bound by it now. It would be very hard to ask the tenant to produce a paper before he was enabled to obtain the advantage of the clause, when the abatement had been a substantial and a *bonâ fide* abatement.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he did not wish to press the Amendment.

Mr. FINDLATER said, he thought it would be objectionable to harass the tenants by documents of this kind. It was quite clear that the Land Commission would ascertain the fact that a remission had been made before they consented to entertain the application.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he would withdraw the Amendment; but he hoped the Government would draw the attention of the Commission to the matter, so as to provide that there should be no collusion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. GIBSON moved, in page 2, line 18, to leave out "expiring as aforesaid," and insert "for which such remission was made." The Amendment was directed to a question raised last night, and he had understood the Prime Minister to accept the principle of it. The object of the Amendment was to prevent an injustice being done by the Bill as it stood. Sub-section 4 of Clause 1, taken in connection with Sub-section 3, would enable remissions made for 1879 and 1880, of a large character, to be transferred to the year 1881, in respect of which year the landlord had never dreamt for a moment of making a remission. That was palpably absurd and unjust, and the Prime Minister was so impressed with the matter that he said he was willing to accept any Amendment that would prevent such a consummation being carried out. If the Government did not accept the Amendment, it would be necessary for him to state the arguments in support of it at some length, so as to make it overwhelmingly apply. Indeed, the matter was so plain that that fact constituted the difficulty of explaining the argument; but when he mentioned it last night, the Prime Minister accepted it in principle. He should be glad if any Member of the Government would now say whether they intended to accept the Amendment or not. As no one rose to give the assent of the Government, he presumed they were not prepared to accept the Amendment, and they must take upon themselves the responsibility of the delay which must be occasioned by putting him to the necessity of explaining over again what he had stated with clearness last night. He still maintained that Sub-section 3 was a mass of confusion; but under that sub-section it was not only the possible but the necessary construction, taken in conjunction with Sub-section 4, that if the landlord in the year 1881 made a remission and settlement of arrears due in 1880, and said to the tenant—"I have now wiped off the arrears of 1880, and I am willing to allow you to start clear, and let bygones be bygones; if you are willing to give me 50 per cent for last year, I am willing to cry quits"—he could understand such a transaction, because it would be perfectly intelligible. But the effect of this sub-section was violently to transfer that arrangement from the year 1880 to the year 1881, and to compel the landlord to treat a remission made in respect of 1879 under entirely different conditions, and to transfer it violently to 1881, which was a good year in Ireland, and in respect of which the rent was completely secured. The object of the Amendment was to secure that a remission of rent made by the landlord should be attributed to the year the persons themselves intended; and he ventured to think that that was so patently just that nothing to the contrary could be urged against it. The way in which the provision stood at present was this. The sub-section was a very short one, and it said—

> "A remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid shall be deemed to be a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted."

[The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND: Hear, hear!] The Solicitor General for Ireland cheered that statement. He (Mr. Gibson) did not know why, but, as the hon. and learned Gentleman did cheer it, he supposed he thought there was some mode of explaining it other than that which he had stated. [The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND: Hear, hear!] All he (Mr. Gibson) could say was, that he did not know what it was, and he would now proceed to show why it was he did not think it possible. The construction of Sub-section 3 was this. An artificial meaning in the earlier portion of the Bill had been given to the expression "the year expiring as aforesaid." That artificial meaning was contained in Sub-section *a* of Clause 1, which gave to the words "the year expiring as aforesaid" a definite and fixed meaning. Under Sub-section 3, every payment made by the tenant to the landlord "in or subsequent to the year expiring as aforesaid" was deemed to have been made on account of the rent payable in respect to that year; and then, in Sub-section 4, the remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect of the year "expiring as aforesaid" was to be deemed a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted. It followed that if the payment made under Sub-section 3 was to be attributed to the year 1881, then the remission must equally be attributed to that year. That, in short, was the plain legal and sole possible construction of the words. It appeared to him that the Government refused to deal with all the words taken together, and, therefore, it was uncertain how they proposed to deal with them in the case of this sub-section. The proposal he now made was to insert in the sub-section words which the Secretary of State for War and the Prime Minister, in clear and unqualified terms, last night said was the meaning and object of the Bill. The Prime Minister had taken up his (Mr. Gibson's) words, and said that the consequences he had pointed out were so patently unjust that he would accept any words to prevent such an injustice. He (Mr. Gibson) regretted that the right hon. Gentleman was not present. Although the right hon. Gentleman was a very difficult Minister to argue with, he, nevertheless, thoroughly understood the consequences of an argument, and rarely consented to run away from them. [*A laugh.*] Did the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan) intimate by that utterance that he was of the same opinion?

Mr. SYNAN said, no; he had looked upon the statement as a complimentary one to the Treasury Bench generally.

Mr. GIBSON said, the hon. Member would not compel him to withdraw the admission he had made. Taking up the Amendment, and assuming that the Government meant what they said, and that it was to be an honest provision, honestly worked, he could not understand why there should be any hesitation in accepting the Amendment. The reason he proposed to leave out the words "expiring as aforesaid" was that the Committee might be able to get out of the technical difficulty of having the interpretation violently transferred from Sub-section 3 to Sub-section 4. By Sub-section 3, payments made in antecedent years were to be transferred to the year 1881; and under Sub-section 4, the remissions made in antecedent years would be equally transferred. ["No!"] Well, that was a matter of opinion, and he would not surrender his own views unless his judgment was convinced in the matter. He asserted that that was the only construction the words were capable of. He had considered the matter repeatedly, and until he heard arguments he had not yet heard, he should unquestionably maintain the opinion he had formed. Supposing the Government felt themselves in any difficulty, he would ask them to add, at the end of the clause, words which exactly carried out what was declared to be their intention —namely, the words of which he had given Notice further on—

"Provided such remission is actually made in such year, and on the actual amount of such rent, and no remission made for any previous year shall be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid."

The last words in that Proviso were the words uttered by the Prime Minister last night. He (Mr. Gibson) had taken the very words of the right hon. Gentleman, and had put them in an Amendment before the House rose; and if that was the meaning which the Government attached to the clause and represented the desire which prevailed in their minds, why not put it into plain English so that everyone could understand what their meaning was, a meaning which, he must admit, would meet the justice of the case? He would reserve any further arguments until he heard the expression of the views of the Government, and it must be very different from what he expected before he would consent to surrender his own opinions.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 18, leave out "expiring as aforesaid," and insert "for which such remission was made."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, his right hon. and learned Friend had expressed his views in forcible language, and had declared that he did not understand the meaning and intention of this sub-section of the clause. Now, notwithstanding the assertion of his right hon. and learned Friend, it appeared to him that the Amendment proposed by his right hon. and learned Friend would merely have the effect of confusing the Bill and destroying the plain meaning of the clause. Sub-section 3 and Sub-section 4 dealt with two entirely different things. Sub-section 3 dealt with imputed payments, and not to rent which had been remitted. As to what his right hon. and learned Friend said in regard to being treated unfairly, so far from there being anything unfair in the transaction, it was stated last night that, under Sub-section 3, all payments on account of rent made in or subsequent to the year expiring as aforesaid, should be attributed to the year 1881.

But Sub-section 4 dealt with a totally different matter. It dealt with reputed omissions, and it simply stated—

> "A remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid shall be deemed to be a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted."

That was not at all what was meant by imputed payment or otherwise, and an artificial meaning was given by his right hon. and learned Friend to the words "expiring as aforesaid." The real meaning of the sub-section was this. A remission by the landland of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect to the year 1881 should be deemed—so far as the landlord was concerned—a satisfaction of the rent so remitted. It seemed to him to be impossible to explain the meaning of the sub-section more clearly.

MR. HEALY asked how long this kind of discussion was to be continued by a small knot of Members above the Gangway, who brought forward the same arguments night after night? The Committee had now been four days upon this clause, and yet they still found the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) pursuing the same obstructive course and wasting the time of the Committee by repeating the same arguments over and over again. As the Prime Minister pointed out the other day, if a similar course had been taken by the Irish Members they would have been very summarily dealt with. He would suggest to the Chairman that the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), whose persistent obstruction of the Bill everybody knew should be Named.

MR. GIBSON said, he was not in the slightest degree surprised at the arguments of his right hon. and learned Friend opposite; but he entirely failed to follow them. It appeared to him to be as clear a proposition as possible, that if this sub-section stood as it was it would lead to the most absurd and ridiculous consequences. He would repeat, as shortly and as concisely as he could, his arguments to show that the clause would cause endless confusion. Under Sub-section 3, all payments made by the tenants of the rent of 1881, "expiring as aforesaid," were to be considered to be made in satisfaction of that year's rent. "Satisfied" was the Government word, and it had been pointed out that satisfaction could be given in either of two ways, partly by payment and partly by remission. Sub-section 3 dealt with questions of payment transferred from antecedent years—for instance, a payment made in 1880 to the year 1881. *Pro tanto*, that payment was a satisfaction. He now come to Sub-section 4; and the Committee would see that, in addition to an imputed satisfaction, there was an imputed remission—a remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable "in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid." He would pause there. Under the previous sub-section the year "expiring as aforesaid" was given an artificial meaning. Payments made for 1879 or 1880, provided they were made in the year 1881, were deemed to be made "in the year expiring as aforesaid." They were, therefore, in this position. In Sub-section 4, "the year expiring as aforesaid" meant the year expiring at the last gale day of the year 1881; whereas, under Sub-section 3, an entirely different meaning might be given to it, because it was there provided that any payment made in 1881 was to mean a payment in respect of the year just expiring. Therefore, in Sub-section 4, there might be two meanings—first, a natural meaning, and then an artificial meaning, and if nothing was done to amend the clause it would lead to endless confusion. He should, therefore, feel called upon to divide the Committee upon the point.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that his right hon. and learned Friend had repeated his argument so often, and his meaning differed so much from the view which he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) conceived to be the only proper construction of the clause, that he had tried to discover what the object of his right hon. and learned Friend really was. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) had carefully studied the clause more than once; and, after the best consideration he was able to give to it, it appeared to him to be absolutely free from the doubts which his right hon. and learned Friend attached to it. He would give his reasons very shortly for the opinion he held. The 3rd sub-section dealt with cases of the payment of rent. Payment made in 1881, although not intended to apply to 1881, would apply to 1881 under the Act. The word "payment" was used because no question arose under Sub-section 3 as to satisfaction at all. It was not a question of remission, but of payment. They were transferred as payments to the year 1881. That was done as a matter of course. He now came to the 4th sub-section, which dealt not with the question of payment at all, but with the question of remission exclusively. What was to be included in remission by the landlord?—

> "A remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted."

What was meant by the words "the year expiring as aforesaid?" They could only mean the year 1881, and, therefore, the sub-section meant that the remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent, payable in respect to the year 1881, should be deemed a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted. That was to say, that wherever there had been a remission of rent in the year 1881, it should be deemed to be tantamount to the payment of rent. But his right hon. and learned Friend maintained that the remission of rent in 1881 was the remission of rent for 1879 and 1880. Now, that he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) distinctly denied. The words were as clear and as plain as they could be; and the subsequent Amendment could not be accepted because it was quite contrary to the intentions of the sub-section. The words of that Amendment were—

> "Provided such remission is actually made in such year, and on the actual amount of such rent, and no remission made for any previous year shall be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid."

In other words, a remission now made in 1882 in respect of the rent of 1881 would not come within the clause. The Amendment, therefore, was extremely unsatisfactory. His right hon. and learned Friend stated that the Prime Minister had declared that his view coincided with that of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. No doubt, that was so. The Prime Minister said that if such a construction were to be placed upon the clause, it would be necessary to guard against it; but the Prime Minister never said, nor did he think, there was any necessity for altering the words of the Bill. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) was clearly of the same opinion, and he should, therefore, oppose the Amendment.

MR. GIVAN said, that payment made on account of rent, or receipts given on account of rent, would apply to last year's gale, and the clause would do away with the reprehensible practice which existed among some landlords of crediting the payment to other years. He would point out to the Government that the words "on account of rent," introduced in the 3rd sub-section, might be said to have the same meaning as the words "on account of rent" in the Act of 1860, and, consequently, receipts given up to a particular period for rent in 1881 would not be said to apply to the year "expiring as aforesaid." It was important that the words "payment on account of rent," should not be taken to mean "payment on account" in that way.

MR. GIBSON said, he would not divide the Committee upon the Amendment; but he would allow it to be negatived, and he would take a division upon the last Amendment, slightly altering it so that it would read as follows:—"Provided no remission made for any previous year shall be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that the suggestion of his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) was one that deserved consideration, and he would endeavour to deal with it before the Report. He did not think it would be necessary to make any alteration in the words as they were drawn in the Bill, but he would certainly consider the matter.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. GIBSON said, he begged to move, in line 19, after "remitted," to insert—"Provided no remission made for any previous year shall be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid."

MR. HEALY rose to a point of Order. He wished to know if this Amendment could be moved now that the Committee had negatived the previous one, which, to his mind, expressed the same idea? The right hon. and learned Gentleman now proposed a Proviso that no remission made for any previous year, should be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid, and he contended that the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to do exactly the same thing by this Amendment as was proposed by the Amendment which had just been negatived.

THE CHAIRMAN: I should like to hear the right hon. and learned Gentleman's explanation before the Amendment is put, but I will propose the Amendment to the House now.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 19, after the word "remitted," to insert the words "Provided no remission made for any previous year shall be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GIBSON said, the mere fact of the Chairman proposing the Amendment showed that it was in Order, and he could not see any point in the objection which had been raised by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). He proposed to omit from the Amendment the words "such remission is actually made in such year and on the actual account of such rent." He thought that omission would obviate all mistakes, and the Amendment would then provide that no remission made for any previous year should be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he understood his right hon. and learned Friend to submit this Amendment originally as a consequential one; but it was now proposed to the Committee as a distinct Amendment. In its altered form it met with the view of the Government, but he did not think that it made the matter at all more clear. The clause was sufficiently clear as it stood.

MR. GIBSON said, he thought that it made the clause very much clearer.

MR. HEALY said, the Committee had not yet seen the words proposed by the hon. Gentleman.

MR. GIBSON: They are on the Paper.

MR. HEALY: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: The words moved by the right hon. and learned Gentleman are — "Provided no remission made for any previous year shall be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid."

MR. HEALY said, he saw no reason why these words should be inserted. He did not think they made the clause any clearer at all; and he entertained a very natural suspicion of any words which came from the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He would, therefore, suggest to the Government that they should adhere to their own words, and not accept the Amendment.

MR. SYNAN said, he hoped his hon. Friend would not divide the Committee, because the Amendment would now set the Government view of the matter beyond all question. It was contended that there was an ambiguity in the clause as it stood, and he was of that opinion himself. The object of the Amendment was to show that remissions made in the year 1880 should not be applied to the year 1881, and that was only common sense and common justice.

MR. SEXTON said, the Amendment would limit the discretion of the landlord himself. Suppose the landlord was willing that a remission made in a previous year should be credited to the year 1881—and the case was quite conceivable, for the landlord in numerous cases might have accepted 80 per cent of the rent for 1879 or 1880, and would be quite willing that the abatement should be made applicable to "the year expiring as aforesaid"—if he were willing to allow the abatement in that manner, he should be allowed to do so.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, there was no fetter imposed in the least degree. The remission would be a remission of the rent of 1881.

MR. HEALY said, he really thought the Government were doing a dangerous thing in accepting an Amendment of this kind without any consideration whatever. The clause ran—

> "A remission by the landlord of the whole or any part of the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be a satisfaction of the amount of rent so remitted."

And the friends of the landlords now proposed to fetter the landlord's discretion by inserting the Proviso—

> "That no remission made for any previous year shall be credited to the year expiring as aforesaid."

He wanted to know why the remission on the part of the landlord should be tied by an Act of Parliament? If he wished to make it credited to the year expiring, why should he not be allowed to do so? As far as he was concerned, he should divide the Committee against the Amendment.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER): If credited by the landlord as against the year 1881, it becomes a remission of rent for the year 1881.

MR. GIVAN asked what would be the effect of the Amendment upon a remission made last year or the year before? Suppose a remission of 50 per cent had been made, was the landlord to revoke that altogether, or include it in the calculation of the rent of the year 1881.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the Amendment did not touch that matter at all.

MR. FINDLATER said, that, according to the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, unless the abatement was actually made in 1881, it would not be included, because the Amendment distinctly said—"provided such remission is actually made in such year."

MR. GIBSON said, he had struck those words out of the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 213; Noes 31: Majority 182.—(Div. List, No. 261.)

MR. LABOUCHERE said, it was generally admitted that there were some bad landlords in Ireland, and that being so, it was monstrous that these should be placed in the same category as the good landlords, and actually profit by the injustice they had committed. In those cases, when the Land Commission had fixed the judicial rent below the rent which the tenant had been previously paying, he proposed by the Amendment he was about to move, that the tenant should be allowed to deduct the amount that the Court decided to be in excess of the fair rent from the one year's rent which he was required under this Bill to pay to the landlord. Supposing that a man was rented at £30, and that another man, under a fairer landlord, was rented at £20 for a holding of the same value, it would be unjust that the landlord who charged the £30 should have the benefit of the excess in the payment made by the tenant for the one year's arrears. It might be said that he was interfering with contract; but he need hardly say that this argument was actually exploded. The Act of last year interfered with contract, and so did the present Bill. ["Hear, hear!"] It was a development of political life, and they must stand to it. He therefore dismissed the argument at once, and asked the Committee to consider the Amendment on its own merits. He thought hon. Gentlemen opposite would agree that it was only fair and reasonable that a man who had charged a fair rent for his land, should not be in a worse position than the man who had charged an excessive rent.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 19, after the word "remitted," to insert as a new sub-section the words—"If in the case of any holding in respect of which an application under this section is made, the judicial rent of same has been fixed prior to the date of such application, and the amount of the judicial rent is less than the rent previously payable in respect of such holding, the tenant shall, in satisfaction of the rent payable in respect of the year expiring as aforesaid, be entitled to deduct from the amount thereof the difference between the amount of the judicial rent and the amount of the rent actually paid in respect of such holding for each of the six years prior to the date of such application."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment,

In line 3, to leave out from the word "application," to end of the Amendment, in order to insert the words "the judicial rent shall be the rent payable for the year expiring as aforesaid,"—(*Mr. Givan,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. GIVAN said, he would remind the Committee that in the Act of last year the judicial rent did not come into operation until the gale day subsequent to the fixing of the rent, and, therefore, the old rents—the rack rents and excessive rents—would be in force for the purpose of "the year expiring as aforesaid." If, then, the tenant was to have relief, he should have relief of the kind indicated.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he appreciated the motives which induced his hon. Friend to bring forward this Amendment. He believed he wished, as far as possible, to make the Bill auxiliary to the Land Act of last year. It was impossible for anyone interested in the recent legislation not to consider the connection between the two measures; and it was equally impossible for anyone anxious that the Land Question in Ireland should be settled on a good basis not to wish that the present measure should induce people to apply for the benefits of the Land Act. But, after having considered this question very carefully, the Government had come to the conclusion that it would not be possible to introduce a provision that would affect the Act in the manner proposed by hon. Gentlemen. For Parliamentary reasons which were not of the lightest, they could not adopt the Amendment before the Committee. With respect to the argument of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), it was impossible not to wish that the landlord who had charged a moderate rent for his land should be placed in no worse position than the rack-renting landlord. But the hon. Member not only distinguished between these two classes of landlords; it must be allowed that he also distinguished between two classes of tenants. It had been said on frequent occasions that the Bill was a discouragement to the honest and hardworking tenant, and an encouragement to tenants of the opposite sort; but it seemed to him that the Amendment of the hon. Member would give a great advantage to the prudent and lucky tenant over the tenant who, though equally prudent, was less lucky; for the tenant who happened to be placed high on the list of applicants, and had had the judicial rent in his case fixed early, would have the opportunity of availing himself of the Amendment, while others less fortunate would be excluded. It had to be remembered that the operation of the Land Act would not be so rapid as they hoped the operation of this Bill would be when it passed into law, and, therefore, the fact of the judicial rent not having been fixed would exclude many from the benefit of the clause, and the effect of this would be largely to increase the discontent which was spread over the country. But the Government had a stronger reason for objecting to this Amendment. It was impossible for them to depart from the principle of not interfering with the contracts of the past. Although the interesting allusion of the hon. Member for Northampton to the tendency of modern legislation was cheered by hon. Members opposite and by some hon. Members on that side of the House, he would point out that the landlord's right to receive the annual rent which he got before the case came before the Land Commission was the same as that under which he received the reduced rent under the operation of the Land Act.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he acknowledged the great difficulty which his right hon. Friend had expressed on the part of the Government of dealing with an Amendment of this kind. Probably, in the exact terms in which the Amendment was proposed, his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton would not be likely to press it; but it must be borne in mind that the rents in Ireland were being reduced under the decisions of the Land Court 25 per cent. Now, he believed the entire rental of Ireland was estimated at £16,000,000, and this percentage of reduction would consequently represent a sum of £4,000,000 a-year; but, even if it were only £2,000,000 a-year that the Irish tenants had been paying in excess of the total fair rent, anyone must see that this must have a very material effect on the arrears due from them to the landlords. His hon. Friend was anxious, if possible, that, in dealing with the arrears, there should be an equitable regard to the circumstances under which the arrears had accrued. He said that, while they were most anxious to protect the landlord at the expense of the tenant with regard to the tenant right, they ought also, if possible, to do something for the tenant in the unfortunate position in which he was placed in consequence of the arrears which had accumulated through rack-renting. He was not prepared to say exactly in what form this was to be done; but the subject was one well worthy of the attention of the Government, that, in dealing with the arrears, some attention should be paid to the circumstances under which those arrears had accrued.

Mr. SYNAN said, he had no objection to the benefit which the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) intended to confer on the Irish tenants. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had said one word in reply to the argument of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) in support of his Amendment. The only allusion to it on his part was when he said that the tenants who had not had the good fortune to get a judicial rent fixed for their holdings would be jealous of those who had. But he maintained there would be no jealousy of the kind in Ireland on this subject. On the contrary, he said that those who had their judicial rents fixed would be complimented by the tenants who had not had that good fortune. He could see no difficulty whatever in the way of the Government saying that if a judicial rent were fixed, the judicial rent for 1881 should be the amount payable by the tenant who availed himself of the relief afforded by this Bill. It appeared to him that both justice and reason were on the side of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan), and he presumed the hon. Member for Northampton would be disposed to withdraw the latter part of his Amendment.

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL said, he thought there was a good deal of force in some of the objections urged by his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). His hon. Friend the Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan) was correct in saying that the Chief Secretary had not addressed himself to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan), and the reason was probably because it was not on the Notice Paper. That Amendment appeared to him both moderate and reasonable, and he trusted it would be adopted. Hon. Members would be aware it had been anticipated that the landlords and tenants would meet and settle their differences without going into the Land Court; but that had proved not to be the case, and it was now known that a great length of time must elapse before judicial rents could be fixed for all the holdings. The effect of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan was simply that where the judicial rent had been ascertained, then for the purpose of considering the amount of the rent for the year in arrear, which had to be paid by the tenant under this Bill, the standard of rent judicially ascertained should be referred to, and not the rack rent previously paid. It seemed to him that this proposal was a sensible one, involving no interference with the object of the Government in keeping the lines of the two measures distinct, and, therefore, he trusted it would meet with the approval of the Committee.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he did not attach much weight to the arguments which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had used against his clause. One of those arguments was, that because you could not do justice to all you ought not to do justice to some. The other argument was an old friend—"the sanctity of contract;" and practically it amounted to this, that because the Government had most legitimately taken away a large amount of property from Irish landlords, therefore they ought to regard what remained as doubly sacred. He preferred his own Amendment to that of the hon. Member for Monaghan; but, as he always wished to consult the wishes of the House, he was willing to withdraw it. In doing so, he ventured to suggest that the Committee should accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan, and that then, if the sub-section were not accepted with the Amendment as it stood, they should go to a division upon it.

Captain AYLMER said, that almost all the arguments in favour of the Amendment were grounded upon the erroneous supposition that the landlord was to be paid the whole of the arrears of rent. But it was well known that only one year out of the three, or six, as the case might be, was to be paid under the Bill, and, therefore, the question only involved the difference between the judicial rent and what was called the rack rent for one year.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) practically ordered that the one year's rent should be paid to the landlord in its reduced shape before it became legally due. The Government could not make the clause retrospective for the benefit of one class of tenants—they must adhere to the lines of the Bill as it then stood.

Mr. HEALY said, the Government did not appear to have much faith in their own Bill. The Irish landlords had been proved to be, on the whole, a set of thieves ——

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY rose to Order. He asked the Chairman to rule that expressions of the kind made use of by the hon. Member for Wexford, in the present state of Ireland, were disorderly. They led to the commission of murder and other crimes.

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member for Wexford used the words upon his own responsibility. The question of Order did not arise. If, however, an hon. Member heard strong words used, it would be competent to him to move that they be taken down.

Mr. HEALY said, the reductions of rent made by the Land Commission showed that the landlords had been robbing their tenants.

Mr. FITZ-PATRICK said, he would move that those words be taken down.

Motion made, and Question, "That the words 'the landlords have been robbing their tenants' be taken down,"—(*Mr. Fitz-Patrick,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Mr. HEALY said, he had met the statement frequently made in that House, that there were dishonest tenants, by the statement that there were also dishonest landlords. This Amendment, he said, was intended to meet the case of the dishonest landlords who had been rack-renting and robbing their tenants. The country had declared that this system should not continue; and the Amendment proposed to enact that where the rent was shown to be unfair, that unfair rent should not be paid by the tenant for the purpose of this Bill. It appeared to him a remarkable thing that the Government should refuse to adopt this Amendment in view of the fact that the rents paid by the tenants were declared to be unfair by the Land Court.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, although the words of the hon. Gentleman might not have been technically out of Order, he thought they should not be allowed to pass without comment, and, therefore, he called on the Government to express their opinion as to the propriety of such language being used in that House.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he thought no one could have any doubt as to the opinion of the Government with reference to expressions of the kind they had just heard. The hon. Member for Wexford had, in his opinion, used an expression unworthy of the House and unworthy of himself. He said unworthy of himself, because, although the hon. Member allowed himself a certain license of expression, he sometimes made valuable contributions to the debates. Although he regretted much the particular expression which the hon. Member for Portarlington (Mr. Fitz-Patrick) had moved to be taken down, he must say that there might very well be some difference of opinion as to whether it came within the extreme category of expressions contemplated by the Rules and customs of the House. He had heard expressions equally strong made use of in that House in times of great political excitement — words of strong and exaggerated metaphor. But with regard to the epithet used by the hon. Member, he made no reservation whatever. He hoped the hon. Member, whatever might be the strength of his own feelings, would see the propriety of withdrawing the particular epithet used towards the Irish landlords.

The CHAIRMAN: I think it right to state why it was that I could not rule the expression of the hon. Member out of Order. The question was one for the House, and not the Chairman, to consider. I thoroughly agree with the opinion expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that the word employed was extremely improper to be used in debate, and I trust the hon. Member will withdraw it.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he felt, of course, as the Chairman had expressed it, that the word was one which it was improper to use in debate. He objected to it on that ground, undoubtedly; but he also objected to it on the ground that, in the present state of Ireland, such words applied to the Irish landlords as a body in that House, by a Member of the House, and allowed to pass unchallenged and unrebuked, were likely to have a very prejudicial effect, and even to encourage and suggest criminal and violent conduct. He thought it the duty of hon. Members to protest against such words being used on account of the bad impression which might go abroad if they were allowed to pass unchallenged.

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL said, he disapproved of expressions of the kind made use of by the hon. Member for Wexford, not only because they might have an injurious effect out-of-doors, but because they weakened the force of the argument of the hon. Member who employed them. There were few Members of the House, in his opinion, more capable than the hon. Member for Wexford of supporting their views by cogent arguments. But, he asked, was it worse to say that the landlords were robbers than to say that the tenants were dishonest? For his own part, he deprecated the application of such terms equally to both classes.

Mr. HEALY said, he desired to acknowledge the courtesy of the Chief Secretary for Ireland; but with regard to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), he must point out that, while he took exception to words used on those Benches, hon. Members above the Gangway on that side of the House were in the habit of speaking of himself and his hon. Friends as thieves, assassins, and robbers. There was scarcely a Member of the Conservative Party who had not used most hurtful expressions with regard to Irish Members. As the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) had said, they heard continually of dishonest tenants. It was not a week ago since they heard of Irish tenants going off to America with their plunder. Those men, however, had not been proved to be dishonest, although it had been proved in the Land Courts that the landlords had, to the extent of 25 per cent, extracted unjust rents from the tenants.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH wished to know whether the hon. Member withdrew the words which he had been directed by the Chairman to withdraw?

The CHAIRMAN said, he had expressed a hope that the hon. Member would withdraw the expression made use of; but he could not direct him to do so.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, as he had always been in favour of the judicial rent dating from the time of application, so that the tenants might all stand on the same footing, he should vote for the Amendment before the Committee in the form proposed by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan). For the Amendment as originally put forward he could not have voted. He was inclined to believe that, if matters were left as they were, a great many landlords would make a settlement with the tenants with regard to the one year's rent which had to be paid to obtain the benefit of the clause; but that if the rule that the tenants were to pay on the judicial rent were once laid down, the landlords would hold out for the judicial rent on all occasions, and this he did not think would be for the benefit of the tenant.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *inserted.*

Question put,

"That the words 'If in the case of any holding in respect of which an application under this section is made, the judicial rent of same has been fixed prior to the date of such application, the judicial rent shall be the rent payable for the year expiring as aforesaid' be there inserted."

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 50; Noes 231: Majority 181.—(Div. List, No. 262.)

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, as it was desirable that all persons interested in the amount paid by the tenant into the hands of the Land Commissioners should have notice of the amount being about to be paid over by the Commissioners, he begged to move words which would give persons interested an opportunity of being heard on the subject when necessary.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 27, after the word "shall," insert "having first given public notice in the prescribed manner." — (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 28, leave out "as landlord."—(*Mr. Givan.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, as he understood the Amendment next on the Paper in his name could not be moved in its present shape, he would not trouble the Committee with arguments in favour of it on that occasion; but he expressed the hope that the Government would consider the propriety of inserting some words in the Bill which would prevent the incidence of public taxation on those portions of the rent which the landlord was compelled to forego under the provisions of this Bill.

MR. CHILDERS said, although he was not prepared to express a decided opinion upon the point then, the matter should receive consideration.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, if the Amendment he was about to move were not necessary, the Attorney General for Ireland would probably be able to state the reasons. In the case of the Parliamentary grant in relief of the Lancashire operatives in 1862, the question was raised by Mr. Bernal Osborne as to whether persons in receipt of public bounty were not thereby precluded from exercising the Parliamentary franchise? On that occasion Sir George Grey replied that under the Common Law persons in receipt of bounty or money given in charity by the State were disfranchised by the 3rd section of the Poor Act of 1832. Persons in receipt of parochial relief were disqualified also, that provision being extended to counties in the Act of 1857. He knew the Amendment would be regarded in some quarters as being vindictive; but he begged to assure the Committee that it had about it nothing of that character. The simple object was to ascertain whether persons who received charity, for it was nothing else, under the Act would be disfranchised? The Bill had been spoken of by the Government as a measure for the relief of poverty. The Prime Minister himself had stated that this was the object of the Bill, and he (Sir Herbert Maxwell) wished to know what was the difference in respect of the franchise between persons who received relief under this Act and those who received parochial relief? He had no wish to cast any discredit upon persons who obtained the advantage offered by the Bill; but he thought it should carry with it the disqualification imposed by the Common Law on persons who had recourse to the State in order to meet their private obligations.

MR. PARNELL rose to Order. He asked whether the proposed Amendment came within the four corners of the Bill? It appeared to him that the hon. Member proposed to disqualify certain persons from the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise, whereas the title of the Bill was, "A Bill to make provision respecting certain Arrears of Rent in Ireland."

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had considered the point of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and had decided, looking at all the circumstances of the case, that the hon. Baronet could move.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, so far from intending to impose any disqualification on the tenant who received the benefit of this Act, if the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would read the first line of the Amendment, he would see that the proposal was to exempt the tenant from what might be the bearing of the Common Law upon the case. He was speaking in comparative ignorance of what was the bearing of the Common Law upon the case, and he awaited the explanation of one of the Law Officers upon the point. But if, as he supposed, a person receiving relief under this Act would be disqualified from exercising the franchise during the year in which that relief was given, then he proposed to release him from that inability in consideration of his paying up his just debts accruing to the 31st day of December last year. He trusted the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would inform the Committee what was the bearing of the Common Law on this subject.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 33, after sub-section (6), insert,—"(7.) Any tenant in whose behalf antecedent arrears may be extinguished shall be subject to the same disabilities, in regard to the Parliamentary franchise, as persons receiving relief from the public funds, unless and until they pay the gales of rent due up to the making of the order on their behalf by the Land Commission, and subsequent to the last gale day of the tenancy in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one."—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"

MR. CHILDERS said, that the Bill implied that the tenants who had their arrears extinguished were not reduced to a state of poverty, because they would continue to work their farms in an effective manner. It was true that the tenants would be benefited by the Bill;

but it was the landlords who would receive a sum of money from the State; and therefore it seemed to him that it was they, if anybody, who should be disfranchised. He could not agree to the Amendment of the hon. Baronet, and trusted it would not be pressed.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he had already quoted the Prime Minister as describing the Bill to be a measure in relief of poverty. Now, he put it to the Committee whether, in making use of that expression, the right hon. Gentleman intended to convey that the Bill was for the relief of the landlords or of the tenants? If the Bill were really for the relief of the landlords, he did not think Gentlemen sitting on that side below the Gangway would have been found so readily voting for it. He asked for information as to the bearing of the existing law upon the position of those tenants whose obligations, under this Bill, were to be met for them by the State.

MR. CHILDERS said, the Government were of opinion that relief of the kind contemplated by the Bill certainly did not disqualify. When he was asked whether the Bill was for the relief of the landlord or the tenant, he could only reply that it was in relief of both. He was personally acquainted with Irish landlords who were hoping for the passing of the Bill; but, whatever might be the correctness of that view, he was satisfied that the question could not be dealt with by the Committee in the manner proposed by the hon. Baronet.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he was satisfied with having moved the Amendment, and with having obtained the reply that the relief would not disqualify the tenant who obtained it. With the permission of the Committee, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, after sub-section (6.) add:— (7.) "The onus of proving his inability to discharge antecedent arrears under this Act shall rest with the tenant."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, although he saw no difficulty in the way of accepting the words moved by the right hon. Baronet, yet, as they appeared to him to be quite unnecessary, having regard to the clause as now framed, he suggested that the Amendment should not be pressed.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. PARNELL said, the Amendment he was about to move was intended to apply a remedy to a practical defect in this Bill, which if allowed to continue would render the Bill, so far as its compulsory character went, useless. If the Amendment he proposed to move, or something amounting to it, were not accepted, it would result that those landlords who might have been disposed, under a compulsory arrangement, to permit their tenants to have the benefit of the Arrears Clause of the Act of last year, would arrange with their tenants under this Act, while those landlords who were not disposed to extend any mercy to their tenants would be in a position to deprive them of their holdings. As the law stood there was no power in any Court to stay proceedings for the recovery of rent by action or otherwise. The County Courts had the power of postponing the issue of decrees and the execution of ejectments if an application were made by the tenant and good cause shown.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON), interposing, said, it would be in the recollection of the Committee that he had undertaken to bring up a clause on Report dealing with cases where proceedings were pending. The Amendment proposed by the hon. Member went in the same direction. The Government, he repeated, had prepared a clause, which they would submit on the Report, and which would cover almost the entire ground taken up by the hon. Member.

MR. PARNELL said, he thought it would be better that the whole subject should be dealt with in one clause; but after the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman he should not move.

MR. W. H. SMITH moved to add at the end of the clause the words—

"Any application by a tenant under this section shall set forth the property of which the said tenant was in possession, or to which he was entitled, when the arrears accrued due, and the property of which he was in possession, or to which he was entitled, on the date of his application."

His object was to prevent collusions as

far as possible in a matter of this kind; and he thought that if the tenant was called upon to make a statement in writing he would carefully consider what it was that he put down. He had no wish to cast any imputation upon the tenants generally; but there might be a disposition on their part to make very wild statements as to their capacity to meet the obligations they had entered into, and an unwillingness to conform with strict truth to the actual facts of the case when they found themselves dealing with the money of the State and the money of the landlord. The Bill was one which, undoubtedly, would tend to the demoralization of the tenant. There was very little doubt that it would have that effect, and it should be the endeavour of Parliament to diminish that demoralizing effect as much as possible. He hoped that everyone who was entitled to relief under the Bill would obtain it, but no one who was not entitled to relief ought to obtain it; and, therefore, the machinery by which the Bill was to be carried into operation should be distinct and clear, and the mode of procedure prescribed without any doubt or hesitation. Every tenant making an application for relief under the Act ought to be called upon to make a distinct declaration in Court as to the property of which he was in possession, so that there should be no mistake. He trusted the Government would see the necessity of inserting some such condition as this, and he would, therefore, move the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, at end, add,—" Any application by a tenant under this section shall set forth the property of which the said tenant was in possession or to which he was entitled when the arrears accrued due, and the property of which he was in possession or to which he was entitled on the date of his application."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. CHILDERS said, he did not think the words would come in very well in the place suggested by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith). He entirely agreed with the object of the right hon. Gentleman, but he did not think it was necessary to set out these words. The Commissioners would be the persons who should say what information ought to be required before they were in a position to arrive at a decision in reference to any particular claim. If the Amendment were adopted they might be required to go into transactions which occurred six or seven years ago. If it were necessary to introduce these words at all, they would be more properly introduced into the 7th clause. He did not think any such provision was necessary in the Bill at all; but if it should be necessary, then the Land Commissioners would be the proper persons to set out the nature of the information required. He hoped the right. hon. Gentleman would not press the Amendment.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he was ready to admit that there was some analogy between this case and an ordinary case of insolvency; but he wished to point out that when they had to deal with something like 100,000 cases the analogy between such a vast amount of cases and the few cases which went into the Bankruptcy Court ceased altogether, and the forms which applied to the application should be made as simple in their details as possible. He had no doubt that the Court would prescribe comprehensive rules, and that they would insure some mode of dealing rapidly with the case, so as to prevent delay in the working of the measure. He was afraid that the adoption of the Amendment would only occasion delay.

MR. GREGORY said, he was of opinion that the Committee should prescribe, as far as possible, all the directions for the instruction of the Land Commissioners. He was of opinion that they ought to indicate to the Commissioners that an application for relief should be made in writing, and that they should be made in a prescribed form. The Bill might contain a Schedule giving the form.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN wished to point out to the Committee that the setting forth of the information referred to in the Amendment might tend very much to mislead the Court, because it proposed that the tenant who made an application under the section should set forth the property of which he was in possession, or to which he was entitled, when the arrears accrued due. But that would leave an important element in the case out of consideration altogether, because, although he might be possession of, or entitled to, certain property, the condition did not require him to set forth what his liabilities were; and it was, therefore, only a one-sided representation that was contemplated by the Amendment, which, instead of being a guidance to the Court, would tend to mislead it as to the circumstances of the tenant. He thought that was a fatal objection to the Amendment.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, the object of the Amendment was to apply to the payment of rent, and not to any liabilities or any other purposes; and, therefore, it was not necessary for the liabilities of the tenant to be set forth. If it were intended to make the measure a Bankruptcy Bill, then, of course, the observations of the hon. Gentleman would be relative. He understood the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to assent to the principle of the Amendment, but to object to its introduction in the present place.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he had pointed out that if it were necessary to insert the Amendment at all, which he did not think it was, the proper place for inserting it would be in the 7th clause, and not in the present one.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he confessed that he attached considerable importance to information of the tenant's condition at the period when his arrears accrued due. The Land Commission would not be doing their duty if they did not ask and ascertain from the tenant what had become of any property he possessed at the time he ceased to pay rent. He intended to cast no aspersion upon anybody whatever; but it was only right and proper, when they were dealing with public money, as they were dealing with it here, and dealing with public morality, that they should follow up the matter strictly and carefully, and he should certainly not be satisfied unless some provision were made in the Bill in the manner he had suggested.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman withdraw the Amendment?

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he was willing to withdraw it at that stage.

Mr. WARTON regretted that there was so strong a disposition on the part of the Government to leave everything to the Court. Such important matters as those raised by the right hon. Gentleman laid at the root of the tenant's right to have this relief, and the conditions under which the application was to be made ought to be distinctly stated in the Bill, and not left to be settled by the Commissioners under the 7th section. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would bear in mind that it was of the utmost importance that as little as possible should be left to the Land Commission in the shape of framing rules; and he trusted that as this particular question laid at the very root of the tenant's right to get relief, it would be borne in mind by the Government when the 7th section came under consideration.

Mr. FINDLATER said, he trusted that the Government would not allow a proposal of this sort to be entertained. He thought it ought to be left to the Land Commission to frame what rules they would require in regard to evidence on matters of this sort. According to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, it might be thought that the tenant was making a statement of his affairs in the matter of his bankruptcy.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that if the Bill was really to be carried out, and the inquiry was to be a real one, as the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had asked the Committee to make it, then there ought to be an inquiry similar to that proposed by his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith). He trusted that at the proper time his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) would again propose his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, this would be a legitimate opportunity to review the clause, and to state the feelings which hon. Members on that side of the House entertained with regard to it. However, he would assure the Committee that it was not his intention to go again into questions which had already been fully discussed; but simply to say that, as far as his judgment was concerned, no alteration had been made in the clause which at all removed the objections he entertained to it. It was true that an important Amendment had been introduced by the Prime Minister, by which some direction was given to the Land Commission as to the mode in which they were to consider the tenant's interest in deciding upon his ability to pay; but, as far as he could judge, that direction was so vague that one-half of its usefulness would be lost. Gift and compulsion were the two pillars on which the measure had been said to rest. These pillars still remained embodied in the clause, although it seemed, from last night's declaration on the part of Her Majesty's Government, that both were to be ignored in another part of the Bill. He felt so strongly the great objections that existed to the clause that he should say "No" to the Question that the clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that before the clause passed he wished to take that opportunity of removing a misapprehension which he found prevailed the other day in regard to some remarks of his respecting the Land Commission. His attention had been called, through the medium of a friend, to the fact that the Chief Commissioner had felt himself aggrieved by some observations which he (Mr. J. Lowther) had made, which he thought placed an unfair construction on a speech of his (Mr. Justice O'Hagan's) delivered upon the opening of the Land Commission. He (Mr. J. Lowther), in moving that the words "Land Commission" be struck out of the clause, had referred to what he considered to have been the *lâches* of the Land Commission; and he was reported to have said that the Chief Commissioner had laid down the doctrine that a tenant, apart altogether from his industry and capacity, should be able to live and thrive. He (Mr. J. Lowther) at first was only supplied with a brief report of the remarks the learned Judge was alleged to have made; but he had since been supplied with an exact report of what Mr. Justice O'Hagan said, and he found that what the learned Judge stated was this, that—

> "A rent which might be fairly paid, and yet permit a tenant not deficient in those qualities of industry and providence which are expected in any walk of life to live and thrive."

He was glad to have an opportunity of correcting the matter, and without, at the present moment, expressing any opinion as to the propriety of those remarks, he must observe that the qualification introduced into them seemed in the case of Professor Baldwin and other Sub-Commissioners to have been regarded very much in the light of a well-known intimation — "Don't nail his ears to the pump." However, he was glad to have the opportunity of making this explanation, and of removing any misapprehension which might have arisen from what fell from him on a former occasion. The report of his (Mr. Lowther's) speech had been somewhat condensed, and to that fact was due some of the misapprehension which had arisen. In regard to the clause, he entirely agreed with what had fallen from his right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). He had no wish to make a second reading speech on this occasion, and he did not intend to avail himself of this opportunity for making one. He had not, as a matter of fact, made a speech, except a few observations partaking more of the nature of a personal explanation, either on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill or on the Motion "That the Speaker do leave the Chair;" and as the Government had promised to give further consideration to the question as to how far the tenant's interest in his holding could be rendered a security for the landlord and for the British taxpayer, he would not now discuss the clause. He would not, upon the present occasion, even say whether it was right or wrong that the property of the landlord should be taken away and handed over to his tenant without compensation. That was a matter of a very debatable character. He hoped the Government, at a later stage, would bring up words to enable the recently-acquired property of the tenant to be made available for the liquidation of his debts and the protection of the British taxpayer. In regard to the clause, they had been promised several Amendments at a later stage. He was sorry to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War state just now, in reply to his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith), that the present condition of the tenant's financial affairs was the only thing to be considered by the Government in framing their Amendments. What was necessary for the purpose of the protection of the taxpayers as well as the landlords, and was also necessary as a protection from the demoralizing effect of the Bill, was that it should be clearly proved to the satisfaction of the tribunal constituted under the Act that the tenant was incapacitated by what might be called misfortune from paying his debts at the time those debts became due. That should be clearly borne in mind, and he thought that what the Secretary of State for War had said was a falling-off from the intimation which the Prime Minister had conveyed at an earlier stage—namely, that the tribunal must be satisfied that the tenant was incapable of paying rent at the time the rent accrued due. He hoped that the observations of the right hon. Gentleman were not to be taken as betokening any falling away from that position so far as the clause was concerned. However it might be amended his objections to it would not be pared down in the slightest degree. His objection to the whole Bill, he was bound in candour to add, was one of principle, and in no shape or form could any of its details be amended so as to remove his objections.

Mr. CHILDERS remarked, that what he had said, or intended to say, was that the words that were proposed would carry the inquiry back six or seven years, and that what had to be investigated was the present inability of the tenant to pay. He did not know what the nature of the inquiry might be, or how far it might be carried; but he thought that all matters of that kind should be left to the Land Commission. It would be quite out of the question to compel a tenant, who might have been in trouble since the famine year, to prove what his circumstances had been every half-year. He would not, however, continue the discussion, but would follow the example of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and avoid entering into contentious matter. He was glad to hear the statement of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) in reference to the speech of Mr. Justice O'Hagan, because the misunderstanding in regard to what Mr. Justice O'Hagan had said had not been limited to that House, but had been carried further.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause, as amended, *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 2 (Modification in case of evicted tenant when restored to holding).

Mr. HEALY said, he had given Notice of various Amendments to this clause; but although they appeared formidable on paper, they were merely in the nature of verbal Amendments. He proposed now, in line 6, after the word "aforesaid," to insert the words "and full costs." The clause said that the Court should deal with the case as if the tenant had paid all arrears of rent up to the last gale day in the year expiring as aforesaid; but, otherwise, should proceed in manner directed by the Act of 1860. The Act of 1860 was the Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act, or commonly known as Deasy's Act; but Deasy's Act, which this clause proposed to carry out, did not use the words at all. On the contrary, the words in Deasy's Act were "rent and costs," and unless the word "costs" were put in the 71st section of Deasy's Act it would not be put into operation. Deasy's Act required the tenant to have paid all rent and costs. He presumed that the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland would soon be sitting as a Judge; and if a case came before him in which it was shown that the tenant had only paid the arrears, and not the costs, then, undoubtedly, the right hon. and learned Gentleman would decide that he had not complied with the terms of Deasy's Act. He thought that this Amendment was necessary in order to make Deasy's Act operative.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 6, after "aforesaid," insert "and full costs."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he was unable to accept the Amendment. The effect of the proposal would be to place the tenant who had satisfied his rent in the same position as if he had paid both rent and costs. The Amendment did not even provide that the costs should be paid by the Treasury or the State. Now, the provision of the Bill was that the landlord, having incurred costs in getting a judgment, the tenant was only to be reinstated after paying the rent and costs; but if the Amendment were adopted, it would place the tenant who had only paid the rent in the same position as another tenant who had paid both rent and costs, and, in the first case, the landlord would be out of pocket to the extent of his costs. A proposition of that nature he considered to be altogether unreasonable.

MR. HEALY said, the misapprehension of the right hon. and learned Gentleman as to the effect of the Amendment was a natural one, because, in point of fact, although his Amendment alluded to the question of costs, it did not in reality touch the question of costs at all. Deasy's Act said it should be lawful for a tenant to be reinstated on payment of rent and costs, which was to say that the tenant was to fulfil both conditions of paying rent and costs. But in this section no mention was made of the word "costs" at all, and, therefore, Deasy's Act could not be brought into operation. A Judge sitting in Court would say the Act required the Court to deal with the case as if the tenant had paid all arrears of rent; but if the tenant had only paid up all arrears of rent under Deasy's Act the Court would do nothing at all. He must have paid not only the arrears of rent, but costs as well. It did not prejudice the landlord in the slightest degree, because if the Court was not satisfied that the tenant had paid the arrears of rent and costs it would do nothing at all. If the Government thought the section carried out the law he would be quite satisfied; but his own opinion was that it did not.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that, as the Bill now stood, the tenant asking for restitution would have to comply with the provisions of Deasy's Act, which were that he should have paid the rent and costs. The result of the Amendment would be that the tenant, on satisfying the rent, was to be put in the same position as if he had satisfied the rent and costs; whereas, by the clause, he would not only have to satisfy the rent, but to pay the costs also.

MR. PARNELL said, it seemed to him that the Amendment was required in order to place the tenant on the same footing as a tenant under the Act of 1860, and unless they adopted the Amendment he did not think they would put the tenant in that position. A tenant who had not been actually evicted would be entitled to save himself from eviction on paying rent, leaving costs to remain as an ordinary debt. He was not compelled to pay costs in order to prevent himself from being evicted; but under this clause he was compelled to pay both rent and costs in order to be restored. His hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) proposed that he should be restored on the same footing, as regarded costs, as under Deasy's Act; and he gathered that costs could be wiped away, but would still remain as an ordinary debt, which could be recovered in the ordinary way. The nonpayment of costs, however, would not be a bar to the restitution of the tenant. He would, therefore, submit that if it was the wish of the Government to restore the tenant, and place him in the same position as regarded costs as the tenant who had not been evicted, they must accept the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Healy).

MR. SYNAN said, he thought the question had been discussed under a misapprehension. The clause provided for two things. It provided what the Court of Commissioners was to do, and it provided, also, what the Court, under Deasy's Act, was to do. What the Commissioners were to do was to make an order under this Act, and the costs had nothing to do with that order. But under Deasy's Act it was necessary that the person restored should have paid both rent and costs.

MR. FINDLATER said, he concurred in the view expressed by the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan).

MR. GIVAN regretted that he was compelled to disagree with his Colleague (Mr. Findlater). He thought the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was perfectly right, and unless the Amendment was adopted the clause would entirely fail to carry out its intention. Under what circumstances would the Act of 1860 come into operation? It would come into operation by the payment of rent and costs. Under what circumstances, as the clause stood, was it intended to make the Act come into operation. By a statement which did not comply with the condition of Deasy's Act—that was to say, it fell short in one vital point, and if the tenant applied for an order and asserted that the rent only had been discharged, then the Court would have nothing to do but say—"You have not complied with Deasy's Act, because you have not paid rent and costs, and, therefore, you have no right to come here." He considered the objection of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) to the clause was a very serious objection, and that it might defeat the operation of it altogether.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that the Bill dealt with rent, and not with costs. If a tenant were evicted under Deasy's Act, the law gave him a *locus pœnitentiæ*, and enabled him to come back at any period within six months on the equitable terms of satisfying all the rent due, and indemnifying the landlord for the cost of the proceedings he had undertaken. Under this Bill, it was provided that the tenant who had paid his rent, even though he were evicted by a competent Court, should be treated as having paid his rent once for all, and for all purposes, and, among others, for the purpose of obtaining restitution; but he must not only have paid the rent, but also have paid the costs. It might be a great pity that the tenant should be required, before he was restored, to pay costs as well as the rent; but when he obtained the order he was treated as if he had paid everything, and the Government could not consent to any Amendment that would defeat the landlord's right to obtain costs.

MR. GIVAN said, the clause empowered the Court to deal with cases in which the tenant had paid all arrears of rent and costs. The Court had no power to deal with a tenant who had paid arrears of rent only.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the Court would have no power to deal with a man who had paid his rent unless he had also paid his costs.

MR. HEALY said, he was astonished that the Government would not accept the argument of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan). This Bill proposed to put in operation certain portions of Deasy's Act. Now, Deasy's Act only came into operation where the rent and costs had been paid, and this Bill said the Court should deal with the case as if the tenant had paid all arrears of rent up to the last gale day, which meant that the Court would be able to do nothing at all under Deasy's Act, because the reference to costs was left out. Then, why not put it in the Bill and adopt the Amendment? It would not damnify the landlord in the slightest degree, because the Court would insist upon the tenant paying both rent and costs. The Amendment was a technical one which did not affect the position of the landlord in any respect; but if it were omitted from the Bill he did not believe that any Judge would arrive at the conclusion that the provision of Deasy's Act had been complied with.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the only question was whether the object which the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) professed to have was not better accomplished by the clause as it stood. He would undertake, however, to consider the matter carefully, and he would confer with the hon. Member upon it, it being understood that without the payment of costs no right to restitution should be given. If the hon. Member could convince the Government that the insertion of the Amendment was necessary there would be no objection to accept it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHAIRMAN: I would point out to the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), before he moves the next Amendment, that it seems to conflict with another Amendment placed on the Paper by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), which comes below.

MR. HEALY said, that would not be found to be the case.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the hon. Member had better explain the effect of his Amendment.

MR. HEALY moved, in line 7, after "1860," to add the following words:—

"For the purpose of enabling any such evicted tenant to make an application to the Land Commission under the first section of this Act, the Land Commission shall have power, on application made by him during the time limited for applications under this Act, by enlarge the time during which he may redeem his tenancy, subject to such terms and conditions as may seem just."

He said that such an Amendment was absolutely necessary in the clause, and for this reason—If five months of the term of redemption ran out, and the tenant only had one month left in order to bring the Act into operation, he would lose all claims to the benefit of the Act, because the term of redemption had run out.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 7, after "1860," to insert the words,—"For the purpose of enabling any such evicted tenant to make an application to the Land Commission under the first section of this Act, the Land Commission shall have power, on application made by him during the time limited for applications under this Act, to enlarge the time during which he may redeem his tenancy, subject to such terms and conditions as may seem just."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the Government had no objection to accept the Amendment. He understood its sole object was to provide that where the period of redemption had nearly run out it might be enlarged by the Land Commission for the purpose of enabling the tenant to come under the Bill. He thought, however, that the last words of the Amendment, "subject to such terms and conditions as may seem just," might be altered by leaving the terms and conditions under the control of the Land Commission.

MR. GIBSON said, he took exception to the course pursued by the Government in reference to this Amendment. It proposed, for the first time, not only to interfere with, but to arrest indefinitely, a legal process already obtained by the landlord. It was obvious that the line must be drawn somewhere in reference to this matter, because it was impossible that they could deal with every case which might be suggested was entitled to consideration. The law already allowed six months for redemption in cases of eviction for non-payment of rent on certain well-understood conditions—namely, the payment of arrears of rent and costs. The Government had already in the section dealt in the most drastic manner with the writ of ejectment; and now it was proposed to go much further. He thought that the section went a very long way, and he should have something to say upon the matter when the whole clause was put to the Committee. The Amendment proposed to go still further, and to give the Land Commission a power of indefinitely enlarging, and on some terms that might be no terms at all, the period of redemption, thus indefinitely keeping the landlord out of the possession of his farm, or the receipt of his rent. He could be no party to anything of the kind, and he should certainly divide the Committee against the Amendment, notwithstanding the fact that it was supported by the Government. His right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland said he was satisfied with the words of the Amendment, if the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) would substitute for the words "such terms and conditions as may seem just," other words placing the terms and conditions under the control of the Land Commission, so as to leave the matter to the discretion of the Commissioners. Now, he strongly objected to leave everything to the discretion of the Commissioners, and he would take care, in every possible way in his power, to secure in the Bill itself provisions showing exactly what it was they wanted the Land Commission to do. He had in his mind a case which had been brought to the notice of the Attorney General for Ireland by two hon. Members behind him, as to the way in which that discretion had been already exercised, and it was a good indication as to how it might be exercised in future. He referred to a case which had occurred in Queen's County, and it went by the name of "Owen's case." He was unable to give the name of the tenant; but for the purpose of discussion it might be called Owen's case. In that case an application was made by the tenant under discretionary powers similar to those now proposed to be given to the Land Court, and the application came within the words "such terms and conditions as may seem just." The tenant applied under that provision to obtain an extension of time. The landlord, in answer to the application, said—"If you choose, in the exercise of your discretion, to give an extension of time, then I will ask you to protect my interest by requiring the tenant, who owes several hundred pounds, to lodge something in Court as a guarantee of his *bona fides.*" In the exercise of a discretion exactly similar to that which it was now proposed to give, it seemed just to the Land Court to make no terms or conditions at all, and the result was that before the expiration of the extended time the tenant went away without paying a farthing of rent, and the landlord lost between £300 and £400. He (Mr. Gibson), therefore, objected to the Amendment, because he felt that the discretion might be used in the same way again, and he was of opinion that a line ought to be drawn somewhere. They ought not to go on indefinitely increasing the six months' period of redemption to nine months or 12 months or 18 months. The law said six months, and the law must take its start at some point and must end at some point. It was desirable, if possible, to arrive at certainty, and that certainty must be arrived at by excluding some cases and including others which would be open to consideration. It was most desirable to end the uncertainty of litigation on the subject. There was already in the Bill a clause limiting the time for applications made under the Act—namely, Clause 11. It was limited until the last day of February, 1883; but there was a power given to the Land Commission to grant leave for an extension of time until the 30th of June, 1883. As he had said, the line must be drawn somewhere. The right of redemption was already given for a period of six months. Of course, it would always be said that a tenant who was near the end of the six months was not in as good a position as a tenant who was only at the beginning of it. Thus a tenant, with only two months to expire, was worse off than the one who had the full six months, and the tenant who had only one month was still worse off. But these questions were questions of degree, and it was necessary to arrive at some degree of certainty. It would, therefore, be wiser and better, and on the whole more just, to stand by the provisions of the existing law.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he did not follow the observations of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) as to the exercise of the discretion of the Commissioners; but he would point out what his right hon. and learned Friend appeared to have overlooked—namely, that the only discretion given by the clause was a discretionary power to extend the period of making applications under Deasy's Act. If that discretion were exercised, it would require all the conditions of that Act to be observed; and one of those conditions was that a tenant could not obtain restitution without having paid the rent and all the costs, and he must also have paid and satisfied all subsequently accrued rent up to the time when the application was made. The discretion was not a discretion, therefore, given to the Land Commission to deal with that subsequent rent in any way; but it was left as a matter of law to be determined by the Court to which the application was to be made. There must not only be a certificate under the Act that the rent had been satisfied up to the time of the decree, but that all succeeding gales of rent which had accrued in the meantime had been paid. That would prevent the possibility of any injury being inflicted upon the landlord, because a decree could not be obtained until all the old arrears and all the accrued arrears were paid off. If the clause was to have any operation at all its effect ought not to be defeated by shutting out persons who would otherwise come to it. The Government had arrived at the conclusion that, under all the circumstances, the tenants should have this right, but only after they had satisfied all the rent down to November, 1881. It was provided that the application must be made early in 1883, and no tenant could get a decree until he had satisfied the rent of the accruing years, that rule of law being strict and unbending.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that, if he understood the matter rightly, the main reason for this Amendment was to prevent evictions, which would be a considerable hardship. There were a vast number of tenants already under notice of eviction, who were liable at any minute to be evicted, and there were a number of others who had been evicted, and were already out of possession. The Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was an endeavour to extend the advantages given by the Bill, so as to cover this class of cases. It seemed to him that the main argument for the passing of the Bill was that the right of eviction had been unfairly used, and if a mode of providing a remedy could be devised, to reject that mode was to reject the main object of the Bill. He confessed that he thought if the Bill were passed, excluding, as it would, without this Amendment, from its operation a very large class of tenants who were now under notice of eviction, and preventing them from obtaining the right of restitution, the measure would fail in one of its principal objects.

MR. WARTON said, the proposal before the Committee was of a very serious character. It practically amounted to an unlimited extension of the period of redemption. He should be prepared to move, when the Question had been put, that the period of redemption be limited to two months.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 220; Noes 106: Majority 114.—(Div. List, No. 263.)

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Amendment, to insert the words "such enlargement of time in no case to exceed a period of two months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the Committee had, by the last Amendment, decided that a discretion should be left to the Land Commission as to enlarging the time during which an evicted tenant might redeem his tenancy. He saw no reason, therefore, why that discretion should be in any way limited.

MR. PLUNKET said, he thought it would be reasonable on the part of the Government to assign some limit to the discretion which was to be exercised by these Commissioners, who were comparatively unversed in the exercise of such large powers as they would have conferred upon them by this Bill. He therefore trusted Her Majesty's Government, if they were unwilling to accept the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), would name some alternative period which they would be willing to adopt.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, it was admitted, he believed, by the Government that the discretionary powers conferred upon the Land Commissioners by the Act of last year had resulted in the formation of precedents which they themselves were surprised at. Now, he thought that Parliament, when it imposed certain compulsory obligations on parties, as was the case in this Bill, should make up its own mind as to what it wanted to be done, and that the responsibility of making rules should not be cast upon the Land Commissioners, except, of course, in the case of those rules which related to ordinary procedure. Having regard to the experience of the last three months, he thought the Government might undertake that, before the Bill left the House, they would bring up some words limiting the discretion of the Commissioners in the direction indicated.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 90; Noes 186: Majority 96.—(Div. List, No. 264.)

MR. GLADSTONE said, he wished to state, with the indulgence of the Committee, that although the division which had just occurred might be taken as absolving the Government from the pledge which they had previously given, yet, looking at the matter from the equity of the case, they were still willing to consider whether they could name a term that would serve to limit the period of redemption. It was necessary that it should be well understood on the other side of the House that the Government undertook to consider this matter solely from their conviction of the general equity of the case.

MR. HEALY said, the object of the Amendment he was about to propose was simply that in cases where the Land Commission was satisfied that the purchase of the tenant's interest in his holding was made primarily with the object of enforcing payment of arrears, and that the holding was, at the date of application to the Court, subject to no tenancy created since the date of purchase, they might set aside the sale of the holding. He did not think it was a wrong thing to say that in a case where the tenant's interest had been sold by the landlord for the purpose of getting his rent, on the conditions set forth in his Amendment, the Commissioners might order him to be reinstated. Therefore, he said, where the Court considered that the landlord's action in selling the farm had not been for the purpose of obtaining property in the farm, but for the purpose of getting payment of arrears, that the tenant should not be in any worse position than if he was an evicted tenant. But he wished to go a step further, and to say that where no new tenancy had been created, and the interest of the tenant had been sold simply for the purpose of obtaining rent, the Court should have power to give the tenant the benefit of this Bill. He put it to the Government, as a matter of policy, whether it would not be desirable that the tenants who, by the law as it at present stood, would be excluded, should be enabled to obtain the benefit of the Bill? He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to the acceptance of the Amendment which he now begged to move.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 7, after "1860," insert, as a new paragraph—"If in the case of any holding to which this Act applies, it shall appear that the landlord has recovered judgment for any arrear of rent of such holding, against the tenant thereof, and that, under execution issued to enforce such judgment, the tenant's interest in such holding, having been offered for sale, has been purchased by the landlord, or some person representing him, the Land Commission, on the application of the tenant during the time limited for applications under this Act, and on being satisfied that the purchase of the tenant's interest by the landlord was made primarily with the object of enforcing payment of such arrear, and that the holding is, at the date of such application, subject to no tenancy created since the date of such purchase, may, subject to such terms and conditions as may seem just, make an order setting aside the sale of such holding, and thereupon, on such order being made, the tenancy in such holding which had existed immediately prior to the sale, shall revest in the tenant as if such sale had not taken place. On any such order having been made the Land Commission may, on the application of either landlord or tenant, make an order, under the first section of this Act, in the same manner as if, and such order shall have the same effect as if the sale of the holding as aforesaid had not taken place."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the Government could not assent to the principle that where the landlord had purchased the tenant's interest in the holding in the open market, the tenant should be entitled to reclaim his tenancy. At the same time, the Government quite recognized the object which underlay the Amendment of the hon. Member, and they were not unwilling to forward it so far as it advanced on the lines of the Bill, and did no injustice to anybody. The condition upon which the Court should have power to set aside these sales should be that it must be done with the express consent of the landlord. It must, in fact, be a transaction similar to that which lately took place in the case of certain tenants who had been evicted from the estate of Lord Cloncurry. Every one of the tenants of Lord Cloncurry was reinstated after the relation of landlord and tenant had been entirely determined. That was owing, not to compulsion, but entirely to a concession on the part of the landlord. He thought if the hon. Member were disposed to alter his Amendment so that an application of the tenant should be made with the express consent of the landlord, no new tenancy having been created, that the Committee would accept the Amendment.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, that the latter part of the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was hardly intelligible. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had laid it down distinctly enough in his opening sentences that the Government could not admit into the Bill the principle that when the landlord had purchased the tenant's interest in the open market the tenant should be reinstated in his holding. But, having established that impregnable proposition, he went on to quote the case of Lord Cloncurry, who had reinstated his evicted tenants after their relations with him as landlord had been entirely determined, and suggested that the Government would consider the Amendment favourably if the reinstatement proposed took place with the express consent of the landlord. But it appeared to him that the suggestion of the Attorney General for Ireland was unnecessary, because Lord Cloncurry was able to do this without any Bill, or action on the part of the Land Commissioners. If the alteration which the Attorney General for Ireland was willing to accept provided that the consent of the landlord should be obtained to the tenant's application, and it was shown to be necessary to bring the matter within the purview of the Bill, there might be something to be said in its favour; but he pointed out that such an alteration was of a very different kind to that on the Paper, and it was certainly one of which Notice ought to be given.

And it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day.*

QUESTION.

EGYPT—THE SUEZ CANAL.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Before the Sitting is suspended I wish to put a Question to the Government. There is a rumour again that the Suez Canal is stopped; no ships passing through. I wish to know, Whether the Admiralty have any information with regard to that; and, also, whether they have any information with regard to the reported looting of the ship *Glenlyon?*

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, no such information has reached the Admiralty as that to which the right hon. Gentleman has alluded—to the effect that the Canal is stopped. With regard to the *Glenlyon*, I stated at 2 o'clock that we had been informed on good authority—in fact, the information came from the owners of the vessel—that she had passed through the Canal. Since that time the owners have sent to the Admiralty to say they are not sure that she has passed through the Canal. I am bound, however, to say I am told from other sources that it is generally believed she has passed through. There the matter stands at present. If I hear anything at a later period of the evening, I will let it be known.

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 213.]

Progress *resumed.*

Amendment (*Mr. Healy*) again proposed.

MR. BULWER said, he was alarmed by the suggestion made by the Attorney General for Ireland that the Government were inclined to consider this Amendment with some degree of favour under a possible state of circumstances, those circumstances, he understood, being an arrangement between the landlord and tenant, by which the landlord should agree that the tenant should obtain the benefits of the Bill. He (Mr. Bulwer) wanted information as to what was the meaning of the Government in throwing out the hope that they would favourably consider this Amendment under certain circumstances. What were the circumstances under which it would be possible to apply the Bill? Let them take the typical case which had been cited—that of Lord Cloncurry's tenants. He was not going to enter into the merits of that case; but there had, unquestionably, been a great deal of unmerited vituperation uttered against Lord Cloncurry. As he understood it, Lord Cloncurry's tenants had refused to pay their rents, and his Lordship had taken the legal measures he thought justifiable in order to enforce payment. He was unable to make them pay, and, therefore, he turned them out. He took from them the property which they possessed—namely, the tenant right—and sold it, and so recouped himself as far as he could. He got a portion of his rent, and, at the same time, got rid of his tenants. Supposing Lord Cloncurry had not reinstated his tenants, as he (Mr. Bulwer) was glad to believe he had done, those tenants would be in a position hereafter, if Lord Cloncurry was minded to agree with them to do so, to take the benefits of this Act. But he (Mr. Bulwer) did not see how this Bill could apply to such a case as that, for the hypothesis was that Lord Cloncurry had got rid of his tenants and had got his rents. This Bill was applicable to the case of tenants who were in arrear; but a man who had got rid of his tenants, and had used his powers to obtain his rents and had got those rents, had as much as the law would allow him to get. What possible arrangement could he make with those persons to bring them within the Act?—because the hypothesis was that they had gone, and were, consequently, strangers to him, and that they owed him no rent. There would be no arrears of rent to which this Bill would apply, and if that were so, he thought it was rather an illusory encouragement to hon. Members below the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House to say that this Amendment would be favourably considered under certain circumstances. It might, perhaps, be his ignorance—["Hear, hear!"] Well, hon. Members below the Gangway were familiar with these matters, no doubt, and it might be owing to his ignorance that he failed to imagine the circumstances under which this Amendment would apply; but he certainly was at a loss to perceive how it could apply to such a case as that he had suggested. He took the case of Lord Cloncurry and his tenants to give the Attorney General for Ireland an illustration of what he meant in the application of this Amendment. He repeated, however, that he only asked for information; and, no doubt, the Solicitor General for Ireland would be able to enlighten him. It was perfectly illusory to say that the Amendment could apply to the case of a landlord or tenant whose relations terminated, it might be, some five or six years ago, the farm having remained vacant in the hands of the landlord ever since. To say that the tenant in a case of that kind was to pay one year's rent, and the Irish Church Fund or the Consolidated Fund was to pay another year's rent for him, in order that he might regain his position as tenant, though evicted some four or five years before, was, to say the least, startling. He could not see that it was possible that this Amendment could apply where the relations of landlord and tenant had been determined by due process of law before this measure became an Act of Parliament. However, he only desired to know exactly what it was at which the Amendment of the Attorney General for Ireland was directed.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that what his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland proposed was to introduce into the Amendment of the hon. Member opposite the words "with the express consent of the landlord." In any case, the course of obtaining a judgment had been adopted with the same object as obtaining an ejectment—in order to enable the landlord to resume possession of the land. If at a sale the landlord bought the tenant right, he would then become the owner of the holding, and he would enter into possession. He would have a valid title against the tenant, and the tenant would be deprived of all remedy against him. Very often the landlord and the tenant treated the matter as though an ejectment for non-payment of rent had been obtained, the tenant being re-admitted as if no such transaction had taken place. What was suggested here was that the landlord, having obtained a judgment for his rent, and having issued execution, and become himself the purchaser—very often only nominally — frequently reinstated the tenant on the payment of arrears, or such amount of the arrears as he saw fit. That was an arrangement that had been often carried out; and that was an arrangement to which the Committee would agree. If it should be a proper thing in the case of an ejectment for non-payment of rent, he did not see why it should not be so in the case of an arrangement between the landlord and the tenant.

MR. BULWER: Do the arrears of rent remain due, or have they been satisfied?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, they were practically merged into the judgment debt, and if that debt had been satisfied, then the arrears of rent would no longer remain, either in form or substance. It was usually the case in purchases of this kind, when the interest of the tenant was put up for sale by the sheriff, for the landlord to become purchaser at a nominal figure. For instance, if the landlord's claim against the tenant was for £50, he might become a purchaser for £5. The debt was not paid, and he might claim the rest at any time when the tenant came into possession again. If it were not for this measure, it would be quite open to the parties to go behind the judgment and re-open the matter. The landlord could not be compelled to accept such an arrangement under this clause; but it was open to him to do so. He agreed with the hon. Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Bulwer) that if the tenant were a person perfectly able to satisfy the landlord he would not come under the Act at all. It would be necessary not only that the landlord should have obtained judgment, but that the tenant had got means to satisfy the claim. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) did not see why they should not be able to make this case precisely as if the judgment had been obtained. What was sought by this proposed Amendment was only to place the tenant in the position, with the consent of the landlord, which he would have been in without that consent if the landlord had only pursued his other alternative course. The Government had only suggested the mode in which they thought this matter could be settled.

MR. BULWER said, he did not quite follow the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland in this matter. The hon. and learned Gentleman admitted that when judgment was recovered the rent was gone, but a debt remained. If the tenant succeeded in making a fortune, the landlord might come down on him at any time for that part of the debt that was still unsatisfied; but the proposed arrangement would undo the effects of the judgment and put the sum of money due to the landlord, which was now a debt, upon a different footing. It was only on the supposition that he owed "rent" that the tenant would come under this clause and could have that rent remitted on certain conditions. He did not say that he quite understood the hon. and learned Gentleman's argument; but, as far as he could understand it, he did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman had answered the difficulty he (Mr. Bulwer) had suggested.

MR. HEALY said, the Amendment of the Government did not in the smallest degree meet the point he had in his mind. But it was possible that in the case of a limited number, say, of a few dozen tenants over the country, agreements might be come to with the landlord, and the suggested Amendment might be of some service. He had no option but to withdraw his Amendment, either that it might be amended hereafter, or that a new one might be brought up by the Government.

MR. PLUNKET said, that before the Amendment was withdrawn, perhaps the Committee would allow him to say a word with regard to it, because he had come in hurriedly just before the Sitting was suspended, and had not an opportunity of speaking on it. He had not yet quite grasped what the proposal was; but, as far as he understood it, the Attorney General for Ireland had resisted the Amendment that was introduced by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), but was prepared to accept it with an important modification—that was to say, he undertook to consider it before the stage of Report and bring up a clause which would carry out the views he had expressed. He (Mr. Plunket) should be very glad indeed if he could realize in any degree what it was that the Government proposed to do. The meaning of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford was quite plain. The object aimed at by the suggested change, the hon. Member pointed out, was quite a different thing. The hon. Member for Wexford proposed that in these cases, where the practice had been lately resorted to by landlords which was formerly very rare indeed, and was not in the least necessary, of having recourse, in the face of the land agitation and the programme of the Land League, to the plan of proceeding against their tenants for the rent which was due at the time as a debt, and not by the ordinary and regular process of ejectment for non-payment of rent—the hon. Member proposed that in these cases the results of the action taken by the landlords should be reversed—that the tenant should compulsorily be able to upset the effects of the judgment which the landlord might have recovered, and then to put himself back into the same position as he would have been in if he had never driven the landlord to adopt the course he had followed, and to enable the tenant also to apply under this Bill to the Land Commission. Such a suggestion as this was one which should not for a moment be entertained by the Committee. It would be utterly unjust, and would confirm—consecrate almost—the proceedings of the Land League, which Parliament had been attempting during a great many months to counteract, partly by preventive measures—or preventive in the view of Her Majesty's Government—and partly by the present measure. The Attorney General for Ireland, he (Mr. Plunket) understood, said he could not accept the Amendment as proposed, but would consider whether he could not adopt it under another form. What was the change, then, that he proposed to effect in it? The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that in the case where the landlord had recovered a judgment for any arrears of rent against the tenant, an execution had been issued, and the tenant's interest had been sold in the open market and purchased by the landlord, there the application of the tenant during the time for application under this Act with the express consent of the landlord might be entertained. He (Mr. Plunket) could hardly realize himself a case in which this proposal of his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland could possibly be applicable. He agreed very much with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Bulwer). He did not understand on what basis the Amendment was to operate. As far as he knew, these proceedings would be judgment to sell for the recovery of arrears in the cases of tenants who were well able to pay, but who for one reason or another declined to do so. Those were tenants who would not be reached at all, and who would not come under the proceedings of this Bill. Then, in the next place, it was a curious thing that when proceedings had been taken, though there might be debts still outstanding, the debt for arrears of rent would be quite independent of the holding of the tenant. It seemed to him (Mr. Plunket) to be an anomalous thing which was contemplated by the clause which was intended to be brought up. He failed to realize how it would do all that was intended. He might say, without pledging himself to an opinion as to what his position would be when he saw the clause as it was brought up, that if there should be any individual case—for he believed they would be very few indeed—in which the tenant had been sold up in this way when he was really unable to pay his rent; and if the result would be to put him back again in friendly relations with his landlord, in the position that he held before, and to enable him to pursue his business as a husbandman, he (Mr. Plunket) would be only too glad if some way of effacing the unfortunate relations of recent years might be discovered. He should be only too glad to see tenants who might otherwise be driven into revolt against the landlords put back in their old position. One word more, and he had done—because he wished to reserve a final opinion upon the proposal of the right hon. and learned Gentleman until he saw it on the Paper. Reference had been made to the case of Lord Cloncurry. If ever there was a case where misery, controversy, and disaster was brought on the tenants of an estate by a combination to refuse the payment of rent, there never was one of a more pronounced character than that of the tenants of Lord Cloncurry. He was glad to see from the newspapers of to-day—he had not seen the details, but he saw the fact stated—that the tenants had come to some arrangement with Lord Cloncurry. He (Mr. Plunket) himself thought that that Nobleman deserved the greatest credit for the position he had taken up—for having taken so much trouble, and for having accepted so much odium, in refusing to be dictated to by the tenants who demanded a uniform reduction of rent. Lord Cloncurry had very properly refused that demand, although he was perfectly willing to deal with the cases of individual tenants when the people came to him and made reasonable proposals.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he would suggest that the Committee should allow the Business of the House to proceed. The Government would bring up a clause on Report, and now, since they had been discussing the matter more than half-an-hour, he thought it would be well that the hon. Member should be allowed to withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. SEXTON said, the effect of this Amendment had been entirely misconceived. References of a misleading character had been made to the case of Lord Cloncurry. When landlords all round him were giving large abatements of rent to all their tenants, Lord Cloncurry refused to give a penny to his tenants by way of abatement, and the result was that the tenantry had found themselves obliged to set themselves against him. His Lordship had proceeded against them, and had involved them in considerable expense in the matter of costs; and not only that, but he had forced them to sell their farms, whilst he had become the purchaser, and the tenantry had had no alternative but to allow their holdings to go to the auctioneer's hammer. The tenantry had done that, certainly in a great many cases, merely from sheer inability to pay the costs of the proceedings. The Government must see, if they wished, as they had so frequently declared it was their desire to have peace and order restored in Ireland, that a very serious element in the restoration of that peace and order would be the adoption of a plan such as this, which would enable tenants who had been deprived of their holdings, under such circumstances as those which had been referred to, to re-enter their farms.

Mr. WARTON said, he was quite sure that the object of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) in making his appeal to the Committee was a good one. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman's object was to save time. The Government, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, were going to bring up some proposal on Report to effect the object pointed out by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), even if their Amendment were not in the same words as that of the hon. Member. Well, he (Mr. Warton) was also anxious to save the time of the Committee; but he thought the best way to do so was not to follow the suggestion of the Government, but to recommend to the Committee that, when a proposal of this sort was brought forward, the best thing they could do, instead of waiting for a proposal from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, which, when he brought it forward, they were absolutely sure would not be accepted, would be to give a clear expression of opinion that they would not adopt any clause of the kind. That would be a real saving of time. He could not let the matter pass without making his protest against the principle which had been adopted, since the division of Friday last he supposed, of proposing to reconsider the points upon which concessions were asked from them, and determining to bring up modified proposals on Report. It would be a saving at the present moment of a great deal of time if the Government would refrain from making concessions to the Party of disorder. If they would refrain from doing that, they would get all the support they desired from the Members of the Conservative Party.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HEALY said, he wished to move the insertion of the following new paragraph:—

"If it shall be made to appear to the Land Commission, in the case of any holding to which this Act applies, that the landlord of such holding has recovered judgment for any arrear of rent of such holding against the tenant thereof, and that, under execution issued to enforce such judgment, the tenant's interest in such holding, having been offered for sale, has been purchased by the landlord, or some person representing him, or by some third person, the Land Commission, on the application of either landlord or tenant during the time limited for applications under this Act, and whether the tenant has or has not been evicted from the holding, may, on being satisfied that such tenant has been reinstated as tenant of such holding, make an order as if, and such order shall have the same effect as if, the sale of the holding as aforesaid had not taken place."

There was a slight similarity in the conditions of his two Amendments. Where the tenant had been put out of his holding by a sale, and the landlord had agreed to re-instate him, then, if there were any arrears hanging over the man, the Amendment would give him the benefit of the Act. It must be borne in mind that where the landlord had reinstated the tenant he had frequently made it a condition that the antecedent arrears should be paid, and a case of that kind had been brought under his notice by several tenants in the county of Limerick. It was to meet these cases that he had drawn up this Amendment. His object was to secure that, where a landlord had agreed with his tenant to re-instate him, and there were still some arrears owing, the condition of the reinstatement being that the tenant should clear off those arrears, the tenant would have a right to the advantages under this Act as if he had not been evicted. He did not see why, in such a case as that, the Government should not apply a clause of this kind.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 7, after "1860," insert as a new paragraph:—"If it shall be made to appear to the Land Commission, in the case of any holding to which this Act applies, that the landlord of such holding has recovered judgment for any arrear of rent of such holding against the tenant thereof, and that, under execution issued to enforce such judgment, the tenant's interest in such holding, having been offered for sale, has been purchased by the landlord, or some person representing him, or by some third person, the Land Commission, on the application of either landlord or tenant, during the time limited for applications under this Act, and whether the tenant has or has not been evicted from the holding, may, on being satisfied that such tenant has been reinstated as tenant of such holding, make an order as if, and such order shall have the same effect as if, the sale of the holding as aforesaid had not taken place."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that not from any spirit of desiring to make concessions unnecessarily, but simply because it seemed to them a matter well deserving of consideration, inasmuch as this Amendment was very much of a similar character to that which had already been proposed, and which the Government had proposed to consider, the Government would ask the hon.

Member to allow that proposal to stand over for Report as in the case of the Amendment just withdrawn.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he thought the attention of the Committee had not been sufficiently directed to the effect of this clause. As he understood these clauses, where there had been a sale of a tenant's interest, they would put the landlord and tenant in a position to receive the benefits of the Act, although, at present, by the process they had adopted, these persons would not receive these benefits. These clauses would very much extend the money payments under the Act, and he had not thought it possible that such a proposition could be made by the Government. What would be the money cost? No doubt, it would be very great, for this was a question which was of direct interest to the landlord as well as to the tenant. It was not solely a tenant's question. When a landlord had deliberately availed himself of a legal process against his tenant, when the tenant's interest had been sold and there was no money due, was it right that, by the action of this clause, he should be put in the position he would have been in if he had not taken that legal process—namely, the position of being able to get a grant from the Government? Certainly not; and yet it was now proposed to put the landlord again in his former position—nay, he would be by these clauses put in a much better position than he was before. Though there would be some gain to the tenant, there undoubtedly would be some also to the landlord; and he (Mr. Whitley), as an English Member, protested against a money payment of this kind. He thought the principle of the Bill was entirely wrong, and that these clauses were another step in the wrong direction. The clauses would let the people see that by these means they could put themselves in the position of obtaining that which they never hoped to obtain. He certainly trusted that the Government would consider this matter very fully on Report, before they brought forward the clauses they had intimated they might have to propose.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the Government would carefully consider the matter, and if they found that it would involve a very considerable pecuniary payment they might have to hold their hands. The opinion of the Government, however, was that these cases would be very small in number. The hon. Member did not bear in mind that all the tenants in this position to obtain the benefits of the Act must have paid a year's rent, and must have been in a position of inability to pay anything else. It would be impossible for anything like collusion to take place. But all these matters would be well considered before the Report, and before the Government announced to the House the exact words of the clause they proposed. There was one point which must not be lost sight of—namely, the limit of time. It would be impossible to apply a clause of this kind to a period anterior to 1881.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, they had been given to understand that the object of this Bill was to prevent eviction; but he did not understand that any tenant who had been reinstated could be evicted. If the object of the Government was solely to prevent eviction, any Amendment of this kind would be really unnecessary. Perhaps it might be alleged that the landlord might wish to recover his debts as any other creditor would wish to do. The Government were bringing under the provisions of the Bill a set of cases which they did not profess hitherto to have contemplated; and if the landlord was only allowed to sue for his debt and not to evict, why were they not to deal in the same way in the Bill with other creditors who might wish to sue for their debts? If they introduced provisions of this kind, and wished to provide, not merely against a case where the landlord could evict in the ordinary course, but could sue, it appeared to him that they would have to deal with a great many other creditors besides the landlord. If that was so, they ought to be very careful before they adopted clauses of this kind.

Colonel NOLAN said, that the Bill was introduced for the purpose of preventing evictions, and hon. Members seemed to be alarmed that every eviction which had taken place would be affected; but that was not the case. Suppose they were introducing a Bill to prevent the spread of small-pox, preventive measures would be taken in it; but it would not be necessary to deal with every case of the disease which had occurred. If the Amendment were adopted, it would remove a cause of very great heartburning.

DR. LYONS said, there were particular classes of tenants who would come under the provisions of these clauses—namely, tenants who had been practically re-instated by their landlords, and tenants who had borrowed money at exorbitant interest, and who struggled on with a mill-stone round their necks. Those landlords and tenants who had entered into friendly arrangements, the landlords having out of good feeling remitted part of the arrears, should not be deprived of the benefits of a Bill they would have had the advantage of if it had been in existence when those arrangements were entered into. There was one class of case which he thought was that which hon. Members opposite had in their minds, and which made them oppose the present proposal—namely, those who had persistently, with money in their pockets, refused to pay their rents. It should be borne in mind that all cases had to be subjected to the closest inquiry as to the ability of the tenant to pay. What it was intended to do by the new clause would restore the tenants to a condition of solvency, would enable them to go on comfortably, and would do away with ill-feeling between landlords and tenants.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the Committee that they are discussing an Amendment which the hon. Member who moved it has been desired to withdraw.

MR. BULWER said, the position of the Committee was this—that the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had withdrawn his Amendment, or proposed to withdraw it. The Government, on the understanding that the Amendment was to be withdrawn—he had no doubt it was on that understanding that the promise of the Government was given—had proposed to deal with the matter on Report. It was on that understanding that the clause had been withdrawn, for if that promise had not been given, the question would most probably have been pressed to a division. What he wished to point out was this—that the Government were going to take this matter into consideration. He (Mr. Bulwer) wished to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the case of the landlord—and he would dismiss altogether from his thoughts questions affecting the tenants. Well, the landlord, they would suppose, had a tenant who had not paid his rent, and he had dealt with that tenant in a manner such as he was quite entitled to do by law—he had got rid of him, having obtained such compensation or such part of his rent as he could. It might be that the landlord would say—"If I allow this man to come into this farm again, I may get the advantage of this Act, and I shall then be able to get something out of the Government—I shall get a year's rent which I cannot get now. That will be better than for me to leave the tenant to go into the hardware or some other trade on the chance that he will make a fortune, and I be able to press for my debt when he is no longer impecunious." Were the Government really going to do this—to allow the landlord, who had turned his tenant out and got rid of him, and of his rent and all claim to his rent, to have another chance of obtaining his money, which he had now turned into an ordinary debt? It must be borne in mind that it was no longer rent after the law had been put in force, but it was a debt. Were the Government going to allow the landlord to get back the late occupier as a tenant, and allow him to call that rent which had become a debt by the judgment of the Court? Were they going to allow a debt to be turned into rent, and to be treated as arrears of rent? Was the landlord to be allowed to re-instate a man into his farm and treat as rent the debt for which he had got judgment? It would neither be fair to the landlord nor the tenant, and it certainly would not be fair to the State, that the Consolidated Fund should be called on to incur the liability which the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) had so graphically pointed out.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the Government were not so hasty as the hon. Gentleman. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) had undertaken to give this matter careful consideration before any proposal was submitted to the House; and when the proposal was submitted, it would be for the House to say whether it was deserving of approval or not. It did not appear to him that there was any difficulty as to principle in this matter. If the landlord, who had two legal modes by which he could get rid of the tenant, chose to pursue one or the other, it did not follow that it was improper or impolitic to allow a landlord who had taken one course to remain in exactly the position he would have been in if he had taken the other course. The landlord who had pursued the one course was in one sense very much in the position of the landlord who had pursued the other, apart from the legal technicality. These were two processes which were used for obtaining the same ends. It would, of course, be a necessary condition to the tenant availing himself of the clause that he should owe rent which he could not pay.

Mr. WARTON said, that, under ordinary circumstances, when a proposition was made to withdraw an Amendment he should not have said a word about it; but if the Government would insist upon accepting these absurd proposals, it was desirable that they should be discussed to some extent.

Mr. MOORE said, he did not see why there should be any grave objection to this Amendment. The people who would be affected by the Amendment were those who had been extremely ill-advised; but Parliament was now passing a Bill to wipe out old scores. The question was whether it was worth the while of Parliament, for the sake of a few exceptions, to continue this war and to continue the prevailing angry feeling. There were two ways in which to put down discontent. The one was by force, and the other by conciliation; but the Government had adopted a mixture. He would not speak of the Coercion Act they had just passed. This was a measure of conciliation; and he did say to the Committee that as long as these men had been evicted from their farms in consequence of the evil advice given them last year, and so long as these men were found in huts close to the farm, or in the adjoining villages watching with a jealous eye their former holdings, the Government must make up their mind to treat them with force or with conciliation, because so long as they remained in their present position outrages would occur. He hoped that the House, having passed the most sweeping Coercion Bill of modern times, would not think it worth while to exclude the men in question from the benefits of this Act, but bring them in and give the country some chance of settling down.

Mr. PLUNKET said, he desired to reserve entirely his opinion on the subject until he saw the form in which the Government intended to bring forward the Amendment. At the present time he was unable to imagine in what form the Amendment could be put forward so as to be entertained by the Committee.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. PARNELL begged to move the Amendment standing in his name to provide for something more than the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), which the Government had adopted a short time ago. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) proposed that where an evicted tenant had a period of redemption still unexpired he might apply to have it extended. The present Amendment provided that where the period of redemption of an evicted tenant was expired the Court might, if it thought fit, upon the application of the tenant, extend the period of redemption, and put the tenant in the same position as he was before the period expired, provided the farm was still vacant. It might be thought that this was rather an extreme proposal to make; but if they looked at the history of the last two years, and to the fact that the Government during that time—since the 1st of May, 1880, the date which he (Mr. Parnell) fixed for the retrospective action of his Amendment—had been engaged in an unavailing attempt to protect the smaller Irish tenants, and that during those two years, owing to the admitted fruitlessness of their attempt with regard to these smaller tenants, a very large number had been evicted, and the period of redemption of large numbers of them had expired, he thought it was not unreasonable to ask consideration of this Amendment from the Government. What was the case? When the Government came into Office in May, 1880, they had their attention directed to the pressing necessity which existed for stopping evictions in Ireland, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. W. E. Forster), brought in a Bill called the "Compensation for Disturbance Bill," in order to check these evictions, more especially with regard to the smaller tenants. Hon. Members knew the fate of that Bill. The consequences, or one of the consequences, of that Bill, was that a very large number of tenants, notwithstanding all the exertions of the Government, had lost their rights in their holdings. This Arrears Bill had been brought in for the purpose of supplying the deficiencies in the Act of 1881 in regard to the question of arrears, more especially in regard to the smaller tenants in Ireland; and he submitted that it was reasonable and just that, when it was pointed out by himself and his hon. Friends to the Government that many of the evicted persons were located in different parts of Ireland, living in hopes that the day might come when they might be permitted to return to their little holdings—the right which the Act of 1881 sought to confer upon them—it was reasonable to call upon the Government to undertake retrospective action in so far as it was necessary to do justice to these people. In punishing the districts of Ireland the Government had adopted the principle of retrospective action, and he asked them also to do justice retrospectively in the way he now proposed. The number of these tenants might not be very large. He had no means of estimating how many of the tenants who had been evicted since May, 1880, had been actually restored to their holdings; but, whether they be 100, or 1,000, or 5,000, he submitted this Parliament ought to show itself strong enough to do justice to them, and not to permit the action which destroyed the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in 1880, and the subsequent action which prevented the Government from inserting an efficient Arrears Clause in the Act of last Session, to consign these people to rash and hopeless despair. He had the utmost confidence in recommending this Amendment to the Government.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 7, after "1860," to insert as a new paragraph:—"Any tenant evicted from a holding to which this Act applies, for non-payment of rent since the first day of May one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and who, from lapse of time, is not entitled to apply, in pursuance of the seventy-first section of 'The Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act (Ireland), 1860,' for a writ of restitution, may, during the time limited for application under this Act, apply to the Land Commission for an order enlarging the time during which he may redeem his tenancy, which order the Land Commission, on such application, and on being satisfied that the holding in question is at the date of such application subject to no tenancy created since the eviction took place, shall have power to make, subject to such terms and conditions as may seem just. On any such order being made, the Land Commission may make a further order, under the first section of this Act, in the same manner as if, and such order shall have the same effect as if, the tenant had not been evicted."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHILDERS said, the present proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was quite of a different nature to those they had been discussing for some hours past. In this case the separation of the tenant from his holding was complete. He had been evicted for five or six months. The time of grace had passed, and he had no further connection whatever with his holding. The proposal was that, after the separation between a tenant and his holding was complete, he should, in spite of this complete separation, be restored to his holding, and, by this process, receive the advantages of the Bill. The Government could not accept such a proposal as that. It was quite different in substance to those which the Government had consented to consider before Report, and they could not possibly consent to it.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, it was greatly to be regretted that the Government, expressing itself through the medium of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War, should give its decision upon a most important question, without permitting a single Member of the Committee to offer a single comment upon it. He thought that was a very unwise course to take, and he did not think that the right hon. Gentleman had precisely understood the bearings of these two Amendments. The first Amendment that the Government had promised to consider was one, in his mind, of a much more questionable character than the Amendment which the Government had contemptuously, and without the slightest argument, rejected, because this Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) applied principally to all small and poor tenants who had been evicted for no fault of their own, but simply in consequence of their poverty and misery. This Amendment applied to those tenants who existed in the South and West of Ireland, and in the counties of Kerry, Mayo, Connemara, and Galway, and these persons were now living in a state of the greatest wretchedness, very often taking shelter under the rocks, with a few sods of turf before and around them. These persons were entitled to the first consideration of the House and of this Committee, and anything that could be done to restore them to a position of comparative comfort ought to be done. He should like to ask what harm in this remedial legislation could possibly come from allowing such tenants, in cases in which the Land Commissioners were convinced they might be restored because their holdings were not utilized by anybody else—what harm could come from allowing them to go back to their small and wretched homes, which were to them life itself? What were the class of tenants comprised in the former Amendment which the Government had consented to consider on Report? They were tenants who, in the majority of instances, could well pay their rents, but who let themselves be evicted at the dictation, or on the advice, of the Land League, which had promised to protect them. Now, the Government were going to do something for these men who had done that which was wrong. He certainly did not object; on the contrary, he wished to Heaven they were all restored to their holdings; but these tenants were certainly not half so deserving of the protection of this House as the small and miserable class of tenants to whom the present Amendment referred, and he thought it deeply to be regretted that the decision of the Government should have been given in a way which showed that there had been no consideration of the question at all. He did not, for his part, know what this Bill was to do for the tenants of the South and West of Ireland, unless it was to restore them to their holdings. This Amendment would enable the Government to do that. A great many things were to be reconsidered on the Report, and he hoped the Government would see their way to unsay what they had said, and by the admission of this Amendment do a great deal to pacify the country. Many reasons could be advanced to induce Her Majesty's Government to take a favourable view of the present Amendment.

Mr. SEXTON wished to lay stress on the fact that the Government had accepted an Amendment identical in principle to the one now proposed. The Government had agreed that a tenant who had been evicted, and whose period of redemption had not expired, might apply to the Land Commissioners for the benefit of this Act. More than once the Prime Minister had described this measure as an Act of mercy, an Act not bound by stringent rule; and it was on the ground of mercy that he would ask the Government to give a favourable consideration to this Amendment. He hoped the Government would not stand out on so small a point as the expiration or non-expiration of the period of redemption. Four or five thousand of the families referred to by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had been evicted between the 1st of May, 1880, and the beginning of this year. They were families of the poorest class, families evicted because they were unable to pay their rent, and not because they followed what the hon. Member (Mr. Mitchell Henry) called bad advice. How could the Government consider the Act would be effective so long as 4,000 or 5,000 families were allowed to wander about smarting from a sense of wrong? They were living in the wooden huts provided by the Ladies' Land League; they were living in unspeakable misery; and one and all were looking to the day when they might be allowed to resume possession of their farms. From the point of view of men desiring the restoration of peace and order in Ireland, how could peace and order be restored if 4,000 or 5,000 families evicted in the last two years for the non-payment of rents, which the Courts of Law now declared unjust, were excluded from the benefits of this Bill? His hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) did not propose to interfere with any farm on which the landlord had taken a new tenant. If the landlord had been able since May, 1880, to get anyone to take the farm, it was not proposed that there should be any interference; but in a case where the farm remained vacant, where the landlord had been unable to make the farm a source of revenue, it was said that not only the interest of the tenant, but the interest of the landlord also, demanded some such settlement as that now suggested. It was unnecessary to inquire from what cause the farm was vacant. It might be owing to a stringent public opinion; but he questioned the discretion of the landlord if he preferred the farm vacant rather than let. Perhaps the Government might see their way to some compromise. The date May, 1880, had been selected because the Government, in a new clause they intended to propose, had fixed upon that date. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) had said that the tenants referred to in this Amendment were separated from their holdings. So were the tenants referred to in the Amendment accepted by the Government. There was a sort of undefinable local tie subsisting between a tenant and his holding; and he (Mr. Sexton) hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) would reconsider his decision. He was sure there was no Member of the Government more anxious to put an end to any cause of disturbance in Ireland than the right hon. Gentleman; and, therefore, he would ask him, between this and Report, to consider how it could possibly be expected that peace and order would be restored if these evicted people were allowed to wander about Ireland without farms? If the right hon. Gentleman could not assent to the date 1880, would he consider whether he could not assent to some date last year? If they could not take in all the evicted tenants, let them take in as many as they could.

Mr. SHAW said, it seemed to him there was one element that was present in the Amendment which the Government had promised to consider that was absent from the present Amendment, and that was the consent of the landlord. That was of great importance, and if the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) who moved the Amendment would allow the consent of the landlord to be brought in, he (Mr. Shaw) did not see why the Government should not consider it as well as the former Amendment. It would be a very hard case to force on a landlord, tenants who had been for a long time unfriendly towards him, and between whom and the landlord there had been a kind of war. He did not think the restoration of relations between such parties would be good for either of them; but if the landlord agreed, he could not see why the Government should not give the tenants an opportunity of being restored to their holdings. It was all very well and easy to say that these people acted under bad and foolish advice. The people must be taken as they were. It was a fact, that could not be ignored, that in Ireland there were 4,000 or 5,000 families outside their holdings; there they were, an element of disturbance; and if this Bill were founded on the policy of restoring peace and good order in Ireland, it would be a very wise thing if the Government would see their way consistently with what was right and just to the landlord to give an opportunity to both parties to come together again. He knew of cases in his own county in which the landlord was as anxious as the tenant that a reconciliation should be brought about. As it was, there the parties were, looking at one another; many of the tenants were in great poverty and ready to engage in any disturbance which might arise. It would be politic for the Government if they could see their way to accept the Amendment in some form or other.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, he was sorry to trouble the Committee; but, as a Member representing a constituency of English agriculturists, who had suffered from bad times as much, if not a great deal more, than the agriculturists of Ireland, he wished to point out to the Committee that the Government were being asked perpetually to grant further concession and further concession. The Government had already had two Amendments pressed upon them by the Irish Members below the Gangway, both of which they had agreed to consider and bring up again in another form on Report. Although it had been shown to the Government that the Amendments which they were going to propose on Report would increase the amount that would be required from the Imperial Exchequer for satisfying the claims under the Act, the Committee were told the amount would not be very large. But now the Government were asked to consider other words on Report with regard to this matter which would still further increase the amount which would be required to be paid over from the Imperial Exchequer. Although the amounts individually might not be very great, he would remind the Committee that "mony a mickle maks a muckle," and that if they proceeded at that rate they would very shortly arrive at a very large amount. The sum required might be so increased that they would have the Income Tax increased to a very large extent. It must be remembered that a good deal of the money would come out of the pockets of the agriculturists of England, who, as he had said before, had suffered from hard times as much, if not more, than the agricultural tenants of Ireland. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) wished by this Amendment to afford some compensation or some consideration to tenants who had been evicted from their farms, those farms not having been, since the eviction, occupied by another tenant. The Committee had heard a very moving description of the unfortunate people who had been turned out of their farms —they had heard of the people sheltering under rocks and pieces of turf. No one could feel more for these wretched people than he did, and he was sure the Committee would be glad to afford them all the consideration that could fairly be extended to them. But a still further question was raised. Those tenants who had been turned out of their farms, and whose farms had been occupied since the eviction by other tenants, were in exactly the same unpleasant and uncomfortable a position as those tenants who had been evicted, and whose farms had not been occupied by other tenants. If the Government chose to give way in the manner now suggested, hon. Members might very fairly go to the Government and say—"You have considered the case of those tenants who have been evicted from their holdings, and whose holdings have not been occupied by other tenants; why are you not prepared to relieve those unfortunate tenants who are in exactly the same wretched position, but whose farms have been reoccupied; why are you to leave the latter class of tenants out in the cold? Surely, by the laws of justice and right, you ought to give them also some further consideration." And so, if the Committee were to go on in this way, they might go on for ever and ever. There was no knowing where they would stop in this matter; therefore, he trusted the Government would stand to their guns and not give way.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped the Government would be resolute in this matter. There was all the more necessity for firmness on the part of the Government after what had been said by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) in reference to some of the matters which had taken place with respect to these evicted tenants. The hon. Gentleman said the tenants had been kept out of their holdings by causes into which it would not be well too curiously to inquire; the cause, he said, might be the prevalence of a stringent public opinion. The Committee knew what stringent public opinion meant. They knew it meant the terrorism of an organization which had been in existence in Ireland. To say that wherever this terrorism had been so vigorously and effectually exercised, that the landlord had been deprived of the power of letting his land for any length of time, the workers of that terror should be rewarded by seeing the tenant put back in his holding and granted public money, would be the most serious step in support of the system of terrorism which could possibly be taken. He hoped the Government would stand by their resolve; he hoped that if there was to be any attempt to modify the views of the Government, it would be done, not as had been suggested, by private conversation, but by a discussion in this House, the reasons for which modification might be publicly canvassed. The hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw) said that if the Amendment were modified by inserting words providing that evicted tenants might apply, subject to the consent of the landlord, for relief under the Bill, the matter would be entirely altered, and the Government might fairly accept the Amendment. Suppose the Amendment to be adopted on condition that it contained a proviso requiring the consent of the landlord, let them see what would be the result. A tenant who went out in the month of June, 1880, who had been encamped in a Land League hut near his holding ever since that time, and whose holding had been vacant ever since the eviction, owing to the action of the Land League, would be entitled to go to the landlord and say—"Now, if you, instead of taking another tenant, let me in, we can jointly go the Government and get a grant of public money." A pressure would be put on the landlord, an inducement would be offered to him to lend himself to the tactics of the Land League. If the Government were to express any sort of concurrence with this proposal, whether it did or did not contain the proviso that the application should be made with the consent of the landlord, what chance would landlords in Ireland have of getting fresh tenants for the farms which were vacant? Why, Parliamentary sanction would be given to that authority which had kept these farms vacant. It was upon the large grounds of general policy that he hoped the Government would refuse to accept the present Amendment. There was just one other observation he wished to make. The noble Viscount (Viscount Folkestone) had pointed out the inequality which resulted from the acceptance of the Amendment. Very few people had been allowed to take farms from which tenants had been evicted, and because that had been the case, the Government ought not to accept the Amendment.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, that within the last few days the Prevention of Crime Act had been passed, and it was now in operation all over Ireland. He would ask, whether, in view of that fact, it was wise or politic to keep 4,000 families out of their holdings, and not give them a chance of returning? What difficulty could there be in the way of the acceptance of the Amendment upon the conditions laid down by the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw) and by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)? The hon. Member for Cork County had suggested that the evicted families should have an opportunity of going back to their holdings, subject to the consent of the landlord; and the hon. Member for Sligo had suggested that an application to be re-instated should only be made in case the holdings were still untenanted. Having regard to the operation of the Prevention of Crime Act, and to the statement made by the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw), that many landlords were anxious for a reconciliation, it would be very impolitic not to accept the Amendment upon the two conditions laid down.

MR. GREGORY said, he could not help observing that this was one of a series of Amendments which was bringing within the scope of the Bill a much larger number of persons than was originally intended. It did not seem to be contemplated for a moment that if these Amendments were accepted, they would create a considerable disturbance in the financial calculations of the Government. The Committee were asked to admit to the benefits of the Bill certain classes of persons to whom it was not originally intended the Bill should apply. This was asked because the people had suffered some hardship or other; but, do what they would, a large number of cases must be excluded from the Bill, and persons must be shut out from the benefits of the measure who felt that the Bill ought to be extended to them. Hundreds of persons were now sought to be brought within the scope of the Bill. The line must be drawn somewhere, and he thought the Government would act consistently, and with some regard for the calculations they had made, if they adhered to the principle laid down, and not extend the Act to a subject which was not cognate to it.

DR. LYONS said, he desired to support the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw) in asking the Government to reconsider this subject. It would be greatly to be regretted if persons were excluded from the operation of the Bill who had a fair claim to be re-instated. He had already said that this was not a fitting opportunity to make a retrospective and inquisitorial examination. He would like to point out that there were two classes of persons concerned in this matter. There were tenants who were evicted before the Land League had created what had been euphemistically described as a stringent public opinion. There were others, and they were large in number, whom he had in view when, two years ago, he proposed a measure for the relief of impending distress and for the stoppage of eviction in Ireland by a system of "loans" to tenants in arrear. He believed that this latter class of persons were fairly and equitably entitled to share in the operation of the Bill. The other class of tenants were in some respects rather more needy than any other body in Ireland, because, in too many instances, they had been, unfortunately for themselves, easy dupes of representations which it was afterwards found utterly impossible to carry out. These people had fallen between two stools. They were in a most unfortunate position; and it would be a very regrettable thing if they were to extend the operations of the Act so widely as to take in the greater body of the tenants of Ireland, but, at the same time, exclude any class, especially any class against whose exclusion good arguments could be advanced. If this were done, it would only lead to a smouldering of agitation, and to a feeling of dissatisfaction. There was, undoubtedly, all over Ireland, a tendency to return to the ways of peace and tranquillity, and the more widespreading they allowed an Act like this to be the more sure they were to bring about a general feeling of peace and contentment. Many people had been severely taught what it was to go in the teeth of common sense and of law; and when there was a desire on the part of every class of the community to settle down and return to peaceful avocations, it would be very much to be regretted if a considerable body of persons were to be excluded from the operation of this remedial legislation—a body of persons who were not in a position to leave the country by emigration, but who, if they were excluded from the benefits of this Bill, must live in a condition of enforced wretchedness. Notwithstanding the statement of the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers), he would ask the Government to take this matter seriously into consideration.

Mr. LAING said, he wished to say that, having listened attentively to the debate, he earnestly hoped the Government would take the Amendment into consideration on the lines laid down by the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw). He made that recommendation on the grounds of humanity and of policy. Only a very small sum of money would be required—about £30,000. It was not wise to leave outside the benefits of the Bill a number of starving people, who might become recruits for the army of outrage; and if English Members had seen, as he (Mr. Laing) had, the wretched condition of these poor people, he was sure they would not grudge this relief.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, the pressure sought to be put upon the Government by hon. Members during this discussion showed the danger and folly of any Government introducing a Bill of that description not founded on the first principles of political economy—morality. Every hon. Gentleman who had clients of his own was anxious that they should be introduced within the scope of the Bill, and thus the Government were pressed to take in a number of people not hitherto included.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that when a proposal of that kind, which had been before the Government 100 times, and been fully considered, was made, he conceived it to be a duty to express at once the strong objection to it which they entertained. He was bound to say that a great deal which had fallen from hon. Members still more convinced him of the impossibility of making any concession in that form. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) proposed that when a tenant had been completely evicted and had got no successor, he should be entitled to resume his holding and to get the benefit of the Act; but if he had been evicted and had had a successor, he should have no such right. In the latter case, it stood to reason that it would be impossible to replace him. He (Mr. Childers) had been much impressed by the forcible way in which the case had been put by several hon. Members, and particularly by the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. Edward Clarke), as to the great injustice that might result from not restoring a tenant who had a successor and restoring one who had not. That would mean that a tenant who had been able to bring such pressure to bear upon the landlord as to prevent him from getting another tenant should get the benefit of the Bill, whereas the tenant who had not brought such pressure to bear would be excluded. Of the two classes, if there was one who had a moral claim on the consideration of Parliament, it was the tenants who had not put that pressure upon the landlords. The hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) suggested that the evicted tenant, with the consent of his landlord, might be allowed to return to his holding, though the six months' period had elapsed. But they had already provided for that at the beginning of the 2nd clause.

Mr. PARNELL said, that it was to meet a failure of agreement between the landlord and tenant from one cause or another that he had proposed this Amendment. Many of these tenants, and he feared the majority of them, were unable to pay the year's rent which this Bill required. They had exhausted their slender resources; and, as regarded this particular class of tenants, he would urge the Government to consider whether it would not permit the Court to pay two years' rent instead of one, where the landlord was willing to re-instate the tenant. Such a provision would tempt the landlord to settle in many cases where no such inducement was now presented, and in that way a large number of tenants, who at present had no hope before them, would be re-instated, and put in a position by which they might become prosperous and peaceable members of the community. Otherwise he did not see how it was possible for the great majority of tenants, especially those evicted since 1880, to pay the arrears which the Bill required; and the additional expenditure would be very small, and would not, in all probability, appreciably increase the amount required from the Imperial Exchequer. This suggestion, together with another, whether the Government should consider the question of paying the costs, in some cases at all events, he desired to recommend to the consideration of the Government even on Report. This was a class of poor tenants who, admittedly had been evicted because they were unable to pay their rents; and in his experience, the vast majority of tenants had been *bonâ fide* unable to pay their rents, and had been evicted, not because of their obedience to the "no rent" manifesto, but simply because of their poverty. In this way the class of deserving tenants whom it was desired to protect would have an opportunity of being reinstated and becoming fairly prosperous; or, at all events, if they found it necessary to emigrate, they would do so without the feeling that they had been wrongfully deprived of their holdings.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he wished to point out the fallacy in the argument of the Secretary for War—that was the supposition that all the tenant farmers were evicted because of intimidation. That was not so at all. Nobody had been more averse to evictions than he had, and nobody condemned them more than he did; but he felt bound to say that in the vast majority of instances the farms were not vacant because of intimidation, but because there was nobody ready to take them. In England there were hundreds of farms vacant at this moment because the state of agriculture had been very bad. Still there were in Ireland 3,000 or 4,000 evicted farmers who must be dealt with in some way or other. Many of those people were as innocent as men could be, and many of those who were guilty were as much to be pitied as the victims of intimidation. The Government ought to consider this question in all its length and breadth, and endeavour to restore something like peace to Ireland.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Application of Act to existing leases).

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

PART II.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISION.

Clause 4 (Powers of Land Commission).

MR. GIBSON said, this clause adopted a vicious system of drafting which had been over and over again condemned by the House. The Government had laid themselves open to criticism, which he was about to put forward.

THE CHAIRMAN: No Amendment can be moved with reference to the Schedule which is not before the Committee. It is the invariable rule for the Committee not to consider a Schedule which is not before the Committee. That requires to be done on the Report.

MR. GIBSON said, he would, in that case, propose to modify his Amendment by saying, instead of "satisfied," "hereafter provided."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee cannot consider an Amendment which is not before it.

MR. GIBSON thought his proposal would avoid that difficulty. The Committee would rightly understand his object after a few words of explanation. This clause proposed to say that for the purposes of this Act the Land Commission might exercise all the powers vested in them under the Act of 1881. Everybody knew now that the Land Act of

1881 contained a vast number of powers, some of a very plastic and peculiar character, and some of them referable to a special state of facts. It might be that some of those powers would be applicable to this Bill, while some of them would be partially applicable, and some of them very slightly applicable to the Bill, while others might be entirely inapplicable. He objected as strongly as possible to powers under the Land Act which were not at all appropriate or germane, and some of which were inconsistent, being pitch-forked into this Bill. Many people in Ireland were not able to follow the complicated construction of an Act of Parliament, and would not know what were the powers under the Act, or what it was they ought to obey or submit to. The Committee were entitled to ask the Government to indicate with precision, either by reference to the Land Act, or by special provision, what they exactly meant, and that was precisely his object. He was satisfied that if the Land Act of 1881 was to be incorporated as to its powers with this Bill, it would need the closest and most anxious consideration even by lawyers. As to the powers of the Land Commission, he had read the Land Act with all possible attention, and also this Bill, and he was bound to say that, even after one or two readings of the powers, he found considerable difficulty in knowing or guessing what was present to the minds of the Government when they said the Land Commission under this Bill might exercise all the powers vested in them under the Land Act of 1881. He should be very glad if the Government would indicate what was present in their minds; and he was the more anxious to ascertain this because he found later on, in the first paragraph, that any number of Commissioners might in particular determine in the case of any holding who was to be dealt with as tenant and who was to be dealt with as landlord. The words "in particular" had come into Acts of Parliament very often, and were likely to lead to confusion. What did the phrase mean? If the powers covered by the words "in particular" were already included in the general words as to the powers vested in the Commissioners for the purposes of the Land Act, what was the meaning of saying "in particular" here? Was it meant under the Land Act the Commissioners had power to determine who was to be dealt with as tenant and who as landlord for the purposes of the Act? If that was the intention of the drafting, he was not aware of any such power under the Land Act. He did not desire to go further into this matter now, and only wished to indicate in as general a form as he could the reasons why he proposed this Amendment; and if the Government would suggest, either now or later on, that they would deal with this question in a reasonable way, he was quite ready to accept any statement from them in entire good faith.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 17, after "powers," to insert "hereafter provided."—(*Mr Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that substantially the powers to be incorporated in this Bill were those contained in the 48th section of the Land Act, and if the right hon. Gentleman would withdraw his Amendment he would endeavour to provide against any difficulty.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, the Amendment he would propose was merely placed on the Paper in order that he might ask the Government why it was necessary particularly to refer to the power of the Commission to determine in the case of any holding who was to be dealt with as the tenant and who as the landlord.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 20, leave out from "and" to "Act," in line 23, inclusive.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he was unable to accept the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GIBSON said, he was not sure that the next Amendment in his name did not follow a like case. It appeared to him that the first paragraph of this clause incorporated the section by way of reference, but did it in a peculiar way.

The words "in particular" appeared to him to govern a great number of things, and what the meaning of the words "in particular" was he could not make out. The words he had sought to omit seemed to be governed by the words "in particular." If it was only intended to show that there was a doubt as to who was to be dealt with as a landlord, he did not understand it; but if it was intended to ascertain who were the creditors and to constitute them in the position of a garnishee, he should object, because there was no such provision with reference to creditors and a tenant. Then the clause went on—

> "All powers vested in the Court by the thirty-seventh section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, in respect to the distribution of purchase moneys, in the same manner as if the moneys so payable."

He admitted that these words were governed by a previous statement, and if the Government would undertake to consider how far they could deal with this question he would not say another word.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. J. LOWTHER moved, on behalf of the hon. Member for North Northumberland (Sir Matthew White Ridley), to insert the following Amendment. After "moneys," in line 30, to add as a new paragraph:—

> "The Land Commission may, of its own motion, or shall, on the application of any party to any proceeding pending before it, unless it considers such application frivolous or vexatious, state a case in respect of any question of Law arising in such proceedings, and refer the same for the consideration and decision of Her Majesty's Courts of Appeal in Ireland."

He did not know whether there was any objection to this Amendment on the part of the Government; but if there was, he hoped they would reconsider the question. This Land Commission was a most exceptional tribunal, and it had wholly failed hitherto, whatever fate awaited it in the future, in gaining the slightest public confidence. The tribunal was essentially of a partizan character, and the members of it were selected on the very ground that they were in harmony with what the Prime Minister called the spirit of the Act, which he had no hesitation in saying was one of the greatest Acts of confiscation which ever received the consent of Parliament. This was beyond dispute, because it had been stated in public that the Land Commissioners were all in harmony with the spirit of the Act, or in other words, with the spirit of confiscation.

MR. GLADSTONE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman said in the spirit of confiscation?

MR. J. LOWTHER replied, that he had said in harmony with the spirit of the Act, and he thought that was a convertible term with confiscation. It was avowed that those gentlemen entertained opinions which were decidedly one-sided with respect to the rights of property. Those gentlemen had been appointed to constitute this tribunal, and he thought he should not be contradicted when he said they had not yet succeeded in disassociating the public mind from the idea that their opinions were preconceived as regarded those rights. That being the case, he thought it most important that an appeal should be given, at the instance of the parties, to a purely judicial tribunal. If the Government wished to have the law administered judicially and fairly, they would be disposed to give a chance of appeal from a tribunal composed of gentlemen who, doubtless, with every desire to disassociate themselves from any idea of partizanship, were distinctly an association of partizans. He thought there could be no objection to this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 3, line 30, after the word "moneys," to add as a new paragraph the words,—"The Land Commission may, of its own motion, or shall, on the application of any party to any proceeding pending before it, unless it considers such application frivolous and vexatious, state a case in respect of any question of Law arising in such proceedings, and refer the same for the consideration and decision of Her Majesty's Courts of Appeal in Ireland."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

COLONEL NOLAN said, he hoped the Government would not accept this Amendment, because what was wanted was summary jurisdiction and the means of disposing of small sums rapidly. The sums likely to come under the Act would only be small, and the cost of appeals would be very large; and not only that, but appeals would delay the settlement of cases, and in that way the object of rapidly quieting the country would be defeated. Under the Land Act very large sums were involved, and it was perhaps necessary to give appeal; but here it was necessary to have the small sums rapidly settled.

Mr. E. STANHOPE thought the Government might accept something which would have the same effect as the Amendment. The hon. and gallant Member who had just spoken had misapprehended the object of the Amendment. This was not a proposal for general appeals; it was only a proposal that there should be an appeal on points of law. The Land Commission, as at present constituted, contained only one Legal Commissioner as such; and, that being so, it was not unreasonable to provide that in these cases, as in all other cases where questions of law were decided by a single Judge, there should be an appeal.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought the very fact that there never was an Act in which such points of law had arisen as would arise under this Act was a reason for facilitating the points of law. He regarded this Bill as a rough-and-ready measure; but its object was to give peace to Ireland, and not to permit litigation for the employment of lawyers. He hoped the Government would not accept the Amendment, but would adhere to a tribunal composed of one lawyer and two men of common sense.

Mr. SHAW said, from one point of view he could not see how the Government could resist this Amendment, and thought they must have been carried away by the arguments in support of it. This was not the first time when the right hon. Gentleman had declared the Land Commission to be a failure, and he did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman had a personal dislike to the Commissioners. He had said the Commissioners were interested in politics. [Mr. J. Lowther: They are partizans.] Some of the Judges had sat in that House—on the same side, but he thought they were as likely to give proper decisions as any other body of men. He did not think anything could be more indefinite, or more inconsistent with the position of a Privy Councillor, than that a Gentleman who had held the highest position in Ireland should endeavour to bring a Court of Law into discredit. Nothing could be worse than that proceeding, and he thought the House should in some way show its abhorrence of it.

Mr. BULWER said, he was astonished at the remarks of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Shaw) upon the statement that the Land Commissioners were partizans. Their decisions had been overruled in almost every case where a point of law arose. He was not surprised that the Courts above should overrule the decisions of gentlemen who simply ran a stick into the ground and said the land was worth so much. The hon. Member had taken the right hon. Gentleman to task for what he had said; but he himself did not scruple to tell the House that gentlemen now occupying seats on the Bench in Ireland were partizans because they had sat in this House. [Mr. Shaw: I never said that.] He had understood the hon. Member to say that those who were placed to review decisions of the minor Courts were gentlemen who had sat in this House, and on the same side; they were, therefore, Party men, and he presumed that that meant partizans. He was surprised also to hear the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) say that because an Act of Parliament bristled with questions of law, that was the reason why those questions should be referred to gentlemen who knew nothing about law. Of course, if that was the principle to which the House was committed and was going to act upon, it might as well be that military questions should be referred to clergymen, and legal matters to the hon. Member himself. That might be all very well; but he ventured to suggest that there were a great many legal questions that might arise under this Act. They were not trumpery or trivial, and he would remind the hon. Member that our law was made up of decisions on small matters; and it was better that the law should be settled than that it should be uncertain and involve constant litigation. He believed that one decision by a competent tribunal would go far to settle any question that might hereafter arise.

Mr. FINDLATER said, that the Commissioners had actually confirmed the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners.

Captain AYLMER said, he considered the argument that questions of law should be referred to a Court of Appeal very strong. He was surprised that no Member of the Government had risen to explain the matter. He thought the House was entitled to ask the Government how they expected cases of law to be decided apart from the Commissioners if there was to be no Court of Appeal.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The arguments of the Government are very short, but I cannot but regard them as sufficiently practical. I must say a single word on the speech by which this proposal was put forward. If it would have been difficult under any circumstances to have accepted this Amendment, the difficulty is greatly increased by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. Since I have held my present position, the point with which I have been least gratified during the debates in this House has been the tone taken in different parts of the House about the Courts in Ireland, which appear to me to be bulwarks of liberty. During the discussion of the Prevention of Crime Bill one hon. Member made remarks against the Courts of Law which I regretted to hear; and I have heard with positive dismay the high-coloured language of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, directed against a Court which, I am satisfied, has the confidence of the great body of the people—a confidence so strong that I do not think anything the right hon. Gentleman will say can shake it. With regard to the *repartée* of the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw), that seemed to me as legitimate a *repartée* as was ever made. The right hon. Gentleman said the Land Commissioners were partizans, and the hon. Member for the County of Cork replied that the Judges had likewise been partizans. If ever there was a legitimate House of Commons' *repartée* it was that. The substance of this Amendment we cannot accept, because it has been brought forward in the shape of an expression of want of confidence in the Land Commission. Under the Land Act of last year very large sums of money were to be spent. The tenant right, which was one consideration, amounted, in no infrequent cases, to many hundreds of pounds; but now the cases are all confined to sums of money or loans of £30; and it is necessary that controversies relating to those sums—or, rather, not so much the controversies as the administrative questions—should be settled as quickly as possible. The business under the Land Act was distinctly contentious in some cases; under this Bill the business will not be contentious, it will be much more of an administrative nature. But there is one consideration which, in the absence of any other, should weigh with the Government. If you give an appeal to the High Court, who is to pay the costs? The people; but, by the very construction of the Bill, it is taken for granted that they cannot pay. This consideration, if there was no other, would weigh with the Government; but, above all, the Government were anxious to make this an administrative Bill, in which the judicial element shall be only sufficient to see that justice is done, as far as possible, between the Treasury and the persons concerned; and this appeal to the High Courts would be entirely at variance with that idea.

Mr. GIBSON said, he quite agreed that the Bill should be so constructed as to give speedy and ready justice; but, at the same time, care must be taken that the Bill did not become an engine of gross injustice. The hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) had always been regarded as a kind of apostle of common sense, that being a *rôle* which he especially liked to play. He (Mr. Shaw) did not dislike lawyers as individuals, but he had a kind of suspicion, if not a dislike, to the abstraction of the Profession. He did not believe in law, but in a super-common sense; that was the kind of thing the hon. Member liked, and so did he himself; but he liked common sense according to law. That was exactly the difference between them in this important matter. With regard to the Amendment, he quite admitted upon the question of discretion as to ordinary facts, on the ground of expense and administrative details, it was neither wise nor sensible that there should be an appeal as of right in every case. The more rapid the decisions were the better. He admitted, also, that in matters of importance, not involving large sums of money, a rough-and-ready decision would be valuable. It was suggested by the Chief Secretary that this was a mere question of machinery and administration, and that there was no room for any but the most petty and trumpery questions of law, which he rather seemed to think would be questions of simple technicality. Questions of simple technicality would never have been taken to a Court of Appeal; but the very first line of the

1st clause indicated an important topic of decision which must be borne in mind—namely, whether the holding was one to which the Land Act of 1881 at all applied. There might be very nice legal points arising, and it was true that in every case that had come before the Court of Appeal the decisions of the Commissioners had been reversed; the impartiality and soundness of the Commissioners could, therefore, not be trusted as being proved to be reliable. But he would pass from that, and come back to this one point. What was involved in the question as to a holding being within the Land Act of 1881? Two things—first, was the holding to be brought within the Land Act for the purpose of getting an application under the Arrears Bill? That was a matter of a temporary character, to be disposed of in a couple of years, involving, perhaps, only £50 or £60. But it might last for ever if it was decided by the Land Commission that the holding was within the Land Act of 1881. That decision might operate not only for the purposes of the Arrears Bill, but for all time. So that, if an appeal was not given, the Land Court might, by a rapid decision, for a temporary purpose, bring a holding of great importance under the Act of 1881, and so seriously affect the whole status of a landlord's property. It would be a gross and scandalous piece of injustice not fairly to consider whether the landlord should not have the same sort of protection which the Legislature of last year thought it necessary to give for the general administration of the Land Act of 1881. Then there was another point. The Prime Minister had on the Paper a new clause, which practically made this a new Bill. It appeared on the Paper to-day for the first time, and introduced the question, not of the limit to £30 valuation, but of £50. That would practically apply to every holding. He should be glad if the Government would indicate that they would deal with the particular topics he had raised; but in the event of their not doing so, he thought the Amendment ought to be adopted.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the object of the new provision was to provide relief, and he wished the Committee to consider what was the state of things already as the Bill stood. The question came before the tribunal in which the money at stake was, measured by the rent, a maximum of £30 valuation; that was a matter which must be adjudicated upon once and for ever. The Bill was an administrative Bill, and its jurisdiction must be exercised only once, and it could not so mould the law of England as the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Bulwer) suggested. It was a mere administrative Bill dealing with loans, the maximum being £200, and the minimum £2 or £2 10*s*. If the law erred, it erred in giving an appeal too readily, because it would be found that where an investigation was conducted in the first instance by Sub-Commissioners, there was an appeal given to a Court containing one of the Justices of the High Court of Justice in Ireland specially familiar with the topic. If the Bill was to give relief, there would be an appeal with reference to the maximum of £30; an appeal would cost, at the very least, as much as the amount to be given in many cases. The Bill differed essentially from the Land Act of 1881, which dealt with vast rights of property. In dealing with one or two such matters there was propriety in giving an appeal to determine the question of right; but in this Bill, which was intended for the relief of the poor who were not able to pay even the rent, an appeal would be practically a denial of justice; therefore, he asked the Committee to give no encouragement to the Amendment. Abundant appeal was provided, and nothing more could be sought in the interests of justice. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said the limit was £50, according to the limit of the Prime Minister. That might be so; but, as he understood, it would extend the limit in cases where the landlord and tenant agreed to apply for an appeal. That was the essence of the Amendment, and there could be no question of appeal in that at all. The right hon. Gentleman had been hard driven to find some topic upon which it would be conceivable to take the opinion of the High Court of Justice, and the one question was to be, whether the holding came under the Act of 1881 or not? He did not share in the right hon. and learned Gentleman's apprehension that even if there was a decision it would bind the parties for all time. For these reasons, it seemed to him that there was no principle in the Amendment, but thought it a mischievous proposition as holding out the prospect of litigation. The ordinary Courts had power to deal with a maximum of £50; but the Courts, under this Bill, would deal with amounts up to £500, and their decisions would be subject to one appeal. The Amendment sought very much more, and upon every principle he would ask the Committee to say that this was not a case in which appeal should be given.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that in the course of the proceedings of the Land Commission in all these numerous cases of poor tenants, who ought not to be put to expense, there would arise some very difficult questions of law indeed; and the proposal of the Amendment was that the Land Commission should have power, upon its own motion, and not on the application of any party, to allow points of law to be decided by the Courts above. The Land Commission, when it found a number of cases involving points of law, ought to have absolute power, without any cost to the poor tenants, to submit these points to the Court above.

MR. CHILDERS said, he would draw the attention of the hon. Member to the words in the Amendment—

> "Or shall, on the application of any party to any proceeding pending before it, unless it considers such application frivolous or vexatious."

The effect of these words was that unless the application was frivolous or vexatious the Commissioners would be compelled to submit every point of law to the Court above if the parties wished it. Those words, which were not in the Act of last Session, would enable a great number of cases to be referred to the Court of Appeal at an enormous expense to the parties, and those would be cases in which that ought not to be done.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that was not his point. He would divide the Amendment into two separate propositions, and if the Government objected to one part which would involve a charge, there was another part which would not.

VISCOUNT EMLYN said, he was greatly astonished at the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland, and the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. First of all, the Chief Secretary for Ireland said it was not necessary to have any appeal, because the people could not afford to pay. It appeared to him that if that was a proper principle with regard to Ireland, it would apply equally to England; and he did not think the right hon. Gentleman would be able to sustain the argument that in England a man was to be barred from an appeal because he was not able to pay for it. Then the Solicitor General for Ireland said this would do away with the rights and interests of the poor, and he thought it might be asked that the right of appeal should be granted on behalf of the poor as on behalf of the rich. It was idle to argue that this was a one-sided matter. If there was to be an appeal at all, he did not think the question of the cost ought to enter into the account at all. He thought the Amendment was reasonable, as it was much more desirable that questions of law should be tried by a permanent Court than be relegated to a Court for temporary purposes.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, there was an appeal provided for under Subsection 3 of Section 7, which said that in every case where applications had not been heard by the Land Commission—upon which was one of the Judges of the land—there might be an appeal to that Commission.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, there was no appeal to any judicial tribunal. This was a point on which he should feel it his duty to take the sense of the Committee; but he would not detain them more than a minute before going to a division. There, however, had been a remark made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, with regard to the judicial tribunals in Ireland being subjected to the criticism of that House, respecting which he desired to say a word in reply. He (Mr. J. Lowther) would point out that his complaint against the Land Commission was that it was not a judicial tribunal at all, and that it was essentially a tribunal of partizans. That was what he had said on more than one occasion. The hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw), who seemed to have great solicitude for his (Mr. J. Lowther's) reputation, which he was glad to think the hon. Member admitted he possessed at all, regretted that he (Mr. J. Lowther) should criticize that body.

But he might venture to suggest the reason why the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Shaw) had a fellow-feeling with the Land Commission. The hon. Gentleman, he believed, had been a very distinguished ornament of a body that was not very widely dissimilar from the Land Commission with respect to the elements of its composition. He referred to the Bessborough Commission, upon which there were four partizans out of five, the hon. Gentleman being one of them. No doubt the hon. Member was solicitous for the reputation of a partizan Commission; but he knew the hon. Member had only made his remarks, so far as they related to him (Mr. J. Lowther), in good humour.

Mr. WARTON (who, on rising, was received with loud cries of "Divide!") said, that, when silence was restored, he would make one or two short observations. Let them see what the Government really meant by rejecting this Amendment. They said, in the first place, that the Land Commission might not, of its own motion, refer any point of law—that was to say, that though it might be anxious to refer a point of law upon a certain case, upon the decision of which so many hundreds of other cases might depend, it would not be allowed to do so. That point had been mentioned by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who, he thought, had put it very neatly indeed. Curiously enough, this Land Commission was a body whom the Government trusted. The Conservatives had been reproached for not putting such confidence in that Commission; but the Government themselves showed how little confidence they had in that body when it suited their purpose not to have confidence. As this Bill progressed, and as the different concessions of the Government were made to the Party below the Gangway, it became more and more likely that many points of law would arise before the Commission. Amendments of the nature of those suggested by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) absolutely bristled with points of law. If the Bill had been left in its original simplicity, there might, perhaps, not have been so much necessity for amendment; but before they reached the Report stage they would find that an enormous number of points of law would have arisen. He had only one thing more to say—[*Cries of* "Divide!"]—but that would take him some time to explain, unless he was listened to. It was this—that the condemnation the Conservative Party had put upon the Land Commission seemed to be really tacitly understood by the Government in another respect. They seemed to assume that the Land Commission would always find in favour of the tenant. The Solicitor General for Ireland seemed to assume that they would not find in favour of the landlord—perhaps some order was to be sent round quietly to the Land Commission, as it had been in a previous case, to intimate that these cases were to be decided in favour of the tenant, and not of the landlord.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 127; Noes 171: Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 265.)

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, he wished to move to leave out from "moneys" to the end of the clause. This omission was something of the same nature as that proposed by the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), though it took rather a different view of the position. His (Sir Hervey Bruce's) Amendment was simply to leave out the words—

> "The Land Commission shall not be subject to be restrained in the execution of their powers under this Act by the order of any Court, nor shall any proceedings before them be removed by certiorari into any Court."

It appeared to him that these were words which ought not to be left in the Bill, and the arguments which were to be used in favour of that proposal were somewhat similar to those in favour of the Amendment which the Committee had just decided. The Solicitor General for Ireland had failed to convince him (Sir Hervey Bruce) of the undesirability of having a Court of Appeal as a check upon the Land Commission, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had given a rather extraordinary reason why there should not be this appeal. The right hon. Gentleman had given an extraordinary reason for not agreeing to the proposal of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire; and he had patted on the back the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) for an observation he had made. He (Sir Hervey Bruce) was glad the hon. Member for the County of Cork had showed a greater discretion than the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy Burghs (Sir George Campbell) had said that if anybody would look at the Bill he would see that there were ample powers in it for the purpose pointed out, and that they would be able to refer cases to three gentlemen, one of them being a legal authority, and the other two well qualified to consider questions affecting the land. The hon. Member might be right, because he had, no doubt, had some experience in this matter; but, at the same time, as he would see, the clause said, "only one of them," and that would enable either of the Commissioners to hear an appeal. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had put a Question a few days ago to the First Minister of the Crown as to the condition of the Land Commission, and its not being necessary for all the members of the Commission to sit together; and the Prime Minister had replied that the Chief Commissioner acted in this matter in accordance with the powers of the Act, but not according to the intention of the Act when it was passed. It had been his (Sir Hervey Bruce's) endeavour since that time to get the question raised in order to ascertain whether the sitting of two members of the Commission was in accordance with the law. But he had always been told that he could not raise that question. He thought it was an extremely hard case that in a Bill affecting the interests of so many people, some of them, perhaps, well off, some in moderate circumstances, and others who were very poor, there should be no power of letting parties appeal from their decisions, or rather the decisions of those gentlemen who were backed up all over the country on account of their political views and services. When he spoke of the Land Commission he spoke from practical experience. No doubt many of the Sub-Commissioners were men of honour, and fit to transact all the ordinary business of life; but they were no more capable of judging of the value of land than he himself should be if he went into a strange field. They were no more qualified to value land than would be the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant if he were called upon to do so. He (Sir Hervey Bruce) said that if the whole decision in cases under the Arrears Bill were to be left to one of the Chief Commissioners it would be most unjust and unfair, and therefore he moved that Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 30, to leave out from the word "moneys," to the end of the Clause.—(*Sir Hervey Bruce.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON said, he took it that the question really raised was the conduct of the Sub-Commissioners; and he must say, with all deference to the hon. Gentleman, that it appeared to him that he would be doing better service to his own cause if, instead of such general charges, he would bring forward particular instances of misconduct on the part of the Commissioners. He (Viscount Ebrington) thought that the Government would be likely, if only for their own credit and from the instinct of self-preservation, to select the best persons they could get to discharge the duties of the Commission. As far as he could judge, the Sub-Commissioners, taking them as a body, would compare favourably with Justices of the Peace, either in this country or in Ireland. They heard from time to time of specimens of Justices' justice which would compare with the wildest decisions of which Sub-Commissioners were accused, not unfavourably to the latter. He had a table which had been prepared by a Committee of Irish landlords, purporting to show the general value of Irish land; and it appeared that the Land Commissioners, in their judicial decisions, had placed the rent at an average of 11 or 12 per cent above Griffith's valuation, and only 1 per cent lower than the amount which appeared from that table as the general average rent of Ireland. It also appeared from the Returns that the average of the rent decided on by the Commissioners was as much as 42 per cent over Griffith's valuation; so it was obvious that the general run of cases submitted to the Commissioners must have been cases in which the rent was very much in excess of the valuation.

He knew perfectly well that Griffith's valuation was an uncertain guide as to the value of land in Ireland. It might be worth little or it might be worth much; but when they found in cases affecting 200,000 acres that the average was as high as that, and they also found, on the information of those who understood the question very well, that the proportion of land in Ireland let as high as 40 per cent over the valuation was very small, it was likely, in his opinion, that the cases which had come before the Commissioners were, as a rule, cases in which the rent was high, and he thought, taking one case with another, they had done justice to all concerned. It was possible that they had not given satisfaction to the landlords, because it was not always satisfactory to an individual to find that a decision had been given attaching a lower value to one's property than he thought should be attached to it. Special cases were from time to time submitted to the House and the Committee in which the Sub-Commissioners had apparently very unjustly reduced rents which had been regularly paid for a long series of years. Special cases could only be met by special cases, and he knew of a case in which the landlord's own valuator reduced a rent which had been paid regularly for upwards of 50 years by a very substantial amount indeed, and the reason the valuator gave was that the land was not worth as much now as it was formerly. He presumed the Commissioners had in many cases acted on the same principle. It was a fact that the tillage land in Ireland did not produce as much as formerly. If hon. Gentlemen would compare the amount of the produce in 1850 and 1860 with the amount of produce in 1870 and 1880, they would find that the general produce had diminished; and if they had regard to one species of produce—potatoes—they would find that the average produce had diminished from 4½ tons to 3 tons per acre.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE rose to Order. He desired to ask the Chairman whether the noble Lord was confining himself to the Amendment before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The noble Lord is certainly travelling beyond the Amendment.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON begged to apologize to the Committee. He understood the question was the competency of the Sub-Commissioners generally to carry out this Act. Of course, if the Chairman ruled him out of Order, he should say no more.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped a vote would be taken on this Amendment. The words which it was proposed to omit were words which excluded the power of a Court of Law to interfere with the action of the Land Commissioners, even if the Court thought that that action was wrong. It would be a very mischievous thing to prevent a Court of Law stepping in to keep the Land Commissioners right.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, everybody would admit that his noble Friend (Viscount Ebrington) had argued the case of the Sub-Commissioners very much better than it had hitherto been argued on the Ministerial side of the House. His noble Friend's argument seemed to rest upon two pillars, to use a metaphor now in fashion. The first argument was that the Land Commissioners substantially agreed with the Bessborough Commission.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON said, that what he had stated was that the Commissioners' decision agreed with what appeared to be the general rule in Ireland, according to the information of the Irish Land Act Committee, which was a very different Body to the Bessborough Commission.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR begged the noble Lord's pardon if he had not caught his words correctly. The second argument of the noble Lord was that substantially the Commissioners had the confidence of a large majority of the Irish people. That was urged by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; but he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) must point out to the Committee that the mere fact of a large majority of the Irish people having confidence in the Land Commissioners did not prove that the Commissioners deserved that confidence. The Irish people in this connection meant the Irish tenants. Not unnaturally the majority of the Irish tenants had confidence in the Land Commissioners, because they habitually decided against the landlord. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had no doubt that a debtor would have confidence in any Court which decided in his favour.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, this provision was taken bodily from the Land Act of 1881. The Land Act provided—

> "The Land Commission shall not be subject to be restrained in the execution of their powers under this Act by the order of any court, nor shall any proceedings before them be removed by certiorari into any court."

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, that in the Land Act of last year there was the power of appeal provided. It was because there was no such provision in the present Act that it became dangerous to exclude the jurisdiction of a Court. In regard to one class of Statutes in this country it had been found very mischievous to exclude appeal.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, the noble Lord (Viscount Ebrington) seemed to have misunderstood him. He did not mean to impute any personal impropriety to the Sub-Commissioners; but he said they were not men, from the point of position and ability, fitted to carry out the object for which they were appointed, and that they listened to the evidence of inexperienced instead of to that of experienced valuators. He would like to know how the noble Lord had arrived at his figures, for, if he understood the noble Lord correctly, he said the Commissioners were fixing the rents 11 or 12 per cent above Griffith's valuation. In his (Sir Hervey Bruce's) part of the country, that was far from the case; they, in fact, were fixing the rents far below Griffith's valuation. It had been said that the Sub-Commissioners visited every farm upon which they were called upon to adjudicate; but he (Sir Hervey Bruce) would ask what a timber merchant could possibly know about the value of land? In the matter of his farms the two Head Commissioners were legal gentlemen, so they were not likely to know much about the value of land. They sat up in their Court with great dignity, in wig and gown, and disregarded the evidence of the Court valuer, by fixing the rents very much below what he had recommended.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON said, his figures were of a general character; but he should be pleased to show them to the hon. Baronet (Sir Hervey Bruce).

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 139; Noes 93: Majority 46.—(Div. List, No. 266.)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH moved to add at end of line 34, page 3—

> "All bankers, managers of post office and other savings banks, collectors of agricultural returns, and other persons shall be bound, on receiving a notice from the Land Commission, to produce, when and where required, all books, papers, and documents within their custody, power, or procurement, referred to in such notice."

He called the attention of the Committee to this subject on the 3rd clause of the Bill, and he would endeavour to explain, in a few words, the Amendment he had now placed on the Paper. He had always felt, as, he thought, many hon. Members had felt, that one of the great difficulties in this measure was that of insuring a full and complete inquiry into the ability of the tenant to pay his arrears. It was necessary to endeavour to point out, at least to the Commissioners and to those who were to administer the Act, that the inquiry should be searching and thorough, and to confer upon the administrators of the Act all the powers necessary to make it so. In the debate on the Motion "That the Speaker do leave the Chair," he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said it was very difficult to see how the Government could distinguish between the cases of those tenants who were able to pay arrears, and the case of those tenants who were unable to pay the arrears. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), replying to him (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) at that time, admitted that the matter was one of considerable difficulty, and went on to say—

> "Under our plan every person applying for an advance will be forced to render an exact account of the state of his affairs. We shall know what sum he has due to him, what sum he has in the savings bank, what stock he has on his farm, the value of his furniture, and the general circumstances in which he lives, and we shall thus ascertain whether he is in that state of destitution which will enable him to come justly and ask for a portion of this gift." —[3 *Hansard*, cclxxi. 1642.]

Those words pointed as clearly as words could point to an inquiry which should be as searching and as thorough as any inquiry under the Bankruptcy Act would be. What he desired to do by this

Amendment was to empower the Commissioners to conduct such an inquiry, and to give them certain powers which were obviously necessary if the inquiries which the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said should be held were to be held. He desired to give the Commissioners, in reference to this point, powers similar to those enjoyed by the Court of Bankruptcy. It was of great importance that they should have some words in the Bill directly authorizing the Commissioners to make such inquiries as he proposed. The Committee knew perfectly well the light in which this matter was viewed by some hon. Members opposite. They had heard within the last few days the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst), and more than one of the hon. Members representing Northern counties in Ireland, deprecating an inquiry of this kind as an inquisitorial thing which ought not to be allowed if the Government wished this legislation to succeed. But it must be borne in mind that the money of the taxpayers should not be wasted, and that they ought to endeavour to escape that widespread demoralization which would be caused if advances were granted to persons who were not really entitled to them. The only way in which they could insure that such sums should not be so granted was by making the inquiries, so far as they could, searching and thorough. What the Committee ought to do was to insert in the Bill a direction to the Commissioners, and leave it to them to carry that direction out.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 34, at end, add "all bankers, managers of post office and other savings banks, collectors of agricultural returns, and other persons shall be bound, on receiving a notice from the Land Commission, to produce, when and where required, all books, papers, and documents, within their custody, power, or procurement, referred to in such notice."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that the power which he wished to introduce in the Bill was of very great importance. He was convinced that no inquiry could be real and valid without the power which the right hon. Gentleman wished to have introduced. The power, however, was included in the words which he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) had undertaken to introduce in the Schedule. While he agreed with the object the right hon. Gentleman had in view, he must say the Amendment was wholly unnecessary, because the Schedule would provide the power now sought to be given to the Commissioners.

Mr. GIBSON said, he would not have made a remark upon this Amendment if he had been as clear upon it as the Solicitor General for Ireland appeared to be. It was obvious that this was an Amendment framed in the interests of the public, and of the public Treasury, because it was the Treasury of the public that was interested in ascertaining what were the means of the tenants. Bankers, and the other classes mentioned, were to the last degree unwilling to come forward and give information, and obviously and fairly so, because confidence was the essence of their business. If there was no such distinct power such as he thought there ought to be, he had a very strong opinion that if the parties were left to put their own construction upon the possible meaning of the powers of the Court of Chancery, practically nothing would be done. With reference to the policy of such an Amendment, if the State gave a great gift, to enable the tenants to pay their debts, the State was entitled primarily to satisfy itself that the people were unable to pay, and for that purpose they must be able to exact the fullest declaration of the affairs of the tenants, and to require the attendance of every person who could throw any light upon the pecuniary position of the tenant, bearing in mind that the debtor was distinctly interested in keeping back the fact that he possessed any property, and that the class of persons picked out by this Amendment were the people who would be most desirous of withholding that information, and not to disclose how their clients stood with reference to them, or to anyone else. The answer to this was plausible. It was admitted by the Solicitor General for Ireland that the Amendment was reasonable, fair, and just. Yet the way it was met was this. The Government proposed a new Schedule to do everything that could be done under this Amendment, and said there was nothing whatever in the Amendment that would not be as clearly done in the 48th section of the Land Act. He questioned that, because he believed there was a distinction. In proceedings in the Court of Chancery each litigant was supported by particular arguments; but that was not the position of the Land Commission. The Land Commission, in administering its jurisdiction, had two parties before it, and it also had a strong neutral interest to consider, which interest, being the State, was guarded by this Amendment. If the landlord and the tenant were the sole parties interested, it would simply be a litigation between the landlord and the tenant; and the analogy between the Land Court and the Court of Chancery would be complete. But the peculiar point in which the analogy was not complete was that there was a gift, not from one side to the other, or a loan from one side to the other, but a gift from a third party, that third party being the State. Therefore, it was, at all events, open to some question whether these powers, which applied to the Court of Chancery and to the Land Commission, and to the Act of 1881, would equally apply under the exceptional jurisdiction of this Act. Even assuming that it might be argued as a matter of strict and rigid law, and be so interpreted by a Court of Law, that these powers might possibly be deputed to the Land Court under this Bill, he took other and higher ground. This power should be administered with all due forbearance and caution, respecting, as far as possible, the confidence placed in the bankers and other persons mentioned in the Schedule, and it was of great importance that parties who sought the benefit of the Bill on the ground that they were unable to pay their debts should be warned by a plain provision under the Act of Parliament that they were liable to have these witnesses called against them if they gave a false account of their property. This Amendment must be taken in connection with the Amendment already suggested to the House—namely, that the tenant should be called upon, when he applied to the Court for the benefit of this Act, to show that he was unable to pay his debts, and to indicate what property he had on the face of his application. If the Act told the tenant that he would be likely to have the banker and others to contradict him if he had given false evidence, that would be an enormous moral check, and might save hundreds and thousands of pounds. That was an argument he placed as high as any doubt that might be cleared by a legal decision. He thought the Committee would do great good by placing this Amendment in the Bill, for if it could do no good it could not do any possible harm.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was surprised, after the explanation of the Solicitor General for Ireland, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) should desire to place this Amendment in the Bill, and he could not see the force of the right hon. Gentleman's arguments. The Committee would understand that when the Act of last year was passed it was necessary to give a power to the Court of full examination; and, in order to do that, the best way was to confer on that statutory Court, not all the powers, as the right hon. Gentleman said, of the Court of Chancery, but all powers for the purpose of forcing examination of witnesses. It was quite evident the House ought to give similar powers to the Court which would have to inquire into these matters. Why should they depart from the expression in the Act of last year giving generally powers to be transferred? If they once began to minimize they would raise a difficulty as to whether the Court had those powers which were expressed in the Act of last year. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that the analogy would be complete; but that in Chancery there were two parties who raised particular issues, in respect to which the Court applied powers which did not exist here. That was true; but in Chancery there was a question at issue, and, the subject-matter having been determined upon, how could it be said that there was no analogy if the comprehensive powers conferred on the Court of Chancery were conferred on this Court? It was suggested that no attempt should be made to particularize these powers; but the right hon. Gentleman who moved to have these powers in the Schedule was now putting into the Schedule those extensive powers which were given to the Court of Chancery, and which included all the powers that could be wanted. He was not satisfied with his own view; but now supported an Amendment which was most faulty in reading, because it only applied to certain persons, but raised doubts of a most objectionable character.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked whether it was or was not the fact that the Post Office Acts protected Post Office Savings Banks in a particular way, even against the powers of examination possessed by the Court of Chancery? He had heard that that was the fact, and he very much questioned whether there would in any case be a readiness on the part of the Post Office authorities to allow their accounts to be examined. If there was one class of banks which more than another should be inquired into he thought it was these Post Office Savings' Banks, because they would most probably hold the small accounts belonging to persons who would be likely to come under this Act.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman is under an entire misapprehension. To produce a local postmaster would be perfectly useless. The right hon. Gentleman thinks that the postmaster stands in the same position towards the Post Office depositor as the Secretary to the Trustees of the old Savings' Banks depositor. The local postmaster knows nothing whatever. He does not keep the books or the accounts. The depositor himself is the keeper of his book, and he comes to the local postmaster from time to time, and has an entry made, and then takes the book away. The power of the Court will be exercised against the depositor himself, and it will be the duty of the Court, if it thinks fit, to require the depositor to produce his book; but the local postmaster has no power to assist the Court.

Mr. GIBSON said, he thought the Post Office could tell whether the man kept a book or not; and suggested that the Government should consider whether they should put in a Proviso enabling this tribunal to obtain the transcript of the documents which would appear on the accounts. Would there be any difficulty in providing that a transcript, signed by a responsible official, should be produced? The Prime Minister said the depositor alone was possessed of the book, and the official only made an entry; but he supposed there was some record as to how many people had books. It was so in London, and a letter to the Post Office in London would elicit the fact whether a person who said he could not pay his debts had a book or not. If there was no great inconvenience to the Public Service, such a power must prove a great check. If the tribunal gave a man money to pay his debts, they must inquire, to a certain extent, into his affairs, to find out if he was entitled to this gift; and if some information could be given without inconvenience, it might cause a vast saving to the public, and act as a check to people who had not the slightest title to assistance.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he thought the time of the Committee was not well occupied with this discussion. This Bill concerned the poorest class in Ireland — the small tenants — whose valuation reached no higher than £30 per annum. These were the people the Committee was asked to suppose had banking accounts. This was something farcical to those who knew the condition of those people. They were unable to save anything; they were unable to procure decent food and clothes, and yet the supposed savings of these rack-rented tenantry were to be called into account. There would be nothing to produce, and how anybody could suppose anything to the contrary astonished him. Then the agricultural returns were to be brought against the tenants; but those returns were compiled from information voluntarily given by the Irish tenants, and they had been thanked in the returns for giving the information. But when once the Irish tenants knew that the particulars they gave would be used against themselves, they would refuse to give it, because they would feel that such information would some day subject them to a great deal of annoyance and trouble. From any point of view, this Amendment seemed to him absolutely ridiculous.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Mr. BULWER said, the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) seemed to think there was only one class of tenants—the poor and honest; but there was also another class, neither poor nor honest. A case had been lately published in the papers in which a man, who had declined to pay his rent, on being threatened with legal proceedings, had pulled out of his pocket £120. It was one thing to give power to the Court to enforce the production of evidence if the Court thought fit; but what he wanted to know was, whether, if he, as a landlord, came before the Commission, he could use this power in order to prove his case or disprove that of his antagonist? In English Courts there was a process by which access could be obtained to the books of the saving's banks; and was the same power to be provided in Ireland as was now possessed by the litigant in any other part of the Kingdom?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the powers of the Land Court were exactly the same as the Chancery Court, or any other Court, in regard to enforcing the production of documents on its own motion.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

QUESTION.

THE MINISTRY—RUMOURED RESIGNATION OF MR. BRIGHT.

MR. CALLAN: As I see no Cabinet Minister in the House, I will ask the Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Richard Grosvenor) if he can inform the House whether the rumour that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) has resigned his seat as a Member of the Cabinet be true?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: I regret to say that I have no information to give on the subject.

MR. WARTON: Oh, you regret it!

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Saturday, 15th July, 1882.

Their Lordships met;—And having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—

House adjourned at half past Eleven o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 15th July, 1882.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Educational Endowments (Scotland) [147].
Committee — *Report* — Electric Lighting (*re-comm.*) * [200].

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE, &c.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS gave Notice that on Monday he should ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he had seen an article in the "Berlin Post" of July 14, observing, with reference to his statement that the Governments of Germany and Austria—

> "Had declared that our action was perfectly legitimate," that "such a remark had been received in well-informed circles at Berlin with some surprise, since England had never addressed any inquiry on the subject to the German Government, and the latter had never had occasion to express itself in any way in the matter;"

and, whether he could explain this contradiction of his statement by the semi-official organ of the German Government; and whether it was the fact, as stated in the English Press, that his statement had also been contradicted on the highest authority at Vienna?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I may as well answer the hon. Member's Question at once. I see no reason to modify the statement that I have already made on this subject.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Conference at Constantinople, with reference to the affairs of Egypt, met yesterday; and, whether he can make any statement as to the proceedings?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the Ambassadors of all the Powers have now, I am happy to say, received instructions with regard to their late proposal, and were to meet this day at 11 o'clock.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Perhaps the hon. Member, or the Secretary to the

Admiralty, will take this opportunity of informing the House as to the latest state of affairs in Alexandria?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We have telegrams this morning from Mr. Cartwright to the effect that there are hopes of being able to rally by degrees all the influential Natives round the Khedive, and that all the gates of the town are guarded by English Marines, while the town is being patrolled by American Marines. My hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, however, will be able to give the House fuller information upon this point.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have three telegrams, which I shall be glad to read to the House. The first, dated 9.30 last night, is to the effect that the Marines hold the gates of the town, and that the streets are being cleared. Another telegram, dated 11 P.M., is as follows:—

> "The gates of the town are now guarded by seamen and Marines. The fire is not spreading, and nearly all looting has been stopped. Germans have landed to protect the hospital, and Americans to establish a Consulate. Her Majesty's ship *Minotaur* has arrived."

I may add that the *Tamar*, which has 1,000 Marines on board, has been ordered to join the Fleet. A telegram, dated 10.20 this morning, has been received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour to the following effect:—

> "Am organizing police as fast as possible. All the gates and Forts Napoleon and Caffarelle are occupied by our men. The whole Marines of Squadron, and landing parties from all excepting *Sultan* and *Inflexible*, landed; *Minotaur* arrived this morning."

MR. MONK: Will the hon. Gentleman say how many Marines are at Alexandria?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That I cannot say exactly. It would a little depend on how many there are in the ships that recently joined.

MR. MONK: Can the hon. Gentleman say when the *Tamar* is likely to arrive at Alexandria? Is she at Malta?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know. She was at Malta.

MR. VILLIERS-STUART: Can the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs state whether any steps have been taken to intercept Arabi and his Army to prevent their reaching Cairo?

SIR JOHN HAY: When is the *Tamar* likely to arrive?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have already said I do not know. She has been ordered from Malta to Alexandria.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: May I ask whether Her Majesty's Government are able to give the House any information with reference to the position of Arabi Pasha?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; we have nothing but the vaguest possible rumours, and these are absolutely contradictory.

EGYPT (PARLIAMENTARY PAPER, No. 9.).—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I wish to take this opportunity of making a statement with regard to the Parliamentary Paper, Egypt, No. 9, which was laid upon the Table yesterday, and circulated in the course of the day. That Paper was presented in consequence of a Question which was put to me by the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), and it has been laid upon the Table as an extract, and I wish to explain why that course was adopted. The reply to the whole of the subject-matter of the Question of the hon. Member for Portsmouth, as far as it was touched by the despatch, is contained in the Paper laid before the House, and the portion of the despatch omitted refers to another subject. In order to prevent any misapprehension upon the subject, I state that the rest of the despatch has been omitted, not because of any desire to conceal facts, but only because the remainder of the despatch referred to the Correspondence which was going on between Her Majesty's Government and the French Government in regard to the powers of the Egyptian Chamber of Notables. The question is still pending, and the two Governments have agreed that it would be unadvisable to publish the Papers relating to it at present.

MR. VILLIERS-STUART begged to repeat his Question as to whether any steps were being taken to intercept Arabi Pasha and his force, so as to prevent them from reaching Cairo?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The hon. Member is aware that the operations at Alexandria were undertaken for the purpose of protecting life and property at Alexandria; but the question with regard to Cairo is a very different matter.

THE MINISTRY—RUMOURED RESIGNATION OF MR. BRIGHT.

MR. J. LOWTHER: As I see a Cabinet Minister in his place, I should wish to take this opportunity of asking the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade whether there is any truth in the rumour which has got abroad within the last few hours with reference to a matter possessing considerable political domestic interest?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: What rumour?

MR. J. LOWTHER: If the right hon. Gentleman wishes it to be more particularized, I refer to the rumoured resignation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have reason to believe, Sir, that there is some foundation for the rumour.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 200.]

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

COLONEL MAKINS said, that when the question of holding a Saturday Sitting was discussed on Thursday night he intimated that he would not make the Amendment that stood on the Paper in his name with regard to this measure until the third reading of the Bill; but after a consultation with the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, he came to the conclusion that it would be better to raise the question he intended to bring before the House with regard to the measure on the day when the Bill was specially fixed to be taken rather than on the stage of its third reading. As the Forms of the House, might, however, preclude him from moving his Amendment, he should content himself with drawing attention to the matter. As it was known that he was more or less connected with Gas Companies, he wished to state at the outset that he did not appear on that occasion as the Representative of their interests in opposition to this measure. On the contrary, the Gas Companies, as far as he was able to gather, were satisfied with the general scope of the measure, and, indeed, regarded it as a very strong and a very commendable effort on behalf of the Board of Trade to grapple with a very difficult question. But, although the Gas Companies were not opposed to the Bill in its general details, they were opposed to it on two points of principle to which it was desirable the attention of the House should be called. In the first place, in regard to the question of electric lighting, no Bill the House could pass would have any effect upon the competition which naturally must arise between various systems of lighting. The results of that competition must, in the end, depend on efficiency and economy; and, although regulations might be valuable in the interests of the public, he did not see how, in any way, they could affect the interests of the Gas Companies, who could well afford to look on as to what was taking place in the world in reference to electric lighting. They had had 40 years' start, and in the course of that period an enormous amount of capital had been provided under the sanction of Parliament, and expended in gas lighting in every part of the Kingdom. During the last few years electric lighting, a novel mode of illumination, had made great progress. That progress, he ventured to think, had been more scientific than practical; but no doubt it had made even practical advance, and the Exhibitions at Paris and the Crystal Palace had demonstrated its valuable qualities. Within the last few weeks 55 Companies had been registered, dealing with the question of electric lighting; and the aggregate capital approached, or even exceeded, the £13,000,000 or £14,000,000 expended during the last 40 years in gas lighting in the Metropolis and district. Although he should be the last person in the world to grudge the scientific men who had been engaged an adequate reward for their labours, he thought, at the same time, it would be patent to the House that a considerable portion of this capital was not likely to prove remunerative, except to the individuals to whom he had referred. The two points to which he wished to call the attention of the House were—first, the powers taken by the Board of Trade to grant licences to persons and to Companies to supply lighting by electricity; and, secondly, the fact that the local authorities were to be entrusted with the powers contained in the Bill, and might plunge into large expenditure for purely experimental and speculative purposes without being under the necessity of obtaining the assent of the ratepayers. As to the first point, the power asked for by the Board of Trade had hitherto only been granted by Parliament, either by express Acts of Parliament, or by Provisional Orders which had subsequently the sanction of Parliament. It was, therefore, an entirely new departure for a Department of the State to assume, or indeed usurp, the powers of Parliament to grant Charters to Companies or Corporations for purposes of this kind. Such licences should not be granted without the full sanction of the House after full discussion. Under Section 2, "public purposes" would mean the lighting of any street or place belonging to or under the control of the local authority, or any church or place of public worship, vestry hall, or theatre. Some of the buildings mentioned in the clause were frequently occupied for other than public purposes, and certainly a theatre could not be called a public place. Besides, the licence would give power to the local authorities to raise money on the rates for private purposes—namely, for supplying electricity to private consumers. He did not know that such a power had ever been entrusted to local authorities before without their having first obtained the existing supply. In his opinion, it was undesirable to entrust public authorities with the power of using money derived from rates for purposes which might not unfairly be termed speculative. If the money were raised in this way there would be a temptation to create a bureaucracy within the local authority, which would have the power of spending money that they had not personally contributed except to a very small extent. Finally, he would ask the House to consider that there was no provision in the Bill for the ratepayers exercising any control in this matter over their representatives when they were once elected, or for the auditing of the accounts of these undertakings. In conclusion, the hon. and gallant Member moved the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is undesirable to retain in the Bill the novel powers proposed to be given to the Board of Trade to grant licences to local authorities, Companies, or persons, enabling them to exercise powers which have hitherto only been granted by Act of Parliament, or Provisional Order confirmed by Act of Parliament, and the power given to local authorities under Clauses five and six, and other parts of the Bill, to raise money on the credit of local rates, without the consent of the ratepayers, for the purpose of competing with private capital, are contrary to every principle hitherto recognized by the Legislature, and that no Bill containing such powers will be acceptable to this House,"—(*Colonel Makins,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. CARBUTT said, he was glad the hon. and gallant Member had called attention to this Bill, which was an entirely new departure in legislation, the principle of which, if carried out, would probably hereafter be applied to railway property, and entail, by the arbitrary mode of purchase now proposed, enormous loss on the present shareholders. The Purchase Clauses he very strongly objected to, and he thought they should be considerably modified. The principles of the Bill were a violation of political economy, and if the Purchase Clauses were passed they would be contrary to the principles of fair play. The public wanted a new mode of lighting, public bodies would not risk the money, and yet were to have the power of buying up the undertakings if these proved successful. Nothing was to be paid for past, present, or future profits; nothing was to be given for goodwill; but a valuation was to be made at what might be called auction price. This would be an injustice, not only to the private Companies, but to the public generally, and would prevent the laying out of money in such undertakings and improvements. All these Companies, up to the present time, were Companies anxious to sell their inventions. If they were to buy up the Companies at the end of 15 years it would not be to the advantage of the country, because it would prevent any improvement, and instead of increasing the use of the electric light, it would decrease it. In order to enable the shareholders to get back their money, they would require to make 10 per cent profit throughout the period. In the case of tramways, the period at which Corporations could purchase or re-let was 21 years, and he trusted in the case of electric lighting some concession would be made by the President of the Board of Trade in this direction, because he would find, if this were not done at the end of the 15 years, that a great injustice had been inflicted, and that no advance in electric lighting would be carried out. The evidence given before the Committee had only recently been placed in the hands of hon. Members, and he greatly regretted that they should have been called together on a Saturday morning to consider this subject.

MR. SLAGG said, that all those who had read the Report of the Select Committee must have been impressed by the fact that no data of any value in regard to electric lighting, certainly none of a commercial description on which calculations could be based of such a nature as to give solid foundation to commercial enterprize, had been elicited; and therefore this Bill, from the very nature of electric science, was necessarily of a purely tentative character. That fact certainly imposed a very great difficulty in attempting to legislate on the subject at the present time. His hon. Friend who had just spoken complained of the way in which Electric Lighting Companies were to be treated under the Bill, being tied down by the compulsory sale of their undertaking. But he (Mr. Slagg) took this view very strongly in regard to the establishment of Electric Lighting Companies in districts where gas was at present supplied by local authorities, who must necessarily be the best judges of what was good in such matters as lighting. He did not consider it to the public interest necessarily that outside Companies should be invited to come in and make an exploiting ground of an area which had already been supplied on the most favourable and economical terms by existing local authorities. Why should they encourage any outside body of people to come and abstract a profit already made by a local body applied to local purposes in the matter of rates? On that ground he considered that no encouragement was due from that House or the Legislature in getting private persons to invade towns where Corporations had already well discharged their duty to satisfaction. He would take the case of his own Corporation in Manchester. They had a very efficient gas supply, and supplied not only their own local area, but also 21 out-townships, at a very much lower rate than they could possibly supply themselves. What would happen under the aspirations of his hon. Friend? He wished to give encouragement and protection for the Board of Trade to allow Companies entirely outside the sympathy, accommodation, and interest of those bodies, to obtain and take away the profits which they had been accustomed to enjoy to the very great advantage of their community. He did not see that Electric Lighting Companies had any logical ground for assuming such a position. The provisions of the Bill were of such a nature as in no degree to discourage the progress of electric science. That science had made the most remarkable strides without any expectations whatever such as had been held out by his hon. Friend. It would continue to make those strides, and, no doubt, Corporations would avail themselves of that progress, and become the supplying authority, instead of leaning on the aid of outside Companies. As to the purchase of the plant of Electric Lighting Companies, considering the wholly uncertain and experimental nature of electric science at present, the terms provided in this Bill were amply sufficient and perfectly generous. Upon what ground could a Company claim to have compensation for any huge profit they might make during the 15 years for which they had obtained a Provisional Order? They might make a huge profit during that term—a profit acquired from the uncertain and experimental nature of the science, and that ought to be quite sufficient to indemnify them for the risk. It would be rather too hard to ask those communities whose territory had been invaded, and whose money had been extracted to pay huge dividends, to compensate the Companies for the business they had planted there. It was impossible at the present time to estimate accurately or with complete abstract justice what should be the terms upon which the purchase should be made. They could only guess, because it was remarkable that in the whole of the scientific evidence given before the Committee there was not even an enunciation or express declaration of opinion upon the elementary point as to what the cost of electric lighting was. The scientific authorities differed in the widest degree upon the point; and when they could get no data as to the cost of the light, the cost of the plant, or of any commercial item of importance, it was impossible that they could make any accurate provision as to purchase. They must not, therefore, attempt to tie down Corporations by onerous terms with regard to profits and to prospects which were at present without accurate foundation.

Mr. W. FOWLER said, the powers and terms of compulsory purchase were unfair to the Electric Lighting Companies as compared with those which were given to the Tramways Companies. After 15 years—an inadequate period considering the risks of the undertaking—the Corporation or local authority might come in and buy up the business if it was successful; if it did not pay, the Corporation would lie by; but if successful, they might come in and sweep the Company up on unfair terms. He wished to enter his protest against this, and considered that these Companies ought to have as long a time granted to them to recoup themselves as the Tramway Companies had. The object of Parliament ought to be to encourage people in these undertakings. They seemed, however, to be going from one extreme to the other; they gave Gas Companies too much, and now they were giving Electric Companies too little. He quite admitted that people were wild about electric lighting; but what they advanced their money for was not for the transaction of regular business, but for speculation, in the hopes of selling their shares at some gigantic profit. He noticed the other day that the £4 paid shares of the Brush Company were worth £28. That was a very demoralizing price. He was afraid if they did not take care they would discourage people from laying out their money. They held out the prospect to them of "heads I win, tails you lose," as the Corporations could not lose. His strong conviction was that Parliament was going too far in the way of protecting local Corporations and discouraging private enterprize.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he did not think the Bill was calculated to check enterprize, for even since the decision of the Select Committee on the matter there had been no diminution in the operations of those interested in electric lighting. Speculators, he might further remind the House, would have the fullest notice of the terms upon which they would be bought up, and could not, therefore, complain. It appeared to him that the discussions which had been raised seemed more fit for the Committee stage of the Bill. He hoped the House would go into Committee as soon as possible.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he rose for the purpose of supporting the recommendation just made by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope) that they should go into Committee. The questions raised by the hon. and gallant Member for South Essex (Colonel Makins) affected matters of considerable importance, and if his Amendment was carried it would strike at one of the principal clauses in the Bill, and might be considered as almost fatal to the measure. The questions raised subsequently by his hon. Friend the Member for Monmouth Boroughs (Mr. Carbutt) and by the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) could be more conveniently discussed in Committee. At all events, he should confine the observations he had to make to the very important question which had been raised by the hon. and gallant Member for South Essex. The arguments used by the hon. and gallant Member, and subsequently by the hon. Members for Monmouth Boroughs and Cambridge, were arguments which might be brought before the Committee upstairs on behalf of the Gas Companies and Electric Lighting Companies. He did not say those arguments were any the worse on that account; they were both important interests which had deserved to be fully represented before the Select Committee upstairs and also before the House. The subject in detail had been fully discussed by the Committee upstairs, presided over by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope) with, he ventured to say, the greatest ability. The Committee was a strong and hybrid Committee, and gave the very greatest care and attention to the matter. All those powerful interests were represented by counsel; the Committee held a great number of meetings, and everything that could be said on the subject was carefully listened to; and he was glad to say that upon all important matters upon which they had decided the Committee was practically unanimous. There was some difference on matters of detail; but even in cases on which the Committee divided there was, with one exception, a very large majority in favour of the views represented in the Bill. Now, the hon. and gallant Member for South Essex told them that the power proposed in the Bill to grant licences was a novel power. He at once admitted that was so. It followed out, however, a recommendation made by a very strong Committee which sat in 1870, and was presided over by the present Chairman of Committees (Mr. Lyon Playfair), and that Committee recommended the giving of facilities to Companies to conduct experiments. That sentence must be taken as guiding the discussion. Electricity was in an experimental state at present, and the object of the Bill was to give every facility for experimental processes in connection with electricity. But if they resorted to the practice which obtained in other matters, of proceeding by way of Provisional Order, the probability was that such Provisional Order might, at any rate, be opposed by great vested interests, which were to a certain extent hostile to the new illuminant; and the vendors and consumers, who were desirous of having this new light, and the inventors who were desirous of introducing it, would be at such a great disadvantage in consequence of the enormous cost of obtaining powers that they would materially interfere with the progress of this new science. Therefore, it was thought desirable to introduce some new method by which this experimental stage might be conducted with less expense. And what was that method? It was this. That where a local authority which was entitled to represent fully the wishes of the district, the representative authority for the district, agreed, that then the Board of Trade, after hearing all the parties who desired to make any objection or representation on the subject, might grant the licence — of course, for the experiment—for a limited period of five years. Certainly, they thought that would be an extremely convenient proceeding, and one which he hoped the House would see fit to adopt. The hon. and gallant Member for South Essex went on to matters, which were rather of detail, as to the new distinction which he considered had been created between lighting for public and private purposes. He would say at once that was not a question of any importance. It might be that Companies, in the present state of electric lighting, might desire to light public buildings and streets, when they would not wish to undertake a general district illumination. It had, therefore, been considered to be expedient to make a distinction. Then the hon. and gallant Gentleman went on to protest against borrowing or raising money on the rates in competition with private capital, and without the consent of the ratepayers. This raised two important and separate questions. The first was whether it was justifiable to raise public money in competition with private capital. [Colonel MAKINS: Raised under Act of Parliament.] Whether under Act of Parliament or otherwise. The second point was whether such power should be permitted without the consent of the ratepayers. These were quite separate questions. With regard to the first question, it was a mistake to assert that Parliament had never given power to public authorities to raise and expend money in competition with private capital. It was done in the case of tramways, which came into competition with omnibuses, which were supported by private capital; and railways, the capital for which was raised under Act of Parliament. In the case of gas itself, Corporations with public money not only competed with other forms of illumination, but, in the majority of cases, they supplied fittings to private houses in competition with private enterprize. Now, the opposition proceeded on an assumption which he ventured to think was entirely without foundation. It was the assumption that in some way or another Gas Companies, or other parties having at the present time authority to supply gas, had obtained from Parliament the right to supply lighting. [Colonel MAKINS: I explained that distinctly.] He was not putting the words into the hon. and gallant Member's mouth. He was saying that it was only on such an assumption that the argument of the hon. and gallant Member was justifiable. The contention was one which had undoubtedly been presented to the Committee, and it was one entirely without foundation. In his opinion, Gas Companies or Corporations, having powers to supply gas, had obtained no right whatever to be protected by Parliament against the introduction of any new light. Then there came the second question, whether the local authority should exercise its powers without the consent of the ratepayers; and the hon. and gallant Member for South Essex appealed with good reason and considerable force to the experience of the Borough Funds Act, under which Corporations were compelled, if they desired that their expenses should be borne by the rates, to appeal to the ratepayers before the time of application for an Act of Parliament. He denied the statement of the hon. and gallant Member that that Act worked well in the opinion of those who he thought best qualified to judge. On the contrary, there was no provision in the Municipal Act which was more resented, and very properly resented. But let them understand. He always found in that House an almost certain method of obtaining a cheer was to speak of the great local government which had done so much for the happiness of the population and for the education of the people. Yet another way of obtaining a cheer was to sneer at the Corporations which had done the work. Hon. Members must choose between the two. If Corporations were really representative of the true interests of the ratepayers, which it was his contention was shown by the history of the last 30 years, then it was an unconstitutional proceeding to submit their opinions to a *plébiscite* whenever they went for new powers. Undoubtedly it tended to degrade them in their own eyes and to lessen their responsibility. It certainly seemed to him that the effect of it was bad in more ways than one, for it certainly lessened the efficiency and authority of Corporations. He hoped to see the time when the clauses of the Borough Funds Act containing this objectionable provision might be repealed. He had only one other remark to make. The hon. and gallant Member for South Essex had perhaps failed to observe that, although the Bill did not in this case give an appeal to the ratepayers by *plébiscite*, yet it did provide that before any licence or Provisional Order was granted all persons interested should be heard by the Board of Trade. The objections of the ratepayers, therefore, would undoubtedly be attended to, as they were now when Provisional Orders were applied for and granted by the Local Government Board for a great number of purposes. Now, very large powers for raising money, for consolidating loans for all kinds of municipal work, were granted to Corporations and local authorities after a local inquiry held by an officer of the Local Government Board, at which every ratepayer had a right to be present, at which all objections were heard and carefully considered; and he might say that this system had worked admirably—had saved the time of Parliament and saved the money of the ratepayers. It was that system, and no more, that the Bill proposed to substitute for the Borough Funds Act. The Amendment proposed by the hon. and gallant Member for South Essex would, as he understood it, abolish the power to grant licences, and would prevent Corporations and private persons from developing this new illuminant. That might be in the interests of Gas Companies, but not, in his opinion, in the interests of the public. His hon. Friend the Member for Monmouth Boroughs (Mr. Carbutt), who had a great interest in the progress and development of the electric light, would not vote for the Amendment, which would have a distinct tendency to prevent its general adoption. With these few observations he left the matter in its present state to Members of the House, and reserved to a later period his observations on the clauses.

Mr. WARTON, who had given Notice of his intention to move that the House go into Committee that day three months, said, that he was mainly concerned for the interests of inventors, whose efforts would be trammelled by this Bill. Very strong evidence was given by one of their number, the owner of 10 patents and the recipient of numerous distinctions and decorations; and when such a man, speaking as the representative of his class, said that it would deprive them of security they ought to have, the House ought to pause before it placed them at a disadvantage. The Bill gave too much power to the Board of Trade, for which he had no great respect. Without offence to the right hon. Gentleman, he might be permitted to say that the Board of Trade did not content itself with its own business, but showed the tendency to encroach on the duties of other Departments. It had taken away from the

Trinity House the management of lighthouses, and, if he might use the expression, it had stolen from the Admiralty certain duties connected with foreshore. No doubt this was all very natural, and that was the reason why they had been called down to the House on a Saturday to discuss a Bill which might, under different circumstances, have taken its chance with others in the ordinary way. He was not aware that there was a single scientific person connected with the Board of Trade. It was desirable to get behind this magnificent shadow to see what was the actual substance, because there was nothing this Board would not undertake to do, even to altering Acts of Parliament by new orders. He regarded the adoption of the bureaucratic, or French principle of leaving everything to such a Board and its highly intelligent President, as unsatisfactory, if not unconstitutional. Not only did he advocate freedom for inventors, but he urged freedom for the Electric Companies to make their own way in the world as other Companies had hitherto done, untrammelled by the Board of Trade and unfettered by having to apply for licences, and being obliged to stand or fall on their own merits. There was another point—the interests of the ratepayers—and he regarded the continual attempts to press more and more heavily upon them as really abominable. Let them burn tallow candles, gas, or the costly electric light as they pleased, but do not, he said, compel them to do either of the three.

MR. MAC IVER said, he could not help rising to enter a word in protest against the Bill. It seemed to him that objections could reasonably be made to the Bill which were in no way removed, but, on the other hand, rather increased, by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his remarks, seemed to him to speak as though there were only two parties to be considered—the private Electric Companies and Gas Companies. He entirely forgot and overlooked the case of boroughs, for instance, like Birkenhead, where the Corporation were the owners of the gas. If there had been longer Notice of this Sitting, he believed more Members would have been present to support his view. Personally, he (Mr. Mac Iver) had not any interest either in respect to gas or the electric light; but the House would pardon him for saying that he could not help feeling and seeing that this Bill was regarded as a fight between those who were respectively interested in gas and electricity. He did not believe that electricity was still in an experimental stage; on the contrary, it was proved that for very many purposes electric lighting would have permanent value, while gas would be used for other purposes. Further, he believed that an endeavour was being made in this Bill to obtain unfair advantages on behalf of certain speculators in electric lighting to the disadvantage of those who were in the position of the Corporation of Birkenhead, and who, like them, were making and providing the supply of gas for the town. He thought he in no way overstated the views the people of Birkenhead were likely to have on this subject when he mentioned that while they had no prejudice or any wish other than well in respect of electric lighting generally, yet they failed to see why the promoters of Electric Lighting Companies should have advantages which they—as the promoters of Gas Enterprizes—had not experienced in their time. What they asked—and that was all they did ask—was that there should be the most thorough fair play; that Electric Lighting Companies should be placed in the same position as others before them had been, and that exceptional powers should not be conferred upon them. He wished just for a moment to follow up what the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who preceded him, said with reference to the Board of Trade. That was a Department of which he (Mr. Mac Iver) had had a long experience from various points of view; and, while he had always—and with reason—regarded certain of its members with respect, he looked upon it as a Department which, in more than one particular, was thoroughly incompetent. The Speaker, he hoped, would pardon him for saying this, because not only he, but also the Archbishop of Canterbury, was a member of the Board; but he supposed that neither of them took any active part in its duties. If they did, no doubt his objections would be entirely removed, and the work imposed by the Bill would be in good hands. But no one knew to whom these powers would be intrusted, and he considered it wrong that the Board should possess them. It seemed to him that the President of the Board of Trade gave a peculiarly unfortunate illustration in support of what he was saying in the speech he had just delivered, for he spoke of tramways and their competition with other modes of conveyance, and compared that competition with the relative positions of Electric Lighting Companies and Gas Companies at the present time. Surely he might have gone on and pointed out how unfair some of the competition was. The Department, if at all, ought fairly to consider the whole question as between Electric Light and Gas Companies; and, having now offered his protest against the Bill before the House, he (Mr. Mac Iver) should be very glad to carry the protest further by going to a division.

Colonel MAKINS said, after the discussion, he would not trouble the House to divide, but would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Granting of licences authorising the supply of electricity).

Mr. WARTON said, that with regard to this clause he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to the curious definitions given in the 3rd and 4th sections of the 2nd clause—he referred to the definitions of "public purposes" and "private purposes." With that omniscience which the Board of Trade possessed, they seemed qualified at any time to draw up a definition of anything, and to be able to exercise any powers on any subject. With regard to "public purposes," the Board of Trade said in the subsection that they should mean lighting any street or any place belonging to or subject to the control of the local authorities, or any known or registered place of public worship, or any vestry hall or building belonging to or subject to the control of any public authority, or any public theatre, &c. A theatre was a public place, no doubt; but the Board of Trade had not included music halls in this subsection, notwithstanding the fact that at the present time music halls were equally as important as theatres. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, or any hon. Member, had been to the Canterbury Music Hall; but if any of them had been there they must have seen that it was quite as important a place, from the point of view of this legislation, as any theatre, and they would have seen that the same class of audience attended the one as went to the other. He would move to insert the words "or music hall."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 7, after the word "theatre," insert the words "or music hall."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, that, judging from the great legal acumen of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), he should have thought that the hon. and learned Member would have been aware that a definition in an Act of Parliament was always, to some extent, an arbitrary thing. He (Mr. Chamberlain) did not suppose it would be possible to include music halls in the Bill, because, if they went that length, they would have, on the same ground, to include an almost endless number of similar places of amusement. He took it that theatres would be lighted by electricity, as they afforded accommodation to large numbers of persons; but they were to a certain extent under public control. Moreover, theatres had often been included before in definitions of Acts of Parliament. They had been included in measures recently introduced, and he thought the Committee would be entitled to draw the line at theatres. It would not, in his opinion, be desirable to go any further. Of course, if music halls wished to have the use of electricity, they could adopt it in the ordinary way by obtaining a licence for a "private purpose."

Mr. WARTON said, that he had had the pleasure some time ago of going round London on a fire-engine to visit the theatres and places of amusement, and he found the music halls, or many of them, were quite as important as some of the theatres. In one music hall, it was very well known there had been two fires. The building was a very capacious one, consisting of a large central hall and commodious galleries. Some day or other it might be lighted by electricity; but it was not to come under the provisions of this Bill as a public place, notwithstanding its previous history, and notwithstanding the fact that it was attended by far bigger audiences than some of the minor theatres, and that it was a very popular institution indeed. If the Government did not accept his Amendment, he should feel it his duty to divide the Committee upon it.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, this matter was not of that consequence which the hon. and learned Member seemed to suppose. By excluding music halls from "public purposes," the Government did not interfere with the possibility of these places of entertainment being lighted by electricity. The only thing was that the licence for lighting them would be a licence for "private purposes" instead of for "public purposes." The only question in the matter was as to which category they should be placed in.

MR. WARTON said, his point was this—that many of the music halls were quite as important as some of the theatres. Some of them had bigger audiences, and there was quite as much danger from fire breaking out in them as in any of the theatres. He should be obliged to press his Amendment.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK wished to point out that there would be less risk from fire by electric lighting than there was at present by the present system of lighting by gas. The possibility of an outbreak of fire, except, of course, in cases where the engines and dynamo machines were on the premises, was prevented by the fact of the introduction of a small piece of lead into the wire. When there was too high a tension, this piece of lead would melt and stop the current. If the engines generating the electricity were on the spot, there would, of course, be danger; but, otherwise, lighting by electricity on the low-tension system was safer than gas-lighting.

MR. M. BROOKS said, the hon. Member for the County of Dublin (Mr. Ion Hamilton) had an Amendment to the last clause of the Bill, and it appeared to him (Mr. Brooks) that it would be advisable to discuss that proposal now, as this was a better place for it. The hon. Member suggested that inquiry should be carried out by the Local Government Board in Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that question would come on subsequently.

MR. M. BROOKS said, he did not think he was out of Order, as he was merely pointing out that it would be desirable that the hon. Member for the County of Dublin (Mr. Ion Hamilton) should bring forward his Amendment on this clause.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, the point now before the Committee was the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend behind him (Mr. Warton).

MR. WARTON: Yes; it is whether the words "music hall" shall be inserted.

MR. SHAW said, that many hon. Members had not the remotest notion as to what the Amendment was, as the words were not on the Paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: The proposal is, after the word "theatre," in page 2, line 7, to insert the words "or music hall." The Question is, that the words "or music hall" be there inserted.

MR. CARBUTT said, that the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) came on page 2; but he (Mr. Carbutt) had an Amendment which would come on before that—namely, at the bottom of page 1, in Sub-section 2, which said—"A licence shall be for any period not exceeding five years," &c.

THE CHAIRMAN: That Amendment cannot be put, unless the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) withdraws his proposal.

MR. WARTON said, he should be happy to withdraw any Amendment of his to facilitate the bringing on of any other Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. CARBUTT said, he should like to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he would agree to any alteration in the Licensing Clause, because, as it stood at present, it would give a Corporation the power of vetoing the existence of a Company altogether? A Company might go to work for five years with the consent of the Corporation, and that Corporation might, at the expiration of that period, say—"You must now clear out your wires and engines, because we want to let somebody else in." He (Mr. Carbutt) should be very glad if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade could see his way to having a revision of the term during which a Company was to be allowed to carry on its operations.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member propose anything?

MR. CARBUTT said, he only wished to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he could see his way to making any alteration in the Bill?

THE CHAIRMAN: But I must point out that there is no Question before the Committee.

MR. CARBUTT: Then I beg leave to propose to leave out the word "five," and insert the word "seven."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 27, leave out "five," and insert "seven."—(*Mr. Carbutt.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN wished to know the exact point the hon. Member desired to raise. He (Mr. Chamberlain) would draw the hon. Member's attention to the fact that the sub-section said—

> "A licence shall be for any period not exceeding five years, but may at the expiration of such period be renewed, at any time, with such consent," &c.

The only cases, therefore, in which licences could not be renewed would be those cases where the local authority had refused their consent. If the hon. Member proposed that the Board of Trade should go outside the consent of the local authority, he was really suggesting that the Board of Trade should usurp the authority of Parliament in a way it had hitherto never attempted to do. It was one thing to say that the Board of Trade should be empowered to grant a licence with the consent of the local authority; but it was another and a totally different thing to say that it should override the local authority without recourse to the opinion of Parliament.

MR. MAC IVER said, he should like to know who were the Board of Trade for the purposes of this Bill?

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, that supposing a Company went to a local authority and said—"We cannot go to the expense of laying down our wires for such a short period as five years, but we will make an experiment in electric lighting if you will give us, say, 10 years," he presumed it would be in the power of the local authority, under such circumstances, to agree to such extension of time. But yet the local authority in existence during the first five years would not have power to bind their successors. He wished to know whether any arrangement for an extension of time could be made at the outset?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that the Board of Trade were not able to grant licences for a longer period than five years; but, at the same time, he saw nothing to prevent a local authority from agreeing with a Company that at the expiration of five years they would continue their consent. With regard to the question asked him by another hon. Member (Mr. Mac Iver), there had been a discussion in the House on the matter referred to some time ago, and the whole question had been gone into. It was perfectly true that the technical constitution of the Board of Trade—coming down as it did from ancient times—included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, and many other personages; but for many years the Board as so constituted had never met.

COLONEL MAKINS said, that if, at the end of five years, the local authority agreed with the undertakers that the licence should be extended for another five years, he presumed that there would be the same power of objecting as there had been in the case of the original licence. The application would be, to all intents and purposes, for a new licence, only the Local Board or Corporation might have agreed beforehand with the undertakers not to oppose the renewal.

MR. MAC IVER: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean the Committee to understand that, for the purposes of this Bill, the "Board of Trade" is the right hon. Gentleman himself?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Certainly, for the purposes of this Bill, the person who has control of my Office, working through his officials.

MR. CARBUTT: I understand that a Company may arrange with a Corporation for a licence for 10 years.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: There is nothing in the Bill to prevent a Company making an arrangement with a Corporation for 10 years, so far as the consent of that Corporation is concerned.

MR. W. FOWLER: But at the end of the five years there might be a new Corporation, and no bargain of that kind would be at all binding upon them.

MR. SLAGG said, the 2nd sub-section had these words—

> "A licence shall be for any period not exceeding five years, but may, at the expiration of such licence, be renewed at any time, with such consent as above mentioned, upon such terms and conditions as the Board of Trade may determine."

There was nothing in these words to show that a licence could practically be granted for 10 years. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) said, however, that a licence could be given by a Corporation for 10 years. That statement seemed to alter the Bill altogether. An agreement for 10 years must be a binding one, and he (Mr. Slagg) did not see anything in the Bill to give such a power.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I was asked with regard to the consent of the Corporation only, and not with regard to the granting of the licence. Hon. Members must bear in mind that it is not the Corporation which grants the licence, but the Board of Trade, which, before doing so, must be satisfied that the conditions are fair and reasonable, and are such that under them they could properly accede to the application. The Board of Trade will make a thorough inquiry into the circumstances of the case, unless, of course, the local authority says—"This inquiry shall not be made, as we do not give our consent." Of course, it is necessary that the consent of the local authority should be given. The Bill does not bind the local authority to say that it shall not renew its consent. An hon. Member says that the Corporation cannot bind its successors; but that is not the case, as Corporations are continually binding their successors.

MR. CARBUTT said, he should be happy to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. WARTON wished, before the Amendment was withdrawn—and the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman would tell him whether or not he was in Order—to take this opportunity of calling the attention of the President of the Board of Trade to a matter of some importance. He spoke in no unfriendly spirit to the right hon. Gentleman, and would not propose an Amendment, preferring rather to leave the matter to the right hon. Gentleman's good sense. The sub-section said—"At the expiration of such licence, be renewed at any time, with such consent," &c. He should think the licence ought to be renewed immediately it expired, and not "at any time," as the Bill had it. Such things as this, owing to the hasty way in which they were getting through the Bill, were apt to be lost sight of. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it would not be advisable to introduce an Amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment before the Committee has not been withdrawn, and that must be disposed of before any other Amendment can be put.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, there seemed to him to be some difference of opinion with regard to this part of the Bill. As far as he was concerned, he was satisfied with the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade; but if there was a doubt as to the power of the Corporation to consent to the granting of the licence for a longer term than five years, perhaps the Government would consider the matter before the Report, and make the whole thing clear at that stage.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it seemed to him to be a most alarming doctrine to lay down that a Corporation always had the power of binding its successors. One body might be in office for five years, and it might be succeeded by another of a totally different shade of local politics, and it would be in the highest degree dangerous to say that the first body was to bind the second. This Bill laid down, as a matter of public policy, that a licence should only be granted for five years; and it would be a very inconvenient thing to give the Corporation the power of departing from that line of public policy, and binding over their successors, who might be of a very different way of thinking with regard to this question.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I did not say that a Corporation would bind over its successors in all cases. The Corporation will not bind its successors as to policy; but if such a body makes an agreement, its successors will be found to adhere to it as in the case of all other contracts. If that were not so, how on earth could anybody have dealings with a Corporation?

Mr. E. STANHOPE: If a Company cannot bind a Corporation for 10 years, how can they do it for five? That is the *reductio ad absurdum.*

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: But the Bill gives them power specifically to bind the Corporation for five years.

Colonel MAKINS said, that an agreement would be obtained for a licence for five years, and the local authority, at the same time, might enter into an agreement with the undertakers that when the licence came up for renewal they would not, as a public body, oppose it. But, then, the sub-section went on to say—

> "With such consent as above mentioned, upon such terms and conditions as the Board of Trade may determine."

So that, practically, the local authority and the undertakers could agree that, on the expiration of the first five years, there would be no opposition to application for renewal at any time. In this way the Company might agree with the Corporation for perpetual powers—they might go on for ever. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members said "No!" but he saw nothing to prevent it. A Corporation might agree that they would abstain hereafter from opposing any renewal of the licence.

Mr. W. FOWLER said, he was well aware that a Corporation could bind its successors; but it could not do so contrary to the spirit of the Act, and the spirit of the Act clearly was that a licence should only be granted for a period not exceeding five years. At the end of the five years, seeing that there might be a different Corporation in power, it was only fair to require that the consent should be given over again. That was a very important point, which should not be lost sight of.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, that a Corporation was a perpetual body, which could enter into an agreement in perpetuity or for any term of years. According to this Act, the Corporation could give its consent for five years; but it was within its power to make an agreement with the Company that it would, at the expiration of five years, renew its consent. There could be no doubt in the mind of any lawyer on this point. If such an agreement were entered into by a Corporation, it would unquestionably be binding on their successors, just as agreements of the kind were binding in other cases. If the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would allow him to make a suggestion, he would say that the wording of the sub-section was rather loose, and that it would be better, instead of using the words "at any time," to say "from time to time."

Mr. STORY-MASKELYNE said, there was one point that had been lost sight of. The only condition under which the question of renewing the licence would arise would be a case in which a Company had not discharged its proper functions—in which it had failed to discharge the duties the Corporation had intrusted to it. In such an eventuality it was only right that there should be a power to prevent the renewal of the licence at the end of five years. It seemed to him that, under the Bill, when a Company had not done its duty, the Board of Trade could intervene; but in this matter it was not only the Board of Trade, but also the local authorities, who were interested, and at the end of five years the Board of Trade, as well as the Corporation, would have the power of intervening. The power of repeating their consent, he apprehended, was given by the Bill. When they said that the Board of Trade should have power, at any time, with the consent of the Corporation, to issue a licence, and that at the end of five years that licence should be renewed, what they meant was that the renewal should be a renewal for five years. The President of the Board of Trade would bear him out, he thought, in saying that this was the idea of the Select Committee, which had sat to consider the Bill, when this question came before it. He imagined that the point was not sufficiently well put in the Bill as it stood. At any rate, he did not think there would be any objection on the part of the President of the Board of Trade to the insertion of words in the measure to make the point sufficiently clear, if the clause as it at present stood was not sufficiently explicit.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was not quite sure whether he would be in Order in referring to a technical Amendment on this point; but he thought that the words "at any time" ought to be retained. No application for the renewal of a licence could be granted without giving the Board of Trade a sufficient time to consider it.

MR. RATHBONE said, he thought the Committee had got into some little confusion. The Bill did not interfere with the powers of a Corporation to make an arrangement beyond five years with a private Company; but what it did do was to give protection to the public—not to limit the power of a Corporation to give their consent, but to limit the action of the Board of Trade. Under the Bill, it would be necessary for the Board of Trade to renew the licences every five years. It was not necessary to limit the power of a Corporation, because their decision was not final. The final decision rested with the Board of Trade, and every case would have to be considered by them every five years.

MR. E. COLLINS said, that this was a very important point, and he hoped the Amendment would not be withdrawn. No doubt, their great object was to benefit the public, and all those interested in electric lighting. The clause said that the licence should be for any period not exceeding five years, and he could not for the life of him see how objection could be taken to the Board of Trade extending the time during which their consent would apply, seeing that they had power to limit it. If this Amendment were adopted, they would not be bound to go to the extent of seven years; but they might give their consent for six, five, or three years. So many views might develop themselves within five years that the authorities might find it advantageous to have this power. He spoke with some practical experience as to the advantage of leaving the Board of Trade discretionary power in this way, because, from his dealings with that body, he had found that they had a tendency—he did not say on the part of the President, but on the part of the minor officials—to limit their own powers as far as possible. He did not see any objection to giving the Board of Trade the powers suggested; but they would use them or not at their discretion.

MR. SHAW said, the public would be heard through the Board of Trade. It had struck him very forcibly that there ought to be a provision in this Bill by which the public could be heard in another way than before the Board of Trade in London. Corporations did not always, particularly in money matters, thoroughly represent the views of their constituents; and, therefore, if in questions of this kind there were very strong public opinions entertained in a locality, it would be a wise provision to make some arrangement for local inquiry. In Ireland Provisional Orders were never granted except after local inquiry. Then, as to another point. If the five years' limit was retained in the Bill, it would render the measure, to a very large extent, a dead letter. He did not think any man of capital would be inclined to spend any large amount of money on a five years' licence—on a licence that might be revoked at the end of five years by a Corporation, which was a fluctuating body. An application was made for a renewal of a licence. The old Corporation, which had given their consent in the first instance, might no longer be in power, and the licence might be revoked by the new local authority. He did not see why the Board of Trade should put any limit in the Bill; and it seemed to him that it would be much better that they should grant licences without limit of time, reserving to themselves the power of revoking them whenever they thought it desirable. He was certainly of opinion that if the clause stood as it was, there would be very little money spent on these electric lighting experiments.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that, no doubt, these were points of great importance, and he was in entire sympathy with the hon. Member (Mr. Shaw). With regard to inquiry, the practice of the Board of Trade had, in all these cases, been to provide for local investigations where inquiry in London would cause unnecessary inconvenience and expense to the parties. Undoubtedly, local inquiries should and would be held in many cases.

MR. SHAW: That is not provided for in the Bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, it was very true it was not provided for in the measure, but it would be provided for in the regulations which would be made by the Board of Trade. With regard to the second point mentioned by the hon. Member—namely, the period for which the licences were to be granted, he was afraid the hon. Gentleman did not take in view all the provisions of the Bill. It must be remembered that there were two methods by which electrical experiments could be carried out. The first was by obtaining a licence; and the second was by Provisional Orders. If a Company desired power to conduct their experiments for a longer term than five years, the Bill said they must go for a Provisional Order; and if they wished to carry out their experiments without the consent of the local authority, again the measure said that they must obtain a Provisional Order. The Board of Trade had no authority to repudiate any action taken by the House of Commons, and he was sufficiently modest to suppose that the House of Commons would not care to give up its powers with regard to Provisional Orders to himself. With regard to the licence, the period during which it should apply was limited to five years; but, at the end of five years, it was renewable on inquiry.

Mr. CARBUTT said, that suppose a Company went to a Corporation and said this—" We want to make an experiment in electric lighting in your town; " and the Corporation replied,—" We will give you permission for five years;" and the Company said—" If we succeed in five years, after the five years we will make fresh terms with you," might not the Corporation at the end of that period say—" Unless you reduce your price by one-half, in spite of the expense you have put yourselves to, we will make you take up your plant and go away? " In this way the Company might be compelled to reduce its price to a minimum. However, after what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, to the effect that a Company might agree with a Corporation that at the expiration of the first five years there should be a renewal of the permission, and as he considered that would be a great benefit to the public, as well as being satisfactory to the Electric Lighting Companies, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Colonel MAKINS said, the words in the Bill did not carry out the view which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had expressed. The experiment could be renewed at any time on such terms and conditions as the Board of Trade might determine, and he did not see anything in the clause that would render it certain that the permission for a licence could extend beyond the first five years. Would it not be well to insert in the sub-section the words "such further term of five years?"

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, the matter was covered by the previous description of the licences. The sub-section said —" A licence shall be for any period not exceeding five years."

Colonel MAKINS: Is there any objection to putting in words to make it perfectly clear?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: It is perfectly clear as it is.

Mr. CALLAN said, that in Ireland, if a local authority wanted to borrow money to make waterworks, it could not do so without first obtaining the consent of the ratepayers, who, therefore, had direct control over the Corporation in such a matter as this; and he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Government would have any objection to putting in the Bill words giving the public the same control with regard to electric lighting as was given to them in the matter of waterworks?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, that if the hon. and learned Member had been in his place during the whole of the discussion upon this Bill, he would have heard that point cleared up—he would have heard how far the control of the ratepayers was recognized in the Bill. It was considered that the provision suggested by the hon. Member was not necessary in this case. It was not a matter requiring the consent of the ratepayers for the raising of money, but only a matter of giving consent to the establishment of a lighting undertaking. He (Mr. Chamberlain) was surprised at any objection to the local authority having the powers contained in the Bill conferred upon them coming from persons who were interested in Home Rule and local government. He was astonished to hear any suggestion for destroying the Constitutional form of representative government proceeding from that quarter.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON said, the sub-section proposed that a licence could be renewed "at any time." How could it be renewed at any time? What was clearly meant was that it should be renewed after its expiration. He would propose that the words "or at any time after" should be inserted.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 28, after the word "licence," insert the words "or at any time after."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he was much obliged to the hon. and learned Member for pointing out what seemed to him (Mr. Warton) to be a defect in the Bill. He (Mr. Chamberlain), however, did not believe that such defect existed. The words "at the expiration of such licence" seemed to govern the clause; and, as he understood it, a licence could be renewed from time to time after the first licence had expired. He would promise to take note of the point raised by the hon. and learned Member, and to consult the draftsman of the Bill with regard to it; and if he thought it necessary to make any alteration, such alteration would be proposed at a subsequent stage.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that it would be undesirable to wait until the licence expired before renewing it, because, if they did so, people who had invested might be inconvenienced, and it would be very desirable that they should know beforehand what was to be done, in order that they might make proper use of their capital. It seemed to him that there ought to be powers in the Bill by which a licence could be renewed before it expired.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that an agreement for the renewal of the licence could be entered into before the licence expired.

MR. WARTON said, that after the promise of the right hon. Gentleman he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON said, it was necessary that they should know for what period a licence was to be renewed. The clause did not give the period. He would propose, therefore, that in page 2, line 1, after the word "time," they should insert the words "for a like period." The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, might mean that in his own mind; but it was for the Committee to consider what the Bill actually said. The right hon. Gentleman said that a Corporation would have power to agree to the renewal of a licence; but that renewal should be for some definite time, and he (Mr. Warton) therefore proposed that it should be for a like period—namely, for five years.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 1, after the word "time," insert "for a like period."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that, perhaps, the hon. and learned Member would allow him to suggest, for the purpose of saving time, that the words at the beginning of Sub-section 2—namely, "a licence shall be for any period not exceeding five years"—would control the rest of the section.

MR. WARTON said, that a great deal would depend on the form in which the licence was to be drawn.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the licence would fix the number of years, and it would be for the Company to agree with the Corporation as to the period it should operate.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

COLONEL MAKINS wished to know how many renewals could take place before it became necessary to go for a Provisional Order?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there was no limit to the number of renewals.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no Question before the Committee, and we must go on in a systematic way with the Amendments.

MR. MAPPIN: Shall I be in Order in moving the omission of the words "at any time?"

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. MAPPIN said, he would move the omission of those words. It was very important that the Committee should come to a decision on these matters, and that legislation should be decided. It was quite evident that before five years were over they would have to give satisfaction to the local authorities. Some arrangement would have to be made, or, if not, the whole thing would lapse. The omission of those words, "at any time," would make the matter definite, and compel the parties to come to some arrangement with the authorities.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 28, to leave out the words "at any time."—(*Mr. Mappin.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The Amendment which is now moved by the hon. Gentleman raises a new question. I do not know whether he intends to raise it; but if you strike out these words, the construction of the clause will be this, that there may be one renewal but no more, and you limit the powers of the Board of Trade, even with the consent of the local authority, to make more than one renewal. I do not know whether this is what is meant; but I would say, under these circumstances, that it is no doubt desirable to limit the discretion of the Board of Trade in some way. I quite believe that the application for a renewal should be put on exactly the same footing as the application for the original licence. There will be the inquiry of the Board of Trade, which will take into account all opposition that may be raised to the licence and the conditions of the licence, and only after such inquiry and consent will they be ready to grant the renewal. I think there should be a continuing power to grant renewals so long as these conditions exist. But, putting that aside, there is a new point. If all that is desired is to make it perfectly clear what the words mean, I will promise the Committee to consider the subject with the draftsman, and if I find it necessary to make any alteration for the sake of clearness, I will bring it up at a subsequent stage.

Mr. J. K. CROSS suggested that if the words were "from time to time," it would then be necessary to leave out some of the words before them.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had been about to suggest the same thing, and he understood the effect of it would be to make it possible to renew the licence from time to time, from five to five years, and nine to nine, just like an Irish lease.

Mr. MAPPIN said, he thought that where the Board of Trade and the Corporation were not satisfied with the arrangements made, it would be better that those arrangements should come to an end. If the Company having the licence could not arrange with the Board of Trade, it was better that some other power should take their place.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: No doubt, it would be desirable, under those circumstances, that the licence should come to an end; and so it would, because if it were proved that the undertakers had not carried out their obligations, undoubtedly the licence would not be renewed. But that is not all. There are powers under the Bill to bring it to an end before the term is reached.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought there was also another question raised. The words were "that the consent of the authorities should be obtained from time to time," and it would then be in the power of a Corporation to agree beforehand that their consent should from time to time be given, the result of which would be, that so far as their consent was concerned, they would be in the hands of the Company to whom they would have delegated a perpetual power of electric lighting.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed, because he thought that, as the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had pointed out, it would prove very inconvenient. The omission of the words "at the expiration of such licence," in order to insert the words "from time to time," would, he thought, carry out the general views of the Committee.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: That is the suggestion that was made by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), and in order to meet it I have already said that I will consult the draftsman, and if he sees no objection, the alteration shall be made.

Mr. JACKSON wished to point out one other objection to these words. It might be desirable that in the first instance the licence should be, say, for two years and not for five, and it might also be desirable to continue it afterwards for a like period. [An hon. MEMBER: The words are "not exceeding five years."] The proposal was to add the words "for a like period." He did not desire to see those words there. One point had been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade which he confessed he did not quite understand. The right hon. Gentleman had said that there was power in the Bill to terminate the licence before its time.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: You will find it in Sub-section 7.

MR. JACKSON said, he had not understood that there was power to terminate the licence if they failed to perform their duties. It would be very unfair to a Company having a licence for five years to be at the mercy of a Corporation. It would be very much safer for the clause to stand as it was.

MR. MAPPIN said, he was willing to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON said, that in order to get an opinion from the Government, he believed that he would be bound to move some Amendment. He would, therefore, move, in page 2, line 14, after the word "licence," the insertion of these words—"or for the renewal of the licence;" and he made the Motion in order not to press those particular words upon the Government, but to get from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade some statement as to what form, if any, was to be gone through by the licencee to have his licence renewed. He thought the same things ought to be done when the original application was made as when a renewal was applied for. He did not find any form in connection with this clause which would show how or in what way an application might be made for a renewal of the licence.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 14, after the word "licence," insert "or for the renewal of the licence."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I entirely agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman that the same proceedings should be taken for the renewal as for the original licence. But I understand that to be the case as it stands.

MR. WARTON said, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. CALLAN wished to make a suggestion. In line 16, which provided for an explanation, statement, or notice, it was set forth that it should include "such particulars as the Board of Trade may from time to time approve." He proposed to insert there these words—

"And such notice shall state fully the terms on which it is proposed that the electric light shall be supplied."

Probably the right hon. Gentleman would give some assurance on the subject; but it should be clearly understood that the particulars which the Board of Trade required to be published should contain the terms on which the light was to be supplied, or otherwise the people who were interested—the ratepayers—would not know the terms—terms which, if they had known what they were, they might have come forward and objected to. The interested ratepayers should have full notice of the terms on which the licence was to be granted.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 19, insert "and such notice shall state fully the terms on which it is proposed that the electric light shall be supplied."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In the 3rd clause it is set forth that the undertakers shall give a statement of the prices; but it would be difficult to put it in the application, as a statement of prices could only be arrived at after full consideration between the parties.

MR. CALLAN said, he only wished the consumers to know. He would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON moved the omission from line 30 of the word "make," in order to insert the word "contain." The words, as they stood in the clause, provided that the licence might make such and such regulations. He supposed the word really meant to be used was "contain." How a licence could make anything he did not know. Did it mean the licensing body? They could make regulations. As the matter stood it was nonsense.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 30, to leave out "make," and insert "contain."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he thought they might as well retain the word "make." It was commonly used in that sense in Acts of Parliament, and it was scarcely worth while to make any alteration.

Mr. WARTON said, he must press the Amendment in the interests of the English language. A licence could not make regulations. A maker was a person, not a thing. A maker made something; a licence could not make anything at all. "Contain" was a far better word than "make" in such a connection. A licensing body could make regulations; a licence could not.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. MAC IVER wished, for the sake of greater clearness, to move an Amendment in line 36. He proposed to introduce before the words "Board of Trade" the words "President of the." He wished to do that for this reason. It was very desirable, under this Bill, to bring home a personal responsibility for carrying out the measure. The Committee knew, from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade himself, that for the purposes of this Bill there was no Board of Trade, and that the Board of Trade was simply the President. Now, it might so happen that the right hon. Gentleman who at present filled that office might not always be President of the Board of Trade. The Committee knew that the right hon. Gentleman possessed the entire confidence of his own supporters; but it might be that others might succeed him, and that some day there might be a Board of Trade which would have for a President a man who, perhaps, on one side or the other, might be concerned with gas rather than with electric lighting, or with electric lighting rather than with gas. That was not the present position, but it might at any day occur. It would make no possible difference in the meaning of the Bill, but it would make it much clearer to the public, who did not know that the Board of Trade was the right hon. Gentleman himself, if it should be clearly stated that, for the purposes of this Bill, the individual who for the time being should be President of the Board of Trade was himself alone the authority who had to deal with the whole of these regulations under the measure.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 36, insert before "Board of Trade" the words "President of the."—(*Mr. Mac Iver.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I have some difficulty in believing that the hon. Member is serious in introducing an Amendment by which he proposes to make a great Constitutional change in the form of an Amendment to the Electric Lighting Bill. I am aware that, on a previous occasion, the Prime Minister promised that the question of making some alteration in the functions of the Board of Trade should have careful consideration; but, until any change is made in the composition and working of the Board, it would be most inconvenient to substitute the President for the Board itself, and would raise all sorts of difficulties.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

Colonel MAKINS wished to say a word or two before the clause passed from the Committee, because he had had no opportunity of replying to some of the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair. He had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the object of this licensing system was to facilitate the exponents of electric lighting in serving the public. He (Colonel Makins) was not aware that any sufficient difficulty had been felt in obtaining Parliamentary powers to deter any enterprizing bodies from going forward with public works of utility, and the long discussion which had taken place on the details of this licensing scheme showed how difficult and complicated was the system which the Government were trying to introduce into the legislation of the country. If this Bill, with its new system, became a precedent, we should hereafter have local authorities obtaining licences from the Board of Trade for the construction of docks or railways, and almost every enterprize. No apology, therefore, was necessary for again entering a protest against this new system before it became part of the Bill. He did not represent the interests of any Party, and certainly here he was not the representative of the gas interests—it was in the interests of all commercial undertakings that he objected to this new power being given. However, after the discussion which had taken place, he would not put the Committee to the trouble of a division; but he was afraid that, when the scheme came to be worked out, it would encounter many obstacles.

MR. FIRTH said, he wished to make one suggestion. The object to be attained by the publication of notices, &c., was publicity; but that would not be attained in that way in London. He would leave the City Corporation to take care of itself; but as to the Vestries and Local Boards he could say that nothing would be known. There were some Vestries in which the people elected were more in number than the people electing. He would suggest that the Board of Trade should carefully consider whether there should not be different provisions for London from those which were laid down for Provincial towns.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Granting of provisional orders authorising the supply of electricity) *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Making of rules as to application, &c., under Act) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Expenses of local authority).

MR. BOLTON proposed to omit the words from and including "by a local authority," in line 12, down to and including "incurred," in line 14. The object of this Amendment was to make it perfectly clear that only those who availed themselves of the option under the Bill to use the electric light should be rendered liable to pay for it. That object might, perhaps, be attained by some better means, and probably the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, if he took that view, would propose some alteration himself in that direction. It was quite evident that, under the clause as it stood now, the local authority might enter into a speculation to provide electric lighting for any locality, and might charge a low price to the general public for the use of it, and then they might avail themselves of this clause to assess people who were not using the light at all—who might, in fact, have provided themselves with some other electric light, or with gas.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 12, leave out "by a local authority in respect of any undertaking under this Act, and not otherwise provided for including any expenses incurred."—(*Mr. Bolton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am sorry that this Amendment was not down on the Paper, because it is extremely difficult to see exactly what the effect of it would be. I do not think that the Amendment which the hon. Gentleman proposes would at all carry out the object I understand him to have. As I understand it, the effect of the Amendment is simply this — that the only power given to the local authority in this respect is to defray out of the rates the expenses incurred in obtaining the licence, and other expenses would be thrown on the persons obtaining the licence. No local authority would undertake the responsibility under such conditions. What I understand the hon. Gentleman wishes to guard against is the possibility of the local authority supplying the electric light to certain constituents at a loss, and doing it at the expense of certain other constituents. Well, but some sort of confidence in the common justice and honesty of our local authorities is the foundation of all our local government. Any local authority found assenting to such a course as the hon. Gentleman imagines would certainly be turned out by its constituents—it could not remain in office after a transaction of that sort.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. W. HOLMS moved to insert after "Act," page 5, line 16, "or the rents, charges, or other revenues provided by any local Act." Under clause 5, a local authority had power to incur certain expenses upon security of the local rate, which local rate was defined on page 19 to be "the police or burgh assessment, or rate of the nature of a burgh assessment." The object of his Amendment was to provide that a local authority might, for the purposes of this Act, use the rents, charges, and other revenues provided by any other Act.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 16, after "Act," insert "or the rents, charges, and other revenues provided by any Local Act."—(*Mr. W. Holms.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he did not know whether his hon. Friend had in view the case of any particular authority; but, speaking generally, the effect of the Amendment would be that a local authority, having any other source of income than the rates, might charge the expenses of an electric light undertaking to that source of revenue. As far as he was aware, wherever a local authority had such other source of income, such source of income was specifically applied by a local Act to particular purposes, and it would be a monstrous thing, in a Bill of this kind, to suddenly do away with the obligation, and enable local authorities to devote to a new and totally different purpose the income which had been specifically applied by Act of Parliament to certain purposes. Under the circumstances, he hoped his hon. Friend would not press the Amendment.

Mr. MAC IVER moved that Progress be reported. The Bill contained 20 clauses, and they had now passed four. This Amendment was sprung upon the Committee unexpectedly, and as the passage of four clauses of the Bill was a good afternoon's work, and remembering that there was upon the Paper Business in which many hon. Members were interested, he thought the time had arrived when the Chairman might reasonably report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Mac Iver.*)

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he would appeal to his hon. Friend not to persist in his Motion. They had all come down to the House with the object of making progress with this Bill, and he (Mr. E. Stanhope) personally hoped the Government would go on for some considerable time yet, and, if possible, finish the Bill. There was a good deal to be said against taking a Sitting on Saturday; but now they had come down, let them do business.

Colonel MAKINS said, he hoped the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) would withdraw his Motion and allow the Government fair play. Hon. Members had their fight as to a Saturday Sitting on Thursday night, and, having come down, pray let them go on with the work before them.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he would not put it on the ground of fairness to the Government, but of fairness to the Committee. Many hon. Members had come down here at considerable sacrifice in order to do some business, and to proceed in a business-like way to do it. Certainly it would be a most unfortunate thing to report Progress at this early hour.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. W. HOLMS asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. PUGH said, he desired to propose an Amendment in line 18 of this clause, for the purpose of raising a question which the right hon. Gentleman had referred to twice in the course of the day. That was, whether any local authority ought to be empowered to go to any expense they might think proper with reference to any scheme for electric lighting without some definite sanction from the ratepayers of the district. Whether this sanction was given by a meeting of the ratepayers, or by some local inquiry, was immaterial, as he (Mr. Pugh) thought that either of those methods of ascertaining the feelings of a district might be sufficient. He certainly did not think that any local authority—and if the Committee would refer to the Schedule of the Borough Funds Act, they would find that a local authority meant a Corporation, or urban authority, or rural sanitary authority, or any vestry; in fact, any local body whatever—should have the power to engage in a large undertaking contrary, as it might often be, to the wishes of the people they represented. He was surprised to hear the Borough Funds Act denounced by the right hon. Gentleman, and it occurred to him at once to consider that the Borough Funds Act was passed in 1872. And on the back of that Bill was the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), and he believed the Vice President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Dodson) was Chairman of the Select Committee who inquired into the Bill. He ventured to say that there were many Members of the Committee who would agree with him that it was an exceedingly salutary thing that some check should be put by Parliament upon Corporations spending their money in the manner proposed by the Borough Funds Bill—namely, in promoting and opposing Bills in Parliament. The Select Committee came to the conclusion that local authorities ought not to be allowed to engage in litigation of that sort, unless there was some check upon them.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Gentleman intended to move an Amendment?

MR. PUGH said, he would move, after the words "provided," in line 18, to insert the words "any such expenses shall have been sanctioned as required by 35th and 36th Vic. chap. 91, and that." He had taken those words from the Borough Funds Act, and he would only say a few further words with regard to that Act. It was well known that a great number of Corporations were opposed to that Act, because it did fetter them in going before Parliament to promote or oppose Bills. He was quite willing to admit that Birmingham and other modern Corporations did the best they could for the ratepayers; but in regard to other local bodies, and particularly the smaller ones, he would say without hesitation that the question whether a Bill was promoted or opposed at the expense of the ratepayers, depended chiefly upon the Town Clerk and the Solicitor to the Corporation, and both those gentlemen were vitally interested in promoting or opposing Bills which came before Parliament; in fact, in many of the cases a considerable portion of the income of those officials depended upon the promotion or opposition of Bills. It was extremely desirable that the ratepayers should have the power of veto, and if they had, he could not see how it would in any way be destructive of representative government. Section 4 provided in the fullest manner for the incurring of all expenses. The Committee would agree that electric lighting was in a very experimental stage, and he ventured to say that, under the circumstances, a Corporation or local authority of any other kind, ought not to be allowed to go to a large expense in promoting an electric lighting scheme without first of all receiving the sanction of the ratepayers.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 18, after "provided," to insert "any such expenses shall have been sanctioned as required by 35th and 36th Vic. chap. 91, and that."—(*Mr. Pugh.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

COLONEL MAKINS said, he was very glad the hon. Member had moved this Amendment, though he was not quite sure that the form in which it had been moved would be the most convenient for the carrying out of what the hon. Member wished. In a later part of the Bill it was provided that local inquiries might be held, and that was one of the ways in which the hon. Member suggested the sanction of the ratepayers might be obtained; but that was not compulsory. If the Government would undertake to make that compulsory, then there would be no necessity for inserting the words which the hon. Member had suggested. The principle involved in the Amendment he did hope the Committee would take into serious consideration. It was, no doubt, very necessary that the power of veto, which was vested in ratepayers by the Borough Funds Act, should be extended to them in the present case. The local authority in the town near which he (Colonel Makins) resided, in the country, a few years ago, took upon themselves to propose to erect waterworks for the supply of the town, using the money of the ratepayers to do the work. The ratepayers had no power to prevent this, but they had power to prevent them going for a Provisional Order. A meeting was called, and it having been pointed out that many of the ratepayers, having their private supply, would be damnified, the local authority were prevailed upon to abandon their scheme and make arrangements with a private Company.

If the local authority, in that matter, had been unchecked, and the undertaking had proved unsuccessful, the ratepayers would have found themselves saddled with a very heavy burden. He (Colonel Makins) wanted to have the power of veto extended to the licences and Provisional Orders granted under this Act. If the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would secure that, either by accepting the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pugh), or by making the local inquiry, which it was provided might be held, compulsory, he (Colonel Makins) would have nothing further to say in the matter. If, however, the right hon. Gentleman declined to do either the one or the other, he (Colonel Makins) hoped the Committee would take a division upon this most vital principle.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he did not see that the Amendment, as proposed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Pugh), would raise the point which it was desired to raise. The effect of the Amendment would be this, that when expenses were incurred by local authorities from time to time—as such expenses would be incurred in connection with an electric lighting undertaking—the local authority would have to go for the consent of the ratepayers; they would have to go to the ratepayers whenever any fresh expenses whatever were incurred in connection with the scheme. That was not what his hon. Friend meant; but he desired that a local authority should be obliged to go to the ratepayers for their consent when they were initiating the undertaking, just as under the Borough Funds Act a Corporation, seeking to obtain power for the manufacture of gas, had to go to the ratepayers. That was the principle which the hon. Gentleman raised, and it might be convenient to take the discussion now. He (Mr. Chamberlain) need not repeat to the Committee what he said before with regard to the general principles which, he thought, ought to govern their conclusions; but he thought his hon. Friend would agree with him that the kind of shackles on local government proposed was not necessary in the case of greater Corporations. The hon. Member suggested that in the case of local authorities in country districts, there was not that security which public opinion gave in great towns. He (Mr. Chamberlain) admitted there was a great deal in that argument; but there were one or two points which he would put before his hon. Friend for consideration. The first point was that a real security for the honesty of local government was to be found in making the representatives thoroughly responsible. If local bodies were put in leading strings, by constant interference from outside, they would have no heart whatever in their work. Let it be distinctly understood by the ratepayers that if they did not appoint the best men to look after their business, their own pockets would suffer; the probability was, they would be quite capable of looking after their own interests. Under the existing law, which this Bill did not touch at all, whenever a local authority wanted to borrow money, a local inquiry was to be held, either by order of the Secretary of State or by the Local Government Board. Those local inquiries offered an opportunity for objection on the part of any ratepayers, and they gave also such an amount of control to the central authority as would prevent anything like an absolute abuse of power intrusted to municipal representatives. He hoped these considerations would induce his hon. Friend not to press his Amendment. He understood his hon. Friend to say he would be satisfied, as an alternative, with an understanding that in the majority of cases, at all events, wherever desired, there would be a local inquiry. He (Mr. Chamberlain) had not thought it necessary to put that in the Bill, because it was conceivable that there might be cases in which a local inquiry would involve considerable expense, and in which it would be more convenient that the application should be made to the Board of Trade.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he approached this question from a totally different point of view from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain). When he entered the Select Committee he was somewhat of opinion that the application under the Bill ought to be made subject to the conditions of the Borough Funds Act. The matter was very carefully considered by the Select Committee, and it was found that in all cases of borrowing money by Provisional Orders the consent of the ratepayers was not required, and that if they were to require that the consent of the ratepayers should be given to the Provisional Orders under this Act, the Borough Funds Act would be extended very much farther than it had ever been extended before. It seemed to him that a proposal of this kind ought more properly to be entertained whenever the Borough Funds Act came under consideration. But, in the present case, any of the ratepayers might apply to the Board of Trade, and then their objection would be fully heard before a licence was granted. He hoped the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pugh) would not press his Amendment.

Mr. PUGH said, he did think that when a local authority was going to embark on an undertaking of this kind there ought to be some check upon them incurring expense. He should be willing to limit his proposition to the expenses incurred in obtaining the licence under the Act, and if he did that he should come distinctly within the principle of the Borough Funds Act. If he (Mr. Pugh) was to understand from the President of the Board of Trade that a local inquiry would be granted, wherever required, before expenses were incurred by a local authority under this Act, he should not think it necessary to persevere with his Amendment. What he wished was that the ratepayers should have the opportunity of making their voice heard, and of having fair weight given to it before a local authority should go into that expense. Under the circumstances, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Colonel MAKINS asked if it was to be perfectly understood that wherever local inquiries were required they should be held?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he had said so three or four times.

Colonel MAKINS begged the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say it was to be the practice; but he did not understand him to say that it would become a universal practice.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Power of local authority to borrow money) *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (General powers of undertakers under license or provisional order) *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Incorporation of certain provisions of Clauses Consolidation Acts).

Colonel MAKINS proposed to insert, after "sections," in line 13, page 7, "thirty-five and." The section would then run — "Sections thirty-five and thirty-eight to forty-two inclusive, and sections forty-five and forty-six of the Gasworks Clauses Act, 1871." Section 35 of the Gasworks Act was one that dealt with the question of accounts; and he thought it a very important question, where local authorities were dealing with public money, that the accounts of the undertaking should be published. It was with the object of procuring the publication of the accounts in relation to electric lighting that he now moved the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 13, insert after "sections," the words "thirty-five and."—(*Colonel Makins.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, that the proposal was quite unnecessary. If the hon. Gentleman would refer to Clause "C" on page 6, he would find it there provided that—

> "The undertakers shall, on or before the twenty-fifth day of March in every year, fill up an annual statement of accounts of the undertaking made up to the thirty-first day of December then next preceding; and such statement shall be in such form, and shall contain such particulars, and shall be published in such manner as may from time to time be prescribed in that behalf by the Board of Trade."

Colonel MAKINS said, that the right hon. Gentleman's reply was quite satisfactory. He (Colonel Makins) had only thought that so long as they were incorporating clauses from the Gasworks Clauses Act, it would be as well, also, to incorporate the one he had suggested. He would, however, ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Power of undertakers to alter position of pipes and wires) *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Compensation for damage) *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Charges for electricity) *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Injuring works with intent to cut off supply of electricity) *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Heating electricity) *agreed to.*

Clause 14 (Provision for protection of the Postmaster General).

Mr. W. N. NICHOLSON proposed to substitute for the word "fifteen," in page 12, line 32, the words "twenty-one." He considered that when a Company had obtained powers, either by Provisional Order or special Act, to supply electricity, it was most unfair that the local authority within whose district the supply was made should have power within six months after the expiration of the period of 15 years from the date of the Act or Provisional Order, to require the Company to sell their undertaking at merely the value of the materials, which must have the effect of very materially checking enterprize, and of preventing the development of the benefits that might result to the public by the introduction of electric lighting. He would suggest to the President of the Board of Trade that the objection might be met by the introduction of a clause giving the Companies power to appeal to the Privy Council for a prolongation of the term for an additional seven or fourteen years if the undertaking had not proved remunerative, as was frequently done in patent cases. If the right hon. Gentleman would agree to introduce such a clause, he would withdraw the Amendment which he now begged to propose.

Amendment proposed, in page 12, line 32, leave out "fifteen," and insert "twenty-one."—(*Mr. W. N. Nicholson.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'fifteen' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, this Amendment might be considered as raising the same question as that of the hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. J. K. Cross), and was an Amendment really in the interest of the Electric Lighting Companies. It was suggested that the term in the Bill was not a sufficient temptation to induce the Companies to enter into these speculations. He should say, in the first place, that the clause in the Bill was the result of a compromise arrived at by the Select Committee. Originally it was proposed that the power of purchase should be exercised at the end of seven years; and it was suggested on behalf of the Companies, by their counsel, that a longer term was necessary, and they argued in favour of 21 years. But the Committee took a medium course between these two periods, and decided upon 15 years. The Committee were guided in their conclusions by this line of reasoning—that it was their bounden duty to accept the shortest term which, at the same time, would leave room for the development of these experiments, and to go beyond that they considered would be to prejudice the rights of the public for the benefit of private speculators. The objects of the Bill were two-fold—first, that no obstacle should be placed in the way of the development of the electric light; but, in the second place, that the interest of the public, as a whole, should be protected, and that a new monopoly should not be set up, as in the case of Gas Companies, Water Companies, and Telegraph Companies, only to be purchased at a ruinous price. The question was, whether the figure adopted was the right one, and, as to that, every Member could form his own judgment; but he had it on the authority of the Companies concerned that they were perfectly satisfied with the arrangement come to by the Committee; the only Company that was dissatisfied was the Edison Light Company, in which he thought his hon. Friend was interested. But the other Companies declared that, in their opinion, the term was sufficient to justify the experiment they desired to make; and, seeing what had been done without any Parliamentary powers at all, the Committee must agree it was sufficient. So far as experiments were concerned, the Companies could do without any Act of Parliament; but what they asked was the power to enter upon streets and to break up roads to lay their rods, and certainly a monopoly right of that kind should be under strict limitations, and be confined to as short a period as would amply provide for the due development of the experiment.

Mr. CALLAN said, he was surprised at a remark which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman. He had always understood that Members interested in any particular Company or interest which would be affected by a measure under discussion should not take part in the proceedings of a Committee even in the Lobby. Now, here was a Bill which would impose a tax upon the ratepayers of Great Britain and Ireland, and he found—he did not know far it was right or not—that the President of the Board of Trade addressed an argument to an hon. Member as a person interested in the Edison Light Company, which was the only Company dissatisfied with the decision of the Select Committee. Now, every Member of a Committee signed a declaration that he was not personally interested in any Company or undertaking which formed the subject of the Committee's deliberations; at least, he signed such a declaration himself when he served on a Tramway Committee some years ago; he remembered the Committee Clerk sent such a document for him to sign; but it was an important question whether any Member of Parliament, who was disqualified from serving on a Select Committee, could come into a Committee in the House on the same Bill and move an Amendment giving an advantage to the Edison Light Company—an Amendment that, if carried, would make the Company a financial success instead of a financial failure. Was it in conformity with the dignity of the House to do this? He made these observations in consequence of the kind of sanction that the words of the President of the Board of Trade seemed to convey; and he was astonished that the right hon. Gentleman should give such an implied sanction to the interference of a Member of the House in a matter where he was pecuniarily interested. He thought it right to draw attention to such a lamentable want of discretion on the part of those interested in the Edison Light Company, that they should come into the Committee and endeavour to get better terms for that Company.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked the Chairman, just as a matter of Order, where the Committee were?

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a new way of lettering a Bill which has never happened in Committee before; but we are obliged to treat this letter as part of the previous clause; therefore, we are upon Clause 14 now, including Clause "N."

MR. CARBUTT asked, could the Committee discuss the other Amendment of which Notice had been given?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question now is simply whether the word "fifteen" stand part of the clause.

MR. CARBUTT said, but those who had the same views with the hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. J. K. Cross) would talk upon this Amendment, and would have to talk again on the same point.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only Question now is whether "fifteen" shall stand part of the clause.

COLONEL MAKINS desired to remind the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) that this was a general Bill, and his remarks only applied to the proceedings of a Select Committee.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, as these things went forth to the public, they might create an impression as to the practice of the House that Members taking part in a Committee signed a declaration, as in the case of a Private Bill Committee. But the two things were totally distinct. Of course, a great number of Members were interested in Railway and other Companies; but to say that no Members thus interested should take part in Public Business in which Railway Companies were concerned was an unreasonable and startling proposition.

MR. CALLAN said, in the case of Railway Companies, no director or shareholder could take part in the proceedings of a Private Bill Committee. That was a well-known Rule laid down by the Standing Orders of the House, and here was a Committee——

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE rose to Order, and asked, had this anything to do with the discussion?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has nothing to do with the Question; we are now discussing an Amendment to the clause, and the Question is whether "fifteen" shall stand part.

MR. CALLAN said, he rose to Order.

MR. CARBUTT said, having spoken before the House went into Committee, he did not wish to reiterate his arguments; but he was replied to by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who said he had used the word confiscation. He did not think he had really used the word, but if he had he would withdraw it. Then the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) said he was going very much against the Corporations; but that was not his wish. Corporations did very good work; but the hon. Member quoted the work of the Manchester Corporation——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. Member that the Question is simply whether "twenty-one" shall be substituted for "fifteen;" the general question will arise afterwards.

Mr. CARBUTT said, surely he could give his reasons why he should vote for 21 instead of 15. The hon. Member for Manchester said one reason why Parliament should be careful not to grant too great powers to Electric Light Companies was that Corporations might buy up the Companies; and he said what a large amount was required by the Manchester Corporation to buy up the Gas Company. Now, the Corporation, though it gave a high price to the Company, not only made a large profit, but did not reduce the price of the gas, as the Corporation did at Leeds, where the price was reduced to the consumer. But his reason for supporting 21 against 15 was that nobody would put money in the undertaking on such terms; there would be no inducement to do so; and he would suggest that the terms of purchase should be settled by arrangement or arbitration in the same way in which the Metropolitan Board bought up the bridges in the Metropolis. Certainly he should support 21 against 15 years.

Mr. SLAGG said, he thought the hon. Member had made a mistake in attributing to him a statement that the Manchester Corporation did not reduce the price of gas. Practically, they had done so in a very large degree, but he would not trouble the Committee with details. The gas works had been bought at a great advantage to the inhabitants, they had reduced the cost of the water and of the gas, but without arguing the matter again, the inhabitants were very well contented, and he wanted to continue the advantage which the partnership in the lighting operations of the Corporation had begun. It was desirable that this should be done. He did not see why outsiders should be let in to make happy hunting grounds of the Corporation area. Fifteen years he thought quite sufficient, the Companies were satisfied with that term, and he should certainly vote for keeping that term.

Mr. STORY-MASKELYNE said, he had had an opportunity of talking with the representatives of, and gentlemen connected with, the Electric Light Companies, and from every one he had a confirmation of the conclusion the Committee came to, that 15 years was a sufficient period. He had been told that day, on behalf of the Edison Light Company, that rather than lose the Bill they would be very well satisfied with 15 years. He hoped the Committee would accept that view as one with which, as the Secretary of the Board of Trade had said, the Companies were satisfied.

Sir JOHN JENKINS said, he hoped the Committee would not give way to the Amendment, and would not give to these new Companies a monopoly similar to that granted to Gas Companies. The House should consider very carefully that the electric light had not by any means arrived at such a degree of perfection that in a few seasons there was every reason to suppose it would attain, when it would probably be produced at much less cost than at present. That being so, he did not think it would be wise to extend the period beyond 15 years. At present there was no provision as to the charge to be made, and no definite means of measuring the quantity of electricity used in public, or in workshops, or in private houses. Fifteen years was an ample period to give the Companies.

Mr. W. N. NICHOLSON, in reference to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), begged to state that his Amendment had not anything to do with any Electric Lighting Company, in none of which had he any personal interest. He had brought it forward entirely for public reasons; but after the assurance of the President of the Board of Trade, that the Electric Light Companies were satisfied with the term of 15 years, nothing remained but for him to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. J. K. CROSS said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Louth in his remarks had started an extraordinary idea, that the House should proceed on the principle that no shareholder in a Railway, Gas, or Water Company should have the slightest chance of speaking on a Bill the Government might bring on, touching the interests of any such Companies. He did not think anyone would be able to speak on behalf of the mercantile classes, and the House would lose the benefit of commercial experience if the principle of the hon. Member found acceptance. The reason that induced him to ask the Committee to consider the Amendment he was about to propose was simply that he wanted to facilitate the supply of the electric light; and the only way to do that was, using the words in the beginning of the Bill, to give these Companies some security against undue disturbance. That was a principle well established and well understood, and it was also well understood that the local authorities must have the right to purchase the undertaking at a valuation. This system of electric lighting was totally and entirely a new thing, and hundreds of thousands of pounds might be spent upon experimental trials. If you were to try to light one square mile of any town you would have to pay £200,000, at the very least, and you might probably, during the first four or five years, use a considerable sum, and, after working four or five years, begin to get a little profit, and you might, at the end of 15 years, the term proposed in the Bill, recoup yourselves for perhaps half the expenditure. Meanwhile, new inventions would come into vogue, and the cost of the electric light might be very much lower than it was to-day. A Company, then, that had worked for seven or eight years without advantage, when it began to make a small profit, would, under such circumstances, be in the unfortunate position of being bought out at half of the capital cost, and be mulcted in considerable loss. Well, he had no objection to that, if it would not tell against the extension of electric lighting, but that would be the effect; and therefore he wished to give the Corporations power, if they liked to exercise it, to give a sum equal to 25 per cent on the cost that would be incurred in establishing a similar undertaking at the time being. This provision would be entirely inoperative unless the Corporation saw that considerable profit would accrue from the possession. He did not for a moment wish to put Electric Light Companies in the same position as Gas and Water Companies, and he thought the premiums paid by Corporations on Gas and Water Companies were very exorbitant. He did not for a moment wish to put these new Companies on the same footing; but he was very anxious that Parliament should not do anything that would prevent or tend to prevent the establishment of these Companies, and hence the Amendment he now moved.

Amendment proposed,

In page 13, line 4, leave out after "undertaking" to "considerations," in line 8, and insert, "with such addition for goodwill as may be agreed upon, or, failing agreement, as may be determined by arbitration, but without any addition for compulsory purchase: And, provided always, That the total sum paid shall not exceed by more than twenty-five per centum the value ascertained as aforesaid. When a part only of the undertaking is purchased, payment shall be made on the same terms, but with such addition as may be requisite to compensate for loss occasioned by severance."—(*Mr. J. K. Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. RATHBONE said, he confessed he was rather surprised at the Amendment, so inconsistent, as it seemed to him, with his experience of the line the hon. Member usually took on the side of the public. When these questions came before the House and were debated he could not help feeling sometimes that the possession of wealth was very injurious, not only to chances of Heaven, but to a man's action as a good Liberal on earth. His hon. Friend had doubts as to the want of capital; but that was altogether contrary to his commercial experience. These Companies were going to be allowed very great privileges—he was going to say at the expense of the public—but for which the public would pay in the breaking up of roads and such things, and they ought to pay a certain amount for this. When the House was told that all the Companies but one were satisfied with the Bill, then they might be certain that the public would be served by one Company or another. Could his hon. Friend point to any occasion in which private interest had to meet public interests, and to fight their way before a public body; could he find a single instance in which vested interests had not got a good deal more than their share, and the public a good deal less? He hoped his hon. Friend would not press the Amendment to a division, and that if he did the House would support the finding of its Committee, a Committee which had taken such immense care on the subject, and produced a result which, as had been said repeatedly, the great bulk of the Companies accepted as perfectly sufficient.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone) had made a mistake in the point of his allusion when he said how difficult it was for a man of wealth to be a good Liberal. He always understood his hon. Friend fulfilled both conditions. The hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. J. K. Cross) did not bring forward his Amendment in the interest of the Companies. As he had pointed out, the Company would certainly have to lay out a very large sum, and if they were not successful the Corporation or other local authority would have nothing to do with the undertaking; but if it was successful, then the authorities would come in and purchase. But, as he understood the clause, they would simply purchase at the cost price. He meant to say that having taken into consideration that the Company might be making a good dividend, yet the Corporation would only propose to give it the mere value of the wires and other material. The President of the Board of Trade had spoken several times of these Amendments being introduced in the interest of the Electric Lighting Companies; but this was a general Bill dealing entirely with the future; it was a question on what terms the Companies were to act in future—if they had a large sum in works now there would be some force in the remarks—but it was entirely a question for the future. His right hon. Friend, who very appropriately presided over the Committee, as being the descendant of one of the first pioneers of electrical science, said that in spite of there being no such clause as this there was considerable activity going on among Electric Lighting Companies, and that was so; but without this Bill the Companies could only carry out small instalments in single buildings or in a block of buildings; they were unable to carry on their operations on a large scale, or for the general benefit of all classes of the community. No doubt there was considerable activity, and no doubt there always would be a preference for this system of lighting in separate houses. But it would assist the discussion of the clause if the President of the Board of Trade would explain it a little. He had said the Companies were satisfied with the clause; but he (Sir John Lubbock) was not altogether satisfied with it, and that not in the interest of the Companies, but of the public. Of course, it was quite clear that the electric light could be dispensed much more to the advantage of the public in large than in separate individual instalments, and with more safety. One of the Metropolitan theatres was lighted with the electric light, and a very great improvement it was. It was more beautiful; it was a light that did not vitiate the atmosphere and did not raise the temperature—a great gain in buildings or workshops where a number of people were gathered together. The action of gas, as was well known, was to consume oxygen in the air and to raise the temperature, having the effect of making the air unwholesome. Owing to the absence of provisions such as were in the Bill, to use the light it was necessary to have a dynamo machine on the premises to be lighted, and this constituted a source of danger. On the other hand, if the steam-engines and dynamo machines were apart from the houses, there could be no hesitation in saying that the electric light would come into general use, as being more beautiful, more economic, and more safe than any other light. He did not know whether his hon. Friend intended to divide the Committee; but perhaps the President of the Board of Trade might be able to make some explanation that would be satisfactory. If the meaning of the clause was that even if the Company were successful the local authority could claim the right of purchase at the cost of the works and machinery, such a provision would certainly have the effect of depriving the community, especially the poorer classes, of the advantages of the light for a considerable period. It must be remembered that even if the words of his hon. Friend were accepted the interest of the public would not suffer, for there was no compulsory purchase; only, if the authority chose it, they could purchase. If the words of the clause meant that they should purchase at the price of the undertaking as a going concern, probably his hon. Friend would be satisfied; and even then he doubted whether the Company would get much more than the nominal value of their capital, for the authority would have the right to take the plant, machinery, and wires at their value for the time being, not at cost price.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: My hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) has appealed to me to explain the clause, and I will endeavour to do so. This clause, I may say, has been the subject of the most careful consideration by the Committee, which even took advice upon it; and, as I understand it, its meaning is perfectly clear. It has been so drawn that purchasers will have to pay a fair market value as if they bought in open market—that is, of course, having regard to the suitability of the plant for electric lighting purposes. When the plant is valueless for such purposes its value should be proportionately reduced. When my hon. Friend says that a Company will have to submit to a loss by depreciation, that is perfectly true; but Companies would be expected to have made arrangements providing for that, as every manufacturing trade has to make allowances for depreciation of plant by working. The object of the Electric Lighting Companies should be to conduct their operations with the consent of, and, if possible, by agreement with, the local authorities. If the local authorities are deprived of the power of purchasing the undertakings at the end of a reasonable time, for a reasonable price, they would be left no alternative but to go into the business themselves. With regard to the analogy which has been drawn between this Act and the Gas Acts, it must be recollected that, although there is no Purchase Clause inserted in the Gas Acts, there is a clause in every Act to limit the dividend, and there is nothing of the kind in this Act. I think, therefore, that it will be to the advantage of the Companies themselves that the Amendment should not be adopted, and I hope my hon. Friend the Member for Bolton (Mr. J. K. Cross) will withdraw it.

MR. J. K. CROSS said, after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade he was not left much to say. He would only ask the permission of the Committee to say a few words in answer to what had fallen from the hon. Member for for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone), who seemed to have a very false idea of the Amendment. According to his (Mr. J. K. Cross's) idea, under the present Amendment nothing like the same exorbitant premiums could be paid as had been paid under the Gas Acts. He asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 12, line 43, after the word "value," to insert the words "as a going concern."—(*Mr. Morgan Lloyd.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he was afraid it would be unwise on the part of the Committee to accept the Amendment. An Amendment very similar in character to the Amendment proposed had been carefully considered by the Select Committee, and it was only after full discussion that they decided they could not insert it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 15 to 19, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Application of Act to Ireland).

MR. ION TRANT HAMILTON moved, as an Amendment, to insert in page 15, line 33, after the word "modifications," the words—

"1. This Act shall be read and take effect so far as Ireland is concerned as if the Local Government Board for Ireland was in all instances substituted for the Board of Trade."

And also, in the same clause, in line 38, after the word "the," leave out "Board of Trade," and insert "Local Government Board for Ireland." He had no wish to delay the Committee by speaking on the Amendment; but as it did not affect the principle of the Bill, and would avoid great delay, he hoped the Committee would accept it. The Board of Trade was not so easy of access as the Local Government Board, and communication could more readily be had with the latter.

Amendment proposed,

In page 15, line 33, after "modifications," to insert—"1. This Act shall be read and take effect so far as Ireland is concerned as if the Local Government Board for Ireland was in all instances substituted for the Board of Trade."—(*Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, there was no question of principle involved in the Amendment, and he had a very strong desire to consult the feelings of the Irish Members on the point. The matter was one on which he had no strong personal opinion; but he thought that community of management would be an advantage. If the hon. Member for Dublin County (Mr. I. T. Hamilton) would look at the preceding clause in the Bill, he would see it there laid down that it would be the duty of the Board of Trade to give full opportunities for local inquiries, and many matters of that kind; and he (Mr. Chamberlain) thought that provisions found desirable in England and Scotland should apply also to Ireland. He quite agreed that if they were to have inquiries in Ireland, they should be conducted with the least possible expenditure of labour and expense; and he would see that provision was made for a local inquiry, wherever it was desirable, before parties who had experience in the matter. Under these circumstances, he thought it would be more convenient, and would save expense, if the matter was left as it stood at present.

Mr. E. STANHOPE thought it would be desirable to leave the matter in the hands of the Board of Trade, who ought to have the control of these questions in the Three Kingdoms. The object of his hon. Friend's (Mr. I. T. Hamilton's) Amendment would be gained if provision was made for local inquiries; and he, therefore, recommended him to leave the matter to the Board of Trade.

Mr. CALLAN said, if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would make a statement to the effect that he was willing to introduce into the Act a clause to the effect that the inquiry would be carried out as the Local Government Board inquiries were it would give satisfaction. Although the Local Government Board was unpopular in Ireland, they carried out their local inquiries well, and on the spot, a course which had generally given satisfaction. He thought it would be desirable for the President of the Local Government Board to give an undertaking to that effect.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he would cause inquiries to be made into the matter.

Mr. ION TRANT HAMILTON said, the object of his Amendment was to introduce a local inquiry.

Mr. FINDLATER thought if any means was provided for holding a local inquiry that would meet the object in view.

Mr. PUGH was of opinion that the matter should be left in the hands of the Local Government Board.

Mr. P. MARTIN said, he would desire that in Ireland the inquiries should be under the control of an Irish Board. Having regard to the course of previous legislation, he was surprised the Government sought to confer those powers on the Board of Trade, and not leave the conduct of the investigation with the Local Government Board. Persons who desired to obtain information as to the course to be followed for obtaining those licences could then have applied in Dublin. There would not be the necessity of journeys to London, loss of time, and the cost of sending over officials from London, if an Irish Board was named as the licensing authority for Ireland. But as the Committee appeared to think that the matter should be left to the Board of Trade, he trusted, in addition to the promise that had been made that all inquiries should be local, the President should consider the propriety of opening an office, and having some resident official to act in Ireland as the representative of the Board of Trade. In point of fact, Ireland should be placed on the same level in these matters as England and Scotland, and should have the same facilities.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Mr. BARRAN moved the following new Clause:—

(Application for Provisional Orders.)

"No application for a Provisional Order on the part of any Company or person shall be made in respect of all or any part of the district of a municipal or other local authority without six months' notice in writing (which shall define the area intended to be comprised therein) to such authority, who shall, within that period, be entitled to make application for a Provisional Order in respect of all or any part (including the area defined in such notice) of such district; and, until such application has been disposed of, no other application shall be entertained."

He said the clause which he had just proposed should be added to the Bill was one which asked the support of representatives of all the municipal bodies of England, and he might say that the clause was drawn up at a meeting of the representatives of a very large number of municipal bodies of England, and was forwarded to the Board of Trade. A deputation also waited on his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), who asked Mr. Farrar whether he had received any communications from any Corporations, and Mr. Farrar replied that one of these communications was the clause just moved. In reply to another question, Mr. Farrar replied that, as far as he was aware, there was no objection to the clause. He felt that in advocating the claims of the Corporations of England, he was only advocating the claims of the inhabitants of these boroughs. The position of a Corporation was very different to the position occupied by a private and speculative Company. Whatever loss there was in the one case, the whole municipality had to bear it, and whatever profit was made would accrue to the whole of the ratepayers. He felt that in the case of the borough he had the honour to represent he had a very strong experience in relation to the way in which the Corporations did and ought to discharge their duties as lighting authorities. The Corporation of Leeds bought up the Gas Companies of the town at a cost of £900,000, at a time when the cost of gas to the inhabitants was 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* per 1,000 feet, and from that period the Corporation had been able to gradually reduce the price of gas, so that, at the present time, they were supplying the consumers with gas at a price of 1*s.* 10*d.* per 1,000 cubic feet; and not only the borough of Leeds, but also some outlying districts, were supplied at the same terms. While they did not claim a monopoly, they claimed to be first heard before the Local Government Board before any power was given to others to light the borough. He thought the same principle applied to other boroughs, where the borough was the lighting authority. There, he thought, they should have an opportunity of going before the Local Government Board, and have also a right to be first heard before any Order was made. The clause he had given Notice of had the advantage, to his mind, that if Companies were applying to the Local Government Board for power to light any part of a town, before they made a final application, they should have to give six months' notice to the lighting authority. Between the time when the notice was given and its expiration the lighting authority would be able to bring into operation all kinds of systems, and would thus have an opportunity of discovering what would be the best mode of lighting the town or borough. He did not think this would cause any loss either to the Company or to the lighting authority by the six months' period of time. He thought the borough should have this time for another reason, which was that the Corporation of a town had better means of encouraging inventors of new systems, which private Companies might not have the means to do. He would venture to say that, if the Corporation of Leeds had had the lighting of the town in their own hands 30 years ago, it would have been an enormous saving to the borough and to the rates. If the Corporation was now to be subjected to the control of the Board of Trade, it was just possible that they might have two or three different systems competing for the lighting of the town on various systems, because the Board of Trade would not be justified in confining the lighting of a large borough to one Company; but a Corporation would be different, and he ventured to say the lighting of a town or borough would be much more rapid under the Corporation than under the direction of any Company. He therefore asked the President of the Board of Trade to fulfil the declarations he made at an earlier sitting of the Committee, when he said that the Corporations were entitled to, and must be, trusted implicitly. If these were the views of the right hon. Gentleman he would allow the clause to pass.

New Clause (Notice of application for Provisional Order,) — (*Mr. Barran,*)— *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he thought he would be able to answer his hon. Friend (Mr. Barran) in a few words. He might say that, speaking generally, he agreed with the principle of the Amendment. He agreed that the local authorities were entitled to confidence, and should have a preferential consideration when they found themselves in competition with private Companies seeking to light the streets of a town. But he also wanted to point out that the Amendment would not carry the matter much further than the Bill provided; for the provision in the Bill was for three months' notice, whereas the new clause provided that it should be six months' notice. The clause then went on to define the area, and, lastly, contained the provision that until such application was disposed of no other application should be entertained. The Bill already provided for that. Suppose a Lighting Company went down to a town to light it, three months' notice of this application must be given to the Board of Trade, which would then hear the objections of the local lighting authority or anybody else who objected. The objections of the Corporation, if it was the lighting authority, must be heard before the Board of Trade could decide the application of a private Company; and he had no hesitation in saying that, under any ordinary circumstances, where the local lighting authority applied at the same time as a private Company, the local authority or Corporation would have the preference.

Mr. RAMSAY, in rising to move to report Progress, said, this Bill, which had never been heard of before in Parliament, had been placed in the Orders of the Day before the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill, which had been mentioned three several times in the Queen's Speech, and in which the people of Scotland were greatly interested. The measure now before the House had already occupied double the time the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had promised; but it was impossible to say how long the discussion would be continued, as every clause was being discussed at length. He begged to move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Ramsay.*)

Mr. Serjeant SIMON hoped that, as the Bill had gone so far, the Committee would not consent to report Progress. He hoped some arrangement would be come to, so that the Committee would not divide upon it.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he hoped the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion. Hon. Members had come down for a Saturday Sitting; this was an important Bill; and he did not think an unreasonable amount of time had been taken up, and he was quite prepared to finish this Bill and go on with the Scotch Bill until midnight, or even into Sunday.

Mr. WARTON said, he thought the Scotch Members had reason to complain of great injustice in not having their Bill put down first for to-day.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, before Progress was reported, he should like to have an assurance that the third Bill put down—the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill—would not be taken. Many of his hon. Friends had come down to discuss that Bill, and it was monstrous to say that they should wait six or seven hours while the Scotch Bill was being discussed.

Sir DONALD CURRIE said, he hoped the Motion would be withdrawn.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he had made this Motion because the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) was decidedly to blame for having placed the Scotch Bill second on the Paper. That arrangement had insured the attendance of Scottish Members to make a House for the consideration of the present Bill; but the right hon. Gentleman had no right to do that, having regard to the honour and respect due to Her Majesty, seeing that the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill had been announced in the Speech from the Throne on three several occasions.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked for some explanation.

Mr. FAWCETT said, that the greater part of the third Bill on the list, the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill, was unanimously approved of by the House, and the only point to which objection was raised was the proposal to increase the maximum of insurance and annuity. He felt that those hon. Gentlemen who objected to that would be placed at a great disadvantage if a division was taken on the second reading, because that would prevent a great many hon. Gentlemen who wished to support them in other respects voting with them upon that. Therefore, he would suggest that, as the points objected to were purely matters of detail, the second reading should be taken to day formally; and then he would pledge himself that the Committee stage should be taken at a reasonable hour on a subsequent day. He was the more anxious to adopt that course, because a circular had been issued by the banks objecting to one point in the Bill, and he was willing to meet their objection in Committee by an Amendment which he intended to propose. Under these circumstances, he hoped the House would consent to the second reading.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, it was very hard that hon. Members who wished to discuss this Bill should be kept there during the discussion of a Scotch Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it was unreasonable, after the Scotch Members had sat through the discussion of an English Bill, that English Members should object to sit through the discussion of a Scotch Bill.

MR. WARTON said, some hon. Members had a strong opinion as to the Insurance Bill, and he hoped the Government, having put down three Bills when one or two would have been enough, would give way upon this point. Of course, the Scotch Members ought to have time to discuss their Bill, and he hoped they would have it.

MR. REPTON asked up to what hour the House would continue to sit?

MR. FAWCETT said, he had consulted several hon. Members, among them the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), and he believed it to be the general wish that the second reading should be taken formally as he had suggested, with an undertaking that the Committee stage should be taken at a reasonable hour, when the points objected to could be dealt with.

MR. REPTON said, he was afraid that would not meet the views of hon. Members who objected to the Bill.

MR. TORRENS said, there were many Members who had a serious objection to this Bill.

MR. WARTON said, the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), for instance, had a strong objection to the Bill, but he was obliged to be absent to-day, and the Postmaster General could not have spoken to him.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BARRAN said, he should be satisfied if the President of the Board of Trade would accept six months' limit instead of three months.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I hope my hon. Friend will not put us to the trouble of a division. It is absurd to suppose that any Corporation in the world would not find three months ample time to make up their minds, and it is not fair that the time should be kept open three months longer. The effect of the Amendment would be that a Corporation who had not any intention of going on with the scheme would be able to keep the ratepayers from the advantages of new experiments for six months.

MR. SLAGG said, he did not see the importance of this extension of time; but he did object to giving Corporations a preference, and it did not seem to him that that preference was sufficiently distinct. The President of the Board of Trade had written to the Town Clerk of Manchester saying that it was true in this case no express preference was given to the municipal authorities; and there could be no doubt that in the event of competing schemes being introduced by the Corporation of Manchester and by private Companies, both Parliament and the Board of Trade would be disposed to give preference to the Corporation. That was a point he wished to have made clear. It was not fair that Corporations should stand in precisely the same position as a Company outside; and if the right hon. Gentleman would give an assurance that it should be made clear in the Bill that no preference should be secured to the Corporations he should be content with the time proposed in the Bill.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he thought the arguments had been well and properly urged; but he was anxious that the President of the Board of Trade should know what the feeling was upon this matter. This Amendment, he had reason to believe, expressed the general opinion of the Corporations of England, as did the other two which he had placed on the Paper. The borough he represented included two municipal boroughs, which had expended something like £500,000 upon gas works. In order to make the works pay, the operations had been extended beyond the municipal limits; otherwise the rate would have been very heavy to the two towns. Those towns thought they ought to have a preference as to the establishing of the electric light. They were in favour of electric lighting, and were not opposed to the Bill; all they asked was that they should have preference over any strange Company coming in and competing with the gas works, and thereby throwing the rates more heavily on the ratepayers. It seemed to him that in fairness there should be some express provision in the Bill giving Corporations the option of first coming in. As the Bill now stood, half-a-dozen Companies might come in and get Provisional Orders, and yet not give a good light; whereas, if a Corporation had the right to introduce electric lighting, they would be able to select the best light that could be found.

Mr. W. HOLMS said, he entirely agreed with the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Barran), believing that it would be very unreasonable that the Corporations should have a preferential claim in the matter of electric lighting, more especially in a case where a municipality had the management of the supply. He also thought it reasonable that the six months' limit should be adopted.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, that this question was most carefully considered by the Select Committee upstairs. They examined witnesses and heard speeches by counsel, and the upshot was that they put in this Proviso requiring three months' notice. He had listened very carefully to the arguments now advanced; but he saw no reason to alter the decision of the Committee.

Mr. C. H. WILSON urged the President of the Board of Trade to give way upon this point, as he believed nearly every large town supported the proposal. He knew that a great number of Members representing large constituencies were in favour of it. He spoke for a large constituency himself, and hoped it would not be necessary to go to a division.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 29; Noes 88: Majority 59. —(Div. List, No. 267.)

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, that in consequence of the result of the division he would not move his Amendment.

Schedule *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be reported to the House."

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, in his opinion, there was no instance of any Government having acted so unfairly as the present Government had acted today. English Members had been brought down at 12 o'clock to discuss an English Bill—the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill. Five hours had been already occupied in discussing another Bill, and perhaps five more hours would be occupied in discussing a Scotch Bill before the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill could be reached. He hoped, under these circumstances, the Government would not think of going on with the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill that day.

Mr. RYLANDS supported the appeal of the hon. Gentleman. The question was one in which great interest was taken, and it would be most unsatisfactory to take that Bill after a long discussion on the Scotch Bill.

Mr. FAWCETT said, he should be extremely sorry to put the House to any inconvenience. He had heard a rumour that some people were going to object to the Scotch Bill being taken. He hoped they would not; but if the Scotch Bill was discussed that afternoon fully, he would not bring on the third Order on the Paper.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he trusted the Government would really reconsider their intention of bringing forward the Scotch Bill that afternoon. That Bill was a very important one. It was one brought forward in the Queen's Speech, and he thought it was altogether—[*Cries of* "Order!"]

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member cannot discuss a Bill which is not before the Committee.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he simply appealed to the Government not to bring forward this Bill, on the ground that the discussion could not fail to occupy five or six hours. To bring it on at that Sitting would be most unfair to Scotland.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 147.]

(*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. MUNDELLA: I regret, Sir, as much as any Member of this House that

Scotch Members should have been put to the inconvenience of waiting till this hour in order to discuss the measure which is now before us, and I am sure every Scotch Member will admit that it is through no fault of mine that the Bill is brought on at such a late hour. I quite agree, however, with the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) that as we are here we had better make a night of it. As we have the business on hand, let us get the business through. Nearly every Amendment on the Paper with respect to this Bill is a Committee Amendment. They are on matters really to be discussed in Committee; and as I have a statement to make which I think will materially affect those Amendments, I trust hon. Members will agree that we should go on with the second reading of the Bill; and, for myself, I will do my very utmost to get a proper time for the Committee, and ample opportunity for the consideration of those Amendments. I have certain Amendments of my own, which I will put on the Paper on Monday. Having said that, I feel that I ought to make my statement as brief as possible. I will set an example, I hope, to Scotch Members, by condensing any remarks I have to make upon this Bill. I shall not trouble the House with the history of former Commissions. Commissions have been appointed from time to time to deal with Scotch endowments; nor is it necessary to dwell upon the reasons which have, in the opinion of the Government, rendered this measure urgent. I may say that throughout the three Sessions during which this Bill has been before the House, although there have been many discussions, and many Amendments placed on the Paper, and many deputations to the Department, and many Divisions of the House, I have never received any representation to the effect that a Bill is not necessary. The most important school boards in Scotland, including Glasgow and Edinburgh, have petitioned in favour of the Bill. The Convention of Royal Burghs has petitioned for Amendments; but they have gone the length of saying that, rather than the Bill should be lost, they should prefer it as it stands; and every Scotch Member who has communicated with me has admitted the urgent necessity for the Bill. I may say, then, that the necessity for this measure arises as a corollary of the Commission on the Act of 1878, appointed to deal with Scotch endowments, but which was almost entirely a permissive body, and, being so, failed in dealing with local endowments. It is not to be expected that a Governing Body will reform itself. When that measure was passed through both Houses of Parliament, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) in this House, and the Duke of Richmond in the other, both made a statement to the effect that, if at the expiry of the Commission it had not accomplished the object in view, they would appoint a Commission giving compulsory powers and powers of a sweeping character. Now, Sir, I have to propose that such a Commission should be appointed. I say that, although a compulsory Commission is necessary, it does not arise from the fact that Scotch endowments have been subjected to those gross and flagrant abuses which characterize English endowments, and which so startled the country when the Schools Inquiry Commission made its Report to this House; but arises rather from the fact that many endowments are now obsolete, some are positively injurious, others are dormant, and all are more or less requiring adaptation to the new wants and circumstances of the time. But there is another question to which I would refer. Until these endowments are dealt with in the spirit I have indicated, they are a positive hindrance to much of the constructive work of a voluntary character that would otherwise be done in Scotland. Every Scotchman recognizes the need of a certain amount of technical industrial education. The whole traditions of Scotland are in favour of a higher education than the mere ordinary education of public schools. [SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: No, no!] My hon. Friend challenges me on this point. All I say is that John Knox advocated, and I think that is the tradition of Scotland, that there should be in every parish—"in every notable town," I think the words were—a higher or grammar school, and that these schools should be the means by which the poor of the country might go from the elementary school up to the University. Well, Sir, I say that until we have dealt with these endowments, they stand somewhat in the position of a hindrance. A recent writer, writing on all these subjects, says—

> "Until the country is satisfied that the money left to it by past benefactors is rightly used, it will not bestir itself to the only kind of voluntary activity which promoters of associations appreciate, the kind which results in liberal voluntary contributions for the improvement of high schools. The fact is that these endowments, so far from promoting, are, at this moment, a bar in the way of higher instruction."

The State, by the Act of 1872, has provided a complete system of elementary education for Scotland up to the Sixth Standard. My hon. Friend behind me is anxious, and so was the Commission on which he sat, that the instruction in public schools should be raised as high as possible, so as to bring it within the limit of the grants of the State. I pointed out to him that if we are to grade the Scotch schools we must, as soon as possible, turn the endowments to a different account from that to which they are devoted at this moment. In Scotland there are nearly 500,000 pupils a-day under instruction—almost double the number that were under instruction in 1872; but this Act of 1872 renders the provision of endowments more imperative than it was before the passing of it. I say again, Sir, that the provisions of this Bill are strikingly in harmony with Scotch traditions. I know the need of secondary education has given rise in the last three Sessions to a great deal of dispute. It has been supposed that because secondary education is needed, the aim and scope of the measure is to take endowments, which were left for the poor, and apply them for the benefit of the rich. Middle-class education does not necessarily pre-suppose that it is education exclusively for the middle-class. Middle-class education should not be the monopoly of any class—an opportunity ought to be afforded to every class to rise to the class above them. Well, I hope, before I sit down, to remove some of those exaggerated apprehensions which some hon. Members entertain. I do not for a moment deny the value and importance to a considerable section of the community of free elementary education. I do not desire by this measure at all to interfere with the desire of the founder when he has made a bequest with a deliberate limitation. I know some of my hon. Friends say this does not appear in the Bill. All I can say is, that I will put in words to make it appear in the Bill. We believe that it does so appear, but we are prepared to strengthen the words of the Bill. I say it is not contemplated in the Bill to interfere with the intention of the founder as to the providing of free elementary education. Free education may be most beneficially, and in some instances most injuriously, applied; it all depends on the administration. If it is done by pure nomination, it is very rarely done well. The whole experience of the past shows that. If it is done on some competitive principle—if it is done by fixing some standard of excellence, either by good attendance or good attainment—then free primary education is valuable. That is a question of administration and arrangement, which is entirely left in the hands of the Commission; but that no endowment shall be diverted from its purpose or its class is one of the objects of the measure, and I shall put in words to give effect to that statement. I should like to read a few lines from the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission. As to selection of free scholars by competition the Commissioners say—

> "Admission by competition has been tried in a considerable number of cases, and there appears to be no doubt of its success. It is universally recommended by our Assistant Commissioners as likely to be the most successful remedy for the present state of things, and seems to meet almost all the objections to any other system of nomination, or to indiscriminate admission. It is above partiality, whether personal, social, or political; it marks by natural selection those who can profit by an education higher than the rudiments; it puts the free scholar in the place of honour instead of the place of reproach; it stimulates the education without, and leavens the mass within; it encourages parents, masters, and scholars."

Sir, I can answer for the advantages of education of that kind, because since the passing of the Education Act of 1870 in this country large numbers of scholarships have carried on poor children even for two or three years longer than the primary schools. There is another point on which I should like to say a word or two—namely, with reference to provision for the fees of poor children who cannot pay for themselves. I think an endowment applied to that purpose is perfectly legitimate endowment. For my part, I cannot see that where endowments are expressly left for that purpose you ought to divert them, nor do we contemplate doing that under this Bill; but after all that can be said for elementary education, it does not remove the bar which separates the children of the poorer classes from the advantage of higher education. Take the mass of the working men's children in the country, the difficulty is not so much the 2*d.* or 3*d.* a-week to pay for the child's instruction until the child reaches the age required for labour, but it is that the parent denies himself the benefit of the child's labour when he reaches the age of 12 or 13 years. It is then that the help is wanted, when the child has to be kept at school and from labour during three or four years of great importance to the parent, and also when some higher education has to be provided and to be paid for. What we need so much is some means of carrying on poor children beyond the Fifth or Sixth Standard, and doing it better for them than we have yet done. There are many ways in which this can be accomplished. Of course, the principal means is by means of scholarships, and I cannot conceive anything better than a settlement of this question. It is not what it would do for secondary and higher education, but it is the enormous influence it would have on the whole mass of the public education of the country. I could give an illustration. In my own town, since the passing of the Education Act of 1870, it has been found by many manufacturers that the difficulty as to clever children of poor parents is the carrying them on after 12 or 13 years of age. They put their hands in their own pockets, having no endowments for the purpose, and they have offered scholarships of £10, £15, and £20 a-year, for one, two, and three years, for clever children, who gain them by competition in the elementary schools of the town. The result is to stimulate the whole elementary education of the district. The same thing has been done in Liverpool in a marvellous manner. There is an Educational Council in Liverpool that has contributed some £30,000 for this purpose. There are 90,000 children in the schools there, and I engage to say that that £30,000 has done as much to stimulate the better education of Liverpool as the very much larger sum which is contributed by the Government grant, and I believe the same effect will be obtained in Scotland. I do not think I need, in the presence of Scotchmen of very high position in regard to education, dilate on the advantages of what I have shadowed forth. Many Amendments have been placed before me, and I wish to state, as briefly as possible, what we are prepared to do with respect to them. There are many things we can accept, and wherever there is any reasonable Amendment placed before us, we shall be glad to do so. We have no other object in the world in this measure but to improve Scotch education in accordance with the best Scotch tradition ; and I can only say that I believe that if Scotchmen avail themselves to the full of the advantages which this measure affords, and if we have a good, useful, active Commission of able and intelligent men, the result will be satisfactory. When the time comes, we shall name a Commission of able and intelligent men, zealous for the cause of education and the honour and advancement of their country. I will now point out how far these Amendments will affect the Bill. In the first place, it has been said that the Preamble too specifically points at secondary education. I am bound to say that the subject has been long enough before the Scotch people to know what it means, and I am quite content to leave the matter to the time when the Bill has been properly formulated and settled, and to leave in these few words—"Whereas it is desirable to extend the usefulness," and so on, "of education," and to cut out the three succeeding paragraphs down to line 12 in the Preamble. Then I come to the most important of all the clauses—Clause 6, which provides for a popular elective element in trusts. I perfectly agree that it is exceedingly desirable, in order that trust bodies may be kept wholesome and sweet, that the popular element should be introduced. There is a danger in having it exclusively popular. I can only say for myself that I have been a member of every kind of Governing Body in this country, and I say that it is a great advantage when men who are not called upon to go through the rough process of popular election are selected to give their services in the cause of education. I know nothing has worked better in that respect than the Free Library system, in which a certain number of members are appointed by the Town Council, and a certain number of members are appointed outside the Town Council. Persons appointed outside are persons who, while they would not enter into the arena of political contest, are of high educational attainments, who are willing to place their services at the command of the community, and who have rendered the greatest possible service in our Free Libraries and Museums from one end of England to the other. What I propose is this. We have in Clause 6 stated that where a body has derived its qualification from election, the popular element shall not be less than a majority. I am prepared to say in that case it shall not be less than two-thirds; but, of course, I always adhere to the school board principle. I think it would be most important that there should be some of the school board element. In a country like Scotland, where every parish has a school board, it is important that those who have to deal with the education of the country should have some share in the government of these trusts. It is of the highest importance, for the reason that they are responsible for the education of their district; they know the exact condition of their locality, and the wants here and there throughout the country; and they are the men who supply information as to the necessity of this or that grant for education being most useful for the country. Therefore, I propose that, instead of not less than a majority, it shall not be less than two-thirds of the Governing Body where they are at present actually a majority. Where, on the other hand, they are to any extent representative, the popular element shall then be not less than one-half; and where there is no elective representation it shall now be not less than one-third, so that the popular element shall run through every trust in Scotland. I feel some remorse in fettering so much the hands of the Commission on this ground. If you appoint such men, who have but one object to serve—the good of their country — you ought not to tie them hand and foot when they come into a Commission of this kind. But let it be borne in mind that we have said here this is the minimum; they may make any other change beyond, they may make it entire, they may make it the maximum—not less than two-thirds, or one-half, or one-third, derive their qualification from election, and they may be members of the school board. [An hon. MEMBER: Is it to be direct representation?] The vast majority of the municipal trusts in Scotland are under £50, and the idea of direct representation to multiply elections would make the thing ridiculous. I do not describe all the Amendments, but only the more important. My third Amendment is one in Clause 7, which meets, I think, really rather a bugbear, if I may so call it, than a reality. There has been an impression abroad that because we said we have a regard for secondary and higher education in Scotland, therefore that implied that a trust might be taken out of its particular locality to some other part of Scotland. There never was any such intention, and I have always declared so; and in order to make it plain that there shall be no danger of delocalization, we have agreed to put in three words—I think, indeed, I borrowed them — "To provide for higher education in those localities to which the endowments severally belong." That surely fixes it as completely as it can possibly do, and puts an end to all danger of delocalization. The next point is that of free education. Clause 13 has relation to free education, and the scheme is supposed not to guard sufficiently free education. We have therefore agreed to put at the end of Clause 13 the words—

> "And shall provide that no funds now applied, in terms of a founder's will, to free primary education shall be diverted to any other purpose."

DR. CAMERON: What about the existing Acts of Parliament?

MR. MUNDELLA: Let me answer my hon. Friend as to Acts of Parliament. I suppose what Parliament has done it can undo. I suppose Parliament has not always done wisely; and if my hon. Friend says that whatever has been done by Parliament shall never be disturbed, that is a conservative doctrine I never expected to hear from anyone on these Benches. If a man left something 200 years ago, and Parliament has in the last 10 or 20 years made some change, and if it is thought now desirable that some further change should be made, my hon. Friend wants to preclude the possibility of that being done. That is a new doctrine I never heard propounded before in this House. Suppose the money has been applied contrary to the provisions of the founder's will—is it not to be revised? And what we say is this—that whatever has been provided by a founder for free education shall not be diverted to any other purpose.

DR. CAMERON: Are those the words?

MR. MUNDELLA: Those are the words. Now, Sir, there is another important Amendment to Clause 15—that is the limiting of the endowments to the classes to which they were intended to be made. We, therefore, propose to insert after Clause 15, and in line 29, the following words:—

> "Provided that where the founder of any educational endowment has expressly provided for the education of children (whose parents are not sufficiently able to maintain them), either generally or within a particular area, or for their maintenance, clothing, or advancement in life, such endowment for such education or maintenance, clothing, or advancement in life, as the case may be, shall continue to be applied for the benefit of such."

That strictly confines the endowment to the class for which it was intended. I see the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), who is an old Endowed Schools Commissioner, is perfectly shocked at this. I am not altogether surprised, and I think, in some respects, he is right. But my duty is to carry a measure which shall be consonant, so far as possible, to the wishes of the majority of Scotchmen, and as shall conduce to the best interests of Scotch children and Scotch education. I have done my best, in conjunction with the Lord Advocate and the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery), to meet what we believe to be the wishes of the Scotch Members in this matter, and I trust we have so far succeeded. Then, Sir, I come to the last of my principal Amendments—that is, the question of procedure. Now, we have taken great care in order to meet—I may almost say the suspicions—the apprehensions of a great many of our Scotch friends. We have taken great care that the procedure shall be very careful and very guarded. We have proposed that the preliminary inquiry shall be a public inquiry. We do not propose, as some people have suggested, that the Commissioners should deliver their votes in public. That is too outrageous, and I think nobody will get up in the House to propose it. We do say the inquiry shall be a public inquiry. I will just give the mode of procedure as it will appear upon the Paper. (1) The Governing Body will have due time to prepare and send in a scheme of their own; (2) the Commission will have to consider this scheme; (3) there shall be a full public inquiry; (4) full publication of all proposals; (5) objections to be received after the publication; (6) Scotch Education Department to consider the scheme and any objections; (7) there shall be a new publication with the decision of the Scotch Education Department; and (8) there shall be an opportunity for petition and Parliamentary consideration of any scheme dealing with this matter. Surely nothing can be more guarded or fair or hedged round than we have endeavoured to fence this measure. I am afraid I have kept the House too long; but it was my endeavour that my statement should be complete as to the Amendments. There are some Amendments suggested by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow which we are prepared to admit. One particularly is this—they have powers at Glasgow for appropriating moneys for a museum, technical education, and Free Libraries; and we shall put in these objects and include them in the scope of the Bill. I trust that though this measure is late and has been long delayed, and although there has been some inconvenience to hon. Gentlemen who have attended here to-day, I do trust they will still show that same self-sacrificing and patriotic spirit to the end of the Session, and that this Bill will become law, and Scotland will reap the advantage of it.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, he was entirely favourable to the principle of this measure; and he was quite disposed to vote for the second reading. Indeed, if it had not been for Amendments proposed from the other side of the House the second reading of this Bill would have taken place long ago. As he and those who sat with him had not interposed any such Amendments, he felt that he could with a perfectly clear conscience suggest to the House a proposal which he was then about to make. Let him remind the House that this was a very important Bill; at least, Her Majesty's Government considered it to be a very important Bill, or they would not, he supposed, have put it down in the Queen's Speech in three successive Sessions. Under these circumstances, surely they might have found some other and more favourable day for the discussion of this measure. But assuming, for the sake of argument, that they were unable to find such a day, surely they might have given them a Saturday earlier in the Session. What had they done? They had not even given them a complete Saturday; but they had given them the fag-end of a Saturday at the fag-end of the Session. He said that Her Majesty's Government had brought the Scotch Members down to that House to-day under false pretences. [“No, no!”] He repeated his words—false pretences. They had used them as a catspaw—they had used them to keep a House for the Electric Lighting Bill. The President of the Board of Trade told the House yesterday that the Electric Lighting Bill would not occupy more than two hours. It had lasted more than twice that time; and he might remind the House that the Prime Minister said he did not intend the Sitting to-day should be a protracted Sitting. But if they might judge from the speeches which were about to be made, it was very likely to be protracted into Sunday morning. That was an evil precedent. Irish Members would not allow themselves to be used as Scotch Members were used in this business; and he could only warn Scotch Members opposite that if they allowed themselves to be used in this way by the Government, not only this Government, but future Governments, would put down in the Queen's Speech any number of measures for Scotland, and say there was no occasion to find a day for a discussion of these measures early in the Session, because they could always give them a Saturday at the end of July. Believing this would establish an evil precedent, on the part of Members sitting not only on that side of the House, but on the other side—for this was no Party matter—he begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. FRASER-MACKINTOSH seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the Debate be now adjourned.”—(*Colonel Alexander.*)

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he sincerely trusted the Motion would not be pressed. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said—“Why did not the Government give us an earlier Saturday Sitting?” He must know how bitterly the proposal for a Saturday Sitting had been fought by Members on his own side of the House, and he knew that the Government could not have given one earlier. He appealed to the hon. and gallant Member, considering the difficulties of the Government throughout the Session, not to waste time in useless debates about adjournment. He would appeal to the patriotism of Scotch Members to allow the House to proceed with the Bill.

Mr. ORR EWING said, he sympathized with his hon. and gallant Friend in the feeling that the Scotch Members had not been well treated. They were in a very different position from English Members. When they came up to London, at the opening of Parliament, they very seldom had the opportunity of going home again during the Session, and they were practically kept in London from February to August. He thought, therefore, considering the importance of the questions involved in this Bill, and the small amount of legislation which was devoted to Scotland, a little more consideration should have been shown Scotch Members in the matter; and it was but due to them that the Bill should have been first on the Paper. The Electric Lighting Bill might have been brought on afterwards, and carried on to any hour of the night. However, seeing that this was a Bill which they should all like to see passed a little modified from what it was, and that the Vice President of the Council had made his speech and indicated several important Amendments, he hoped his hon. and gallant Friend would withdraw his Motion for Adjournment, and that they might finish the debate on the second reading.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he regretted that the Government did not seem to know their own mind on this Bill. The point on which he felt very strongly was the slur which was thrown by the Bill upon popular representation. That matter was brought prominently before the Government two years ago, and very strongly last year; but, nevertheless, no adequate concession was made in the present Bill. Under the pressure of the Scotch Members, the Government seemed now disposed to make certain concessions in the proper direction, and he only regretted they did not do so to begin with, and frame their Bill on proper lines. If they had done so the Bill would have commanded greater confidence in Scotland, and its passing would have been facilitated. Personally, he was not satisfied yet with the concession which they had made with regard to representation. He was not going to argue the question upon this Motion; but he thought it would be well to exercise still further pressure upon the Government. He was exceedingly surprised that they should have been so niggardly on the question of popular representation, and particularly that the right hon. Gentleman who was in charge of the Bill should endeavour in this indirect way to throw discredit upon that principle.

LORD COLIN CAMPBELL said, he rose to Order. He thought the remarks of the hon. Gentleman were not confined to the Question before the House.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was giving his reasons for supporting the proposal of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite. He said that on this point the Government had merely yielded to extreme pressure from the Scotch Members; and, perhaps, by exercising still greater pressure, they should get the representation put upon a proper footing. It was all very well for the right hon. Gentleman to say that these were questions for Committee. They knew very well that if the Bill went into Committee the Government would use its majority to press the Bill through, perfectly regardless of the views of the Scotch Members and the Amendments which they might move. The only hope, therefore, for those who wished to see the Bill further amended was to induce the Government to make further concessions before they went into Committee; and then, if the Government could do so frankly and freely, and state what they were prepared to do with regard to the measure, he hoped there would be no difficulty whatever in passing a Bill of which all the Scotch Members, in some shape or other, were in favour.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, he rose to join in the appeal which had been made to his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for South Ayrshire to withdraw his Motion. There was very much to be said for his contention that the Scotch Members had just grievances, and it was true that some most important measures in regard to Scotland had received no consideration from the House, and that there was no proper time devoted to Scotch Business. But the Scotch Members possessed one faculty, that of common sense, and it was certainly against all their hereditary common sense that the House should go on wasting time on Motions for Adjournment, while they might be in full discussion of the Bill. He was sure that, after the conciliatory speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and the many Amendments he proposed, his hon. and gallant Friend would not persist in his Motion.

MR. RAMSAY also desired to appeal to his hon. and gallant Friend opposite not to press his Motion, and he might state to him—for he believed the hon. and gallant Member was absent from the House at the time—that during the discussion upon the previous Bill he (Mr. Ramsay) had entered a protest against the Government placing the Scotch Endowment Bill second on the Paper, as, in his opinion, it should have been the first.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he rose to support the Motion made by the hon. and gallant Member. Two nights ago he had appealed to the right hon. Gentleman not to bring forward this Bill at the fag-end of a Saturday Sitting, on the ground that the hour at which the Bill could be reached was too late to allow of its being properly discussed. He thought the Scotch Members had been hardly dealt with. They had had an arduous week's sitting early and late; and now, after meeting that day at 12 o'clock, they were ordered to begin the discussion of the Bill at an hour when, at a Wednesday Sitting, after so meeting, the House would almost be on the point of rising. They had been told by the President of the Board of Trade that the Electric Lighting Bill was not likely to occupy more than two hours. Under the expectation that the Endowments Bill might come on at 2 o'clock, the Scotch Members had withdrawn their opposition to its being fixed for second Order on a Saturday. He did not complain at all of the President of the Board of Trade, because he had no anticipation of the amount of opposition which would be made to the Electric Lighting Bill in Committee. But the fact remained, and it was now late in the afternoon. The Vice President's speech indicated some very important Amendments, and he frankly acknowledged that they removed a great many objections to the Bill; but those Amendments required consideration. They could not tell at first sight what their exact scope would be, and they might possibly be found to go to the desired length. He asked why no earlier opportunity had been given them of considering those Amendments? They had pressed all through the Session for concessions, and the right hon. Gentleman had kept them back, and would say nothing about them; and then, at the last moment on a Saturday afternoon, he brought them down and let them know what they were. He thought they ought to have been earlier informed of what the Government intended to do, and he should certainly support the hon. and gallant Member for South Ayrshire if he went to a division.

Mr. W. HOLMS said, that he, in common with all Scotch Members, felt that Scotland had been very badly treated; and had the hon. and gallant Member for South Ayrshire moved the adjournment before the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he should have felt very much disposed to support him. But after the very clear and brief speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and after the concessions he had made, he thought, now that they were there, they should be playing truant from their duty if they did not go on. Moreover, he thought the Government concessions would go a long way to shorten the speeches hon. Members intended to make. Under those circumstances, he sincerely trusted that the Motion for Adjournment would be withdrawn.

Colonel ALEXANDER said, that, in deference to the appeal which had been made to him by the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees and by other hon. Members, he should ask leave to withdraw the Motion. He never wished to put the House to the trouble of a division; but he wished to enter a protest against important Scotch Business being taken on a Saturday afternoon at the end of the Session; and he should repeat that protest on every occasion on which this Government or any succeeding Government attempted to do so.

Mr. WARTON asked, before the Motion was withdrawn, whether there was any intention of taking the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill, which was the third Order?

Mr. MUNDELLA: I understand that my right hon. Friend the Postmaster General stated that, if the Scotch debate was seriously entered upon, he had no intention of taking the next Bill.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. WEBSTER said, he was very glad, and he must congratulate the Vice President upon it, that the Bill now before the House was so far launched on the way to success, and he was there to express his decided belief that the main scope and principles of the Bill had the feeling and opinion of the people of Scotland decidedly with them; and that they were very anxious that this Bill, with certain Amendments, but in its main substance, should receive the Royal Assent. If that were doubted, he might point to the fact that it did not rest on the assurance of a single Member; but that 28 Petitions had been presented in favour of the Bill, and not one single Petition had been presented to the House against the principle of the Bill, and only seven Petitions had been presented suggesting modifications and alterations, which he believed would be met by the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. He might say, also, that in addition to Petitions from the School Boards of Glasgow and Edinburgh, which were mentioned as supporting the Bill, there were also Petitions in its favour from school boards of other large towns in Scotland—from Aberdeen, from Dundee, and from Kirkcaldy. He should not go over the same ground as the Vice President of the Council had done when he communicated to the House the various points upon which he was ready to make concessions. He had watched these very anxiously, and desired to press upon the right hon. Gentleman and the House the consideration of a matter which attracted the highest interest, and that was the case of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. He watched very anxiously to see whether that Society was included amongst the Institutions which were to be brought under the scope of the Commission; and he thought he was entitled to say, from assurances given by the Vice President and other Government officials, that it was intended that that Society, which, according to the Returns, had the largest educational funds of any body in Scotland, amounting to £200,000 in value, should be brought within the purview and scope of the present Bill, and those who were acquainted with Scotland and knew the interest taken in educational bodies would understand that it must be so.

MR. MUNDELLA: Certainly it will.

MR. WEBSTER said, that being so, and the Society having expressed their willingness to be included, he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would consent to certain reasonable Amendments being put into the Bill, which should make that point perfectly clear and beyond all shadow of doubt. Leaving that point, he did not understand that any Amendments were proposed on Clauses 8 and 10, which were so obscure and puzzling that, after very careful attention, he had found it impossible to understand them, and the same doubt and difficulty with respect to them was found by others. Another matter he wished to mention was that amongst the other safeguards to be furnished to the people of Scotland the right hon. Gentleman stated that the schemes passed by the Commissioners were to be brought before Parliament.

MR. MUNDELLA: The custom is this—that whenever any scheme is petitioned against by anyone in the district, then that scheme must be laid before Parliament; but to require that every scheme should be laid before Parliament would be too much.

MR. WEBSTER said, he thought it was desirable that every scheme should be brought before Parliament; and, if he was not much mistaken, it was the case with respect to the schemes passed by the English Commission.

MR. MUNDELLA: No; that is not so.

MR. WEBSTER said, he would not dispute the point then, but he thought he should be able to show at a later stage of the Bill that it was so; but he thought that every scheme passed by the Commissioners ought to be brought before Parliament, which would give them an opportunity they would not otherwise have of having such schemes discussed. In conclusion, while he frankly owned that he had no objection or complaint to indulge in, nor any recrimination to make, as to the conduct of the Government in relation to this Bill—he knew how hard pressed they had been for time—he nevertheless hoped there would be ample time given to hon. Members to put their Amendments on the Paper, and that, when placed on the Paper, time should be allowed for their consideration in Committee, which was certainly the proper time to raise and discuss objections to the Bill.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, that, although he had an Amendment on the Paper against the second reading, he did not for a moment object to the main principle of the Bill, which was that these educational endowments should be utilized to the fullest possible extent; and although the Bill diverted them, to a certain extent, from their original purpose, he thought it was really carrying out in the best way the intentions of the pious founders. But he did object to the way in which it was proposed to administer these funds in future as set forth in the Bill, more particularly before the explanation which had been given by the Vice President of the Council. The question which he wished to bring before the House was really this—whether these endowments should be invested in the future in representatives of the people or in a close Corporation? He was glad that the Government had given way to a considerable extent regarding the future Governing Bodies, and had provided that, in some cases, it should be administered partly by representative bodies, in other cases that it should be by one-half, and in the third case that it should be by one-third.

MR. MUNDELLA: In all cases, not by less.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was very glad to hear that statement, and that the right hon. Gentleman had seen his way to concede so far. Now, he wished to point out that they did not propose that the Governing Bodies should be actually elected representatives—for his own part, he should be satisfied that the popular representative bodies should be elected of two-thirds.

MR. MUNDELLA: That is so.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that; but, according to the Bill as it stood before the House, no such provision was made. He thought that one-third was too small a proportion for the future. If these were really public funds —and it was upon that ground that he understood Parliament was dealing with them—he thought it essential that the funds should be intrusted to the control, at least, of popularly elected bodies. They had heard, and it was of considerable importance in connection with the agitation going on with regard to these funds, that Town Councils had been condemned for their administration of them as trustees. Well, he was not concerned to defend Town Councils, or prepared to say that their administration had been perfect; but he thought that the administration of these funds at the hands of Town Councils would compare favourably with any other bodies or trustees whatever, and when the Government proposed that in some cases the proportion should be one-third and in others two-thirds, he was anxious that the right hon. Gentleman should give them some indication as to who the Governing Bodies were to be, and say whether they were to be popularly elected. He was anxious upon this point, because the education of Scotland, which the right hon. Gentleman justly observed had been in all times influenced and regulated by the people, should continue to be so; and he was anxious that on this second occasion on which the Government were going to give to Scotland an Act which would, he hoped, be of great advantage to her people, the people should have a voice in controlling and directing the kind of secular education which they desired to have. But there was an apprehension in his mind, and in the minds of other Scotch Members—and he thought that that apprehension was not altogether unfounded—that this Bill was, to a certain extent, promoted by those who had some particular views of a particular kind of education, and that it was not the kind of education that the people of Scotland wished. [*Cries of* "No!"] If that was not so, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman why he did not trust the secular education of Scotland with the people of Scotland as it existed at the present moment? With regard to the question of competition, he did not see how it was possible to introduce competition into primary education; it was not obvious to him how children were to be admitted to the benefits of primary schools by any system of competition. He could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman as to the technical classes. It was a more difficult subject than the right hon. Gentleman supposed. He was not aware that success had been very great in that direction, and, therefore, he was still more anxious that, if competitive technical education was to be adopted, it should be under public influence; and that was one reason why he was so anxious that the Governing Bodies should be very largely representative. There was another point on which he wished the Government had given way, and that was that in the matter of the Provisional Orders under the Bill they should have referred to the Representatives of Scotland in that House. He objected to the Education Board at Edinburgh, or to the education of Scotland being centralized in England. They heard of the Scotch Education Department; but he thought that the Scotch Education Department was really a myth. He understood that there had been only one or two meetings of that Department during many years past.

Mr. MUNDELLA: That is not the case. I must at once take exception to that; there have been several meetings in the present year.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he should be obliged if the right hon. Gentleman would inform him how many meetings had been held during the last three years. He had no doubt that, since attention was recently called to the subject, there had been some meetings; but he was very much afraid that in previous years the Department was very much neglected.

Mr. MUNDELLA: There have been, ever since I have been in the Council, very frequent meetings of the Scotch Education Department. There were meetings on this Bill the first year, last year, and this year.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was glad to hear that so much care was taken of the education of Scotland. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman had removed an impression that was very prevalent amongst Scotch Members. What he wished to see was this—that these Provisional Orders should be under the control of a Minister of Education for Scotand, or of whoever represented Scotland in the House of Commons; and his own feeling, and that, he thought, of some Scotch Members, was that they should prefer, if they had representations to make with respect to these orders, to make them to the Minister for Scotland or the Representative of Scotland in that House, rather than to the Representative of education generally. He hoped, again, that the right hon. Gentleman would still further consider the question of popular representation, and if the Government would concede that there should be a majority of that character in all cases he should be very glad to give them his support in passing the Bill. He should have liked the Bill to have given even greater powers to the Commissioners in dealing with the money of these endowments, without having them confined to any particular purpose or any special locality; but he would very gratefully accept the Bill as it was if the Government would only afford what he thought fair and proper provision for representation of the Governing Bodies of schools.

DR. CAMERON said, that the statement which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman had very considerably altered the position of affairs; and, therefore, he hoped to be able to abstain from inflicting on the House such a lengthened argument as he might otherwise have felt inclined to enter upon in support of the position which he had taken up on this Bill. It was quite true that the Amendments which were on the Paper with regard to this stage of the Bill were more suited for Committee; but it must be remembered that this was the third edition of the Bill, and the Amendments had been repeatedly urged upon the right hon. Gentleman, and up to that time they had been unable to obtain any satisfactory replies to the various points. In common with hon. Gentlemen who had acted with him in this matter, he was entirely in favour of five-sixths of what the right hon. Gentleman proposed; but, as far as the remainder of the proposals went, they could not see eye to eye with him. In the speech he had just made, the right hon. Gentlemen had gone a considerable length to meet them; but, so far as the point which he himself had specially dealt with was concerned, he must say that he was not at all satisfied with the nature of the concession. In fact, it appeared to him to a very large extent illusory; and he should feel himself obliged, while not objecting to the second reading of the Bill, to place his Amendment on the Paper on the Bill going into Committee. He should be perfectly willing, of course, to remove that Amendment should the words which the right hon. Gentleman proposed show that he was mistaken in the impression he had formed of his remarks. He was as fully alive as any Member could be to the amount of educational endowments in Scotland either wasted or misapplied, and to the importance of dealing with them at once, and applying them to some other purpose; but there was a small portion of the educational endowments thoroughly well applied, legitimately and quite in accordance with the will of the founders and of Parliament and of the people, to primary education. The right hon. Gentleman had acknowledged that the funds so applied were legitimately and well applied; and it would follow, if what he had said were so, that they should continue to be applied in that manner to their fullest extent. He did not go so far as the right hon. Gentleman did in the matter of doles; but he thought that money so spent in doles was to a large extent wasted, and that when the Government were dealing with them, they were dealing with one of the most demoralizing influences concerned with these charities. But when it came to primary education, and teaching children whose parents could not afford to pay the fees to read and write, then, he thought, these funds were properly applied. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that indiscriminate admission to primary education was bad. He (Dr. Cameron) did not agree with him in that. He did not see how they could have a system of primary education that was not to a large extent one of free admission.

MR. MUNDELLA: I said by nominees.

DR. CAMERON replied, that in free elementary schools there could not be much corruption or anything else of that sort. The right hon. Gentleman had given a description of competition as applied to primary education; but he did not understand how the right hon. Gentleman meant that competition to be applied. In the Report of the first Commission on Scotch Endowments there was a rubric to the effect that they considered competition inexpedient at an early age when applied to the better class of schools, and it seemed to him (Dr. Cameron) that if the rubric was correct in one case it was in the other. The right hon. Gentleman mentioned one good application of the funds in connection with free primary education—that of enabling parents to keep their children at school longer than they otherwise would do; but that was provided for, to a large extent, by the practice of admitting the oldest of three or four members of the same family to public schools for half the fees or without fees at all. The right hon. Gentleman went so far as to say that he considered the payment of fees of children who could not pay for themselves as a thoroughly legitimate application of educational endowments with which he would not interfere; and, in giving the details of the method by which he would deal with the question, he told them that he would provide that no fund which, in the terms of the founder's wish or will, were applied to primary education should be diverted to other purposes. Wishing to save time, he (Dr. Cameron) interpolated the words "and by Act of Parliament," and the right hon. Gentleman turned round upon him and said surely it was a most reactionary idea that Parliament was infallible, and that what was done by one Act of Parliament should not be done by another. But that was a most important point. The most extensive, the most important, and best conducted system of free schools in Scotland existed, not under the will of the founder, but under an Act of Parliament passed in 1836. In the free schools so conducted some 5,000 children were educated without any expense to the State. The average attendance was higher than in any other public schools in Scotland, and the proportion of passes was higher than it was in any of the Board schools in Scotland, owing, no doubt, to the high attendance. In these schools they had something like admission by competition. These schools having, according to the Educational Commissioners, a reputation for the highest efficiency, it was an object of ambition for parents of the poor classes to get their children into them, and the Governors were able to lay down a rule that unless children attended regularly they would be deprived of the privilege of attending that school. He said that these particular schools were under an Act of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to exempt schools from an Act of Parliament in order to be governed by the will of the founder, and he would thus withdraw with the one hand by far the most important part of the concession given with the other. He (Dr. Cameron) did not mention what the schools were; he knew the name stank in the nostrils of many Members of that House. These were the Heriot Free Schools. He did not care for them except in this, that they were free schools, and he had the same regard for them as for free schools all through Scotland. They were by far the best conducted, by far the most successful, and by far the most extensive free schools in Scotland; and why the right hon. Gentleman refused to accept the principle with regard to them which he accepted with regard to every other class of schools he could not understand. In many cases the right hon. Gentleman was quite willing to grant safeguards; but if they looked at the Report of the Educational Commissioners, they would find that they reported that a large number of the bursary endowments in Scotland were bad—that £5,500 a-year was absolutely wasted, and did more harm than good. The right hon. Gentleman had safeguarded in the Bill people who were strong enough to fight for themselves; but here, when there was no one to fight except the Representatives of the Heriot Trust—who were not in very good odour in that House, probably on account of the pertinacious manner in which they had defended their Institution—he refused to do so. So far as the wishes of the founder were concerned, he (Dr. Cameron) had no respect for them; but so far as the funds left for free primary education under the wish of the founder were being safeguarded he was perfectly satisfied. The Executive Commission which had just expired had shown a very great dislike to free education, and the Commissioners of 1875 had been strongly against it. The previous Commissioners had apparently been as strongly in favour of it; but since then the superstition had gone abroad that the Act of 1872 did away with all necessity for it. The necessities of poor persons, however, were just where they had been, and although provision had been made for allowing fees to be paid on behalf of parents who could not pay them, that provision was made payable through the Poor Board, and it had been admitted that that system of paying fees through the Parochial

Board was radically wrong. With regard to the Heriot Free Schools, it was said that the children educated in these schools were the children of parents who could quite well afford to pay fees; but statistics showed otherwise. There was nothing like looking to facts in such a matter. A collection of the schedules of applications for admission to the Heriot Free Schools had been taken, and it had been found that the average wages of the applicants were 19*s.* per week. Only a certain proportion of those applicants were successful, and the average wages of the successful applicants were 17*s.* 4½*d.* per week. He must say that if they were to give educational assistance or endowments to any persons who were not paupers, they could not apply them to a better purpose than in aiding persons whose average wages were only 17*s.* 4½*d.* per week. Not long ago a Sheriff in Bathgate had held that a man earning 17*s.* a-week was not in a position to pay his children's school fees, and had granted him an order for them. It was said that these schools were not earning a grant, and that, consequently, £5,000 were lost that might have been earned. The Prime Minister had spoken not long ago of the demoralizing influence of grants in aid, and had said that they taught people to extract as much money as they could from the public purse; but why, if the people of Edinburgh could get their children better educated than in grant-earning schools without any cost to the Exchequer, and in a way that satisfied them better, should they not let them have their own way? If they wanted to alter that, why did they not extend the principle of payment by results, and pay schools by results, whether they charged fees or not? That was the proper way.

MR. MUNDELLA: I beg my hon. Friend's pardon. Our Code does pay grants to schools, whether they charge fees or not.

DR. CAMERON said, he was very glad to hear that, because it took away an argument that he had understood was used by the right hon. Gentleman, and that certainly had been used by the previous Commissioners. It also took away a very strong argument that had been used for compelling the Governors of Heriot's Hospital to extract fees, because it was a fact that within the last few years the Heriot Governors had proposed a scheme, and one of the reasons why that scheme had been rejected was that they did not ask powers to extract fees. So obnoxious to the people of Edinburgh had been the proposal to extract fees that they had expressed their dissatisfaction by turning out of the Town Council all the persons who voted for the fees. He hoped there would be no misunderstanding with regard to the position he took up in this matter. He had endeavoured to direct his observations exclusively and practically to one point. If the right hon. Gentleman confined his words to endowments applied to primary education, in accordance with the will of the founder, refusing to recognize endowments applied in the same manner in accordance with Acts of Parliament of 40 or 50 years' standing, the concession he made was simply an illusory concession, since it let all the institutions requiring reform escape out of the net, while it stamped out the most important free institutions in Great Britain. He hoped he might have misunderstood what the right hon. Gentleman had said; but, as a matter of precaution, he should put down his Amendment on going into Committee, on the understanding that he should be happy to withdraw it should he prove to be mistaken in the import of the words which the right hon. Gentleman had used.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he supported very cordially the second reading of the Bill, believing it would have the effect of removing most serious defects in Scotch education, defects which prevented many children of the poorer classes from getting the benefits of secondary education. There were just one or two points which had been raised in the discussion upon which he would ask the attention of the House for a very brief period. He thought, accurately to apprehend the precise effect of the measure, they must bear in mind the fact that in Scotland they had had for a period of more than 300 years a national system of education—meaning, by a national system, one which was supported not only by payments from those receiving the benefits, but, to a large extent, by rates from the locality and grants from the State; and in order that this system should be worth the money which it cost the State, it ought, in the first place, to be complete in itself, comprehending not only elementary education, but also secondary education, technical instruction, and that intellectual culture and subjective mental training which the University only could give; and, in the second place, that all those advantages ought to be free and open to every class in the community. Education in Scotland divided itself naturally into two periods—one period coming down from a very early time to the year 1872, and the second period commencing at 1872, and coming down to the present time. With regard to the period before 1872, it was of some importance for the House to dwell upon it for an instant, because the endowments which were dealt with in this Bill were left for education of the sort which existed before the passing of the Education Act of 1872. Without entering into very minute details, he wanted to lay before the House three points which he thought could be conclusively demonstrated with regard to Scotch education prior to 1872. The first of these points was that the education given in the parochial schools was of such a sort that a poor child from the elementary schools could go directly to the University, and thence to the learned professions. In the second place, a large number of the children of the poorer class, to their honour and credit, and to the honour and credit of their country, did avail themselves of that system; and, in the third place, that sort of education, and that only, was in the mind of those who left the endowments for education previous to the year 1872. He did not want to detain the House with statistics which might be adduced to prove these three points. With regard to the quality of the education, there was in 1690 a Commission very much the same as that now proposed, the Report of which conclusively showed that education of a very superior kind was then given in the common schools. Again, in 1827 there was presented to the first University Commission a Return of all the pupils receiving higher instruction in Scotland in the elementary schools, showing results which were very satisfactory. And with reference to the third point, they had the fact within the knowledge of every Member from Scotland that a large number of the distinguished men of their country had sprung from the poorer classes, and by means of education had been enabled to take foremost places in the learned professions and in the world. Now, he would again point out that it was that system of education which was in the minds of the donors of these endowments. But in 1872 the Scotch Education Bill was passed, and that Bill made very important alterations in the conditions of education in Scotland. In the first place, it gave to every child in Scotland a legal right to have primary and elementary education provided for it. At the present moment there was not a child in Scotland, from the Pentland Firth to the Tweed, that had not a legal claim for education; for the parents, if they were able, must provide the education, or, if they were not able, the education must be provided from the rates of the locality. That made an important difference in their consideration of this point. As regarded endowments, it was perfectly obvious, in the first place, that those who gave the endowments for education intended giving to the poor something which, without that endowment, they would not otherwise possess. They intended to confer on them some advantage, and if the education which was contemplated by them could be shown to be different from the education now given, he thought that raised a most important point well worthy the consideration of the House. The point which he would like to bring out was, that the education now given by the State—the primary education—did not enable poor children to proceed, as they used to do, directly to the University, and so to enter professional life. Everybody knew that, from reasons into which he need not enter, it was impossible that the children of poor parents could get, without the paying more than they could afford, the advantages of higher education; and he hoped this consideration would not be lost sight of in dealing with the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman. There was only one other point to which he asked the attention of the House for one moment. They had heard a good deal that day of the question of "popular representation." Now, "popular representation" was apt to mislead people, and one of those phrases which it was, he thought, advisable, in a case of this kind, that they should have some more accurate idea of what was meant; and he would submit that the proposals which had been indicated by the right hon. Gentleman with reference to popular representation fully carried out all that was necessary. Indeed, if he could find any fault at all, it was that the Bill went in that direction somewhat too far. What he would point out was this—that while he was entirely in favour of some kind of popular representation, he objected altogether to that kind of popular representation which preponderated so entirely over the other interests which ought to be represented in Governing Bodies. Popular representation was valuable whenever popular rights, popular privileges, or popular payments were involved; but there were some cases in which popular representation was neither necessary nor advisable. The point in the recommendations of the Government was this — that while they admitted the full necessity of some popular representation, they pointed out that in certain cases they were against a preponderating popular representation. But one consideration should be taken into account. If the Government were going to continue the management of these trusts precisely as it was before the passing of this Bill, and if they said the passing of this Bill had been rendered necessary because there were faults in the management of the trusts, then they were putting themselves in the position of saying the Bill was unnecessary. If the Government put the management precisely in the same direction, and gave the same influence to the majority as before the passing of the Bill, they had no right to ask for the Bill. He had several other points of detail to which he wished to refer, but would not detain the House with them at that hour. He could only say that if the Bill were passed, as he hoped it would be, and came into operation this Session, and if it were administered in the way they had a right to hope it would be administered, he was perfectly certain it would do more for the intellectual future of Scotland than any measure that had been under the consideration of the House during the present century.

MR. BUCHANAN said, he would like to say a few words, because he had a Notice of opposition to the Bill on the Paper, and it was a measure that more largely affected his constituency than any other in Scotland. He did not wish to speak in the character in which he supposed the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) would describe him — as Representative of Heriot's Hospital. He was not at all ashamed to defend the cause of that Institution, and to look at the Bill in view of the many ways in which it would affect that Institution. But on putting down his Notice on the Paper he had not been actuated by a desire to obstruct the Bill in any sense whatever. He was anxious that a Bill on this subject should pass, and that this Bill, with certain modifications, should pass; but he had thought he was acting on his full rights in putting down his Notice, so as to secure full discussion on the second reading. His main objection to the Bill was this. The Bill, he took it, as it stood, had really two objects: One object which it had in view was to re-organize endowments. He was altogether in favour of that. He thought they needed a Bill for the re-organization of endowments in Scotland. But the second object that the Bill, it seemed to him, had in view was, the promotion of secondary education in Scotland at the expense of funds devoted to primary education. [MR. MUNDELLA: No, no!] He thought the Bill as it stood clearly had that object in view, and it appeared to bear that object on the face of it, as the Preamble incorporated the Report of the two previous Commissions. He was sure they were very thankful to the right hon. Gentleman for the Amendment he had intimated, which, he thought, was a very important one, and would take away a great deal of the ill-feeling and suspicion which they knew had existed in Scotland on this subject. He therefore considered it a very valuable Amendment. The clause was much stronger in the Bill of 1880, and he did not think he was going beyond the mark to say that it would be within the scope of the Commissioners under this Bill to divert funds set apart for primary education for purposes of secondary education. He was no opponent of secondary education; he acknowledged the want of secondary schools in Scotland; but he did not think funds for secondary education should be taken from primary education. As was said in a remarkable speech delivered last winter by a noble Lord who had taken a great interest in this subject—

"What they ought to have in view was the encouragement and development of secondary education; but secondary education should not be chiselled out of stolen marble."

He (Mr. Buchanan) dissented from the argument that the passing of the Education Act of 1872 justified Government in diverting funds on principle from primary to secondary education. They heard a statement from the right hon. Gentleman that indiscriminate gratuitous education was bad. He should submit that it was bad, because it was indiscriminate, and was generally badly managed, and the badness consisted not in the system, but in its management. So far as he could gather, the theory of the Education Department now was that in all cases fees should be imposed, and that where an endowment was given, as it generally was, for the free education of so many poor boys or girls, for the future these funds should not be devoted to supplying free primary education by payment of fees, but that the primary education supplied out of the endowment should be limited to bursaries.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Clause 13 provides, with the Amendment, that the Commissioners shall provide that no fund applied under the direction of the will of the founder to primary education shall be diverted to any other purpose. They still remain as they were.

MR. BUCHANAN said, the only remark he had to make on that was that under it they would exclude the most important free schools in Edinburgh which had been established by Act of Parliament. If that Act was to be repealed, let it be done by Act of Parliament; but do not put it into the discretion of a body of Commissioners, of whom they knew nothing, to repeal the Act. He understood that the Commission would not be able to deviate from the will of a founder as regarded free primary education; but it would be able to abolish free primary education as laid down by Act of Parliament. Until he saw the Amendment on Clause 13 in print, it appeared to him to justify the epithet which had been used by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), that "it was illusory as regarded free primary education." With regard to the constitution of the Governing Bodies, he might state that the great majority of them were in former times under the control of the Town Councils. Out of 58 schools which came under the notice of the Education Commissioners in 1864, 29 were wholly under the management of Town Councils, while the Governing Bodies of 16 of the remainder consisted very largely of Town Councillors, leaving only 13 under other representation. He might also quote the Report of the same Commission in support of the contention that the Town Councils had given general satisfaction to the Scottish people in the administration of their endowments. These boards were looked upon with a good deal of confidence, which was due to their deliberations being held in public. He would agree—and he thought Town Councils would agree—that, upon their bodies being remodelled, there should be placed upon them representatives of educational opinion from the school boards or elsewhere. He asked the right hon. Gentleman whether the two-thirds proportion of popularly-elected representatives were to include members of school boards? [Mr. MUNDELLA: Certainly.] That took away from the value of the Amendment, as a concession, in his eye. He should object to the Amendment thus suggested. His general objection to Clause 6 was that it distinctly pointed towards a lessening of the open character of those open Governing Bodies, while it made no provision for the opening of close Governing Bodies. [Mr. MUNDELLA: It is not so.] The right hon. Gentleman had suggested that in close bodies the proportion of popularly-elected representatives should be one-third. No doubt the action of the Commissioners in this matter was to a great extent discretionary, and he believed it would be found expedient, in many cases, to leave them as they were at present. The large Governing Bodies, he thought, were anxious and zealous for the advancement of education, as was shown by their management of the moneys under their control, and they claimed that their case should not be prejudged by this Bill, or any alteration ordered without the grounds being fully investigated. He expressed the hope that with a fair Commission appointed there would be no useless interference with educational institutions doing good work. He hoped each case would be tried on its own merits, and that there would be no useless irritating interference with educational endowments doing good educational work. They were exceedingly anxious that their system of endowed education should be in accordance with the principles that had guided its history in the past, and under which that education had been so efficient.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he regretted that this Bill had been brought forward at a time when full discussion was scarcely possible. Before the Bill was read a second time there were one or two points to which he would like to draw the attention of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had rightly said that in the case of the educational endowments of Scotland there was no allegation of gross or flagrant abuse. It was important they should remember that. In connection with the Endowed Schools Bill for England, instances had been given of very great abuse, and there was danger lest this Bill should be regarded as dealing with a similar state of things in Scotland. What was wanted in Scotland was not a revolution or reorganization of the educational endowments so much as their re-adjustment to the changed circumstances of the country. The circumstances in educational matters had been changed mainly by the Education Act of 1872. There was a phrase that was frequently heard, and it had been heard, too, during this discussion, and that was "the education of poor children. People were apt to forget two things in using the expression. In the first place, what were poor children? They were too apt to forget that the poor did not belong only to one class. There were different classes of poor children. And, again, as to education in Scotland, they had never considered that education meant elementary education only. In England there was an Elementary Education Act. They had no such Act in Scotland. The word "elementary" did not occur in the title of their Education Act. This Bill, in his estimation, very properly instructed the Commissioners who were to be appointed to have regard to the spirit of the founders' intentions. He hoped he did not correctly understand his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) to refer to this subject generally when he said that he had no respect for the wishes of founders. He (Mr. J. A. Campbell) thought they ought to have respect for them, within certain limits, with the view of carrying out their wishes in the best way, considering the changed circumstances of the country. And he thought they ought to consider their wishes, not only with regard to the object they had in view in making the bequest, but also their wishes in regard to the administration they suggested. In one respect, as regarded the proposed Amendments, he thought the right hon. Gentleman went further than he would be disposed to support him. The right hon. Gentleman proposed that where there was no popular representative element in a trust at present, there should be one-third of the trust representative in future. It might be quite proper that there should be some representation of the popular element and some representation of public bodies in every trust of a public character; but he would demur to making it so much as one-third in every trust where there was no such representation at present. As to the scope of the Bill, he should not be sorry to see it extended considerably. As he had said, the great change in Scotland was on the introduction of the Education Act of 1872, and he thought that, to be logical, the Bill should cover all up to that time. He believed that if it did not, a very large number of important endowments would not be within its range. No doubt they might be brought within its range, but it was better it should cover them from the beginning. He might mention, as an illustration, that there were very large endowments in Glasgow, only one-fifth of which would be touched by the Bill if it only referred to foundations of 40 years standing. This was not a revolutionary proposal. The revolution was in 1872. The Education Act was the revolution; and what they now wished was to adapt the educational endowments to the circumstances then brought into existence. He also would suggest that the scope should not go so far in another direction—that was, that the endowments that had been dealt with by the late Commission should be exempted from the range of the Bill. That provision was in the Bill of last year; it was not in this. It appeared to him that the trustees who came before the late Commission, and had new schemes sanctioned, had a distinct, or at least an implied promise, that by doing so they should not be disturbed afterwards. No doubt it would be in many cases a grievance if trustees were put to the expense and trouble of again coming forward to give evidence before a new Commission. A question had been put to the right hon. Gentleman as to whether the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Scotland was included in the Bill, and he understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that it would be. No doubt it was an educational endowment, but it was more; and he did not see why any one mixed endowment should be mentioned. As an educational endowment, no doubt, it would come within the scope of the measure; but, so far as it was not an educational endowment, it could not come within its scope unless they went beyond the provisions of the Bill itself. In conclusion, he believed that this Bill would lead to a great improvement in the application of educational endowments, and bring additional benefits to beneficiaries quite consistently with the intentions of the founders, and it would do more—it would tend to suggest measures of educational reform and new educational provisions of a constructive kind, which would go far to promote education, especially the higher education, in Scotland.

Mr. W. HOLMS said, that the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the time this Bill had been before the country. He thought no time had been lost in the matter, and the lapse of time had rather tended to ripen the right hon. Gentleman's judgment. His proposals of 1881 were better than those of 1880, and those of 1882 were better than those of 1881. This Bill was not permissive; some previous measures had been, and therefore it was all the more necessary that its scope and intention should be thoroughly understood. Throughout Scotland there was doubtless a strong feeling in favour of legislation; but he was bound to say that hitherto this had not been regarded with anything like unmixed satisfaction. What had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman that afternoon did do much to remove the dissatisfaction with which the Bill had been regarded. He (Mr. W. Holms) thoroughly agreed with the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) that the founders of various endowments meant that those who received endowment should get the actual benefit; and now, as they had primary education given at the expense of the ratepayers, it would be a simple matter to continue primary education, except only such cases as had been indicated by the hon. Member for Glasgow, where it had been specially left for that particular purpose. He wished to know, however, if it was intended that secondary and higher education should be given generally, and to those who might be perfectly able to pay for such higher education? [Mr. Mundella: No.] He should like to see that safeguarded in the Bill—that only the children of the poorer classes should receive such secondary and higher education. Reference had been made, again, to technical education. He did not know whether that was included; but he was all in favour of devoting a considerable amount of those funds to an object so thoroughly in harmony with the wishes and intentions of the founders. The next point was that of the Governing Bodies. He objected to centralization; and he thought the clause referring to this matter gave too much power to the proposed Commissioners, and took away very much from the powers that should be held by the Governing Bodies in the locality. A good deal of cause of complaint had been removed by the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman; at the same time, he did not see why they should not have the two-thirds majority in all cases. He must point out that in Clause 17 powers were given to the Commissioners in the way of dismissing officers and teachers in connection with these schools. He did not think it was desirable that the teachers and officers should be the servants of the Commissioners. They should be the servants of the Governing Bodies.

Mr. MUNDELLA: So they are.

Mr. W. HOLMS said, that on the right hon. Gentleman's assurance he should take it to be so; but it by no means appeared clear in the clause, which said—"The Commissioners shall provide for the dismissal of officers, &c." At whose pleasure?

Mr. MUNDELLA: The Governing Body.

Mr. W. HOLMS said, he should like to see words put in making that much more clear and definite. Under Clause 4 there were to be seven Commissioners appointed. In the original Bill of 1880, it was proposed to have five—two noblemen, two lawyers, and one a professor—all of them admirable men. At the same time, he thought it was rather a strange thing, looking to the fact that four-fifths of the endowments had been made by merchants and manufacturers, that that class should be entirely excluded from the Commission. The number was now to be increased to seven. He did not know what the intention of the Government might be as to the appointment of Commissioners. He thought a large proportion should be drawn from the class to which he had referred. He trusted that a day would be taken for Committee on which they should have time to go over the various points in question, and that they should not be called upon to go into Committee on a Saturday.

MR. BRYCE said, the evening was so far advanced that he would reserve his remarks for the Committee stage. He would only say that the congratulations which he hoped to bestow upon the right hon. Gentleman on getting through a Bill of such great importance to the people of Scotland were very much qualified by the concessions which had been announced by the right hon. Gentleman. With the exception of the popular element in the Governing Bodies, he regretted those concessions, and thought they were a dangerous precedent, and would, moreover, much impair the effect and value of the Bill. He thought that these concessions were unnecessary, and had been made in consequence of the action of four or five Members from Scotland, who were highly to be respected on their own account, but who did not, as he believed, represent the opinion of the Scottish people. If the right hon. Gentleman had persevered, and relied upon the common sense of the bulk of the Scotch and English Members, who would have supported him, he might have carried a measure that would have been much more effective and vigorous than it would be now. In his opinion, free primary education was a relief, not to the poor, but to the rich; in fact, it was a gift to the ratepayers, and it ought not to be given except in the nature of a prize or a benefit to selected children.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he took a precisely opposite view to that of the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. It seemed to him that the concessions made by the Vice President of the Council would give very great satisfaction in Scotland, and that it would enable him to pass the Bill with general consent this Session. [Colonel ALEXANDER: No, no!] He hoped that it would be so; and he believed that the hon. and gallant Gentleman who said "No" did not object to the principle of the Bill. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) seemed to think that the gift of free education was a gift to the rich as it was a gift to the ratepayers. He could quote a case which showed the opposite. In the burgh which he represented an eminent founder left money for the primary education of the poor, who were sent to the parish school, and had their fees paid. Under this Bill it was perfectly open to them to follow that course. The result of that would be that not a farthing would be saved to the ratepayers, and that free education would be given to a large number of the labouring classes. He was of opinion that that was a great blessing and a great boon. He was aware it had been a kind of shibboleth in the Education Department that free education was a bad thing. It seemed to him that they ought not to be too positive in these things. If they went to America they found that the doctrine was the other way. Everybody there believed that free education was a necessity. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] As hon. Members were very anxious to go to dinner, he would not pull out his notes, or make the speech which he had intended. He would only, in a few words, express his satisfaction at the concessions which the right hon. Gentleman had made. They seemed to him, to a large extent, to disarm criticism on the Bill. They came rather late, he admitted; but still he thought that they were better late than never; and, that being so, he should do nothing to oppose, but, on the contrary, should facilitate, the passage of the Bill through the House. In conclusion, however, he must state that he was in doubt as to whether a snake did not lurk in Clause 7, as the right hon. Gentleman, whilst stating that it should be amended with reference to locality, did not make the same proposal with respect to the children.

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes; I said it should be amended in that respect.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was not aware that had been done; but he was very glad of it. For his own part, he was extremely willing and anxious that, as far as was possible and consistent, the money available under these endowments should be devoted to the promotion of higher education of a technical and industrial character; but still he did desire that these funds should be devoted to the classes of children for whom they were provided.

Mr. HENDERSON said, that, after what appeared to him the very satisfactory statement of the Vice President of the Council, there did not seem to him to be any necessity for bringing before the House the Motion of which he had given Notice. He desired only to say that the views of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) as to popular representation and free education were views to which he was very much opposed. The hon. Member's statement, that the four or five Members who had put down Notices of opposition did not represent the feeling of the people of Scotland, did not come with very good grace from the hon. Member.

Mr. A. GRANT wished to add his thanks to those of other hon. Members for the very valuable improvement that the Vice President of the Council had announced it was the intention of the Government to make in the Bill. His reason for putting down a Motion which, to a certain extent, was hostile to the Bill, was, that he thought the interests of the poor in endowments left to them were rather loosely guarded in the Bill as it had been printed. The right hon. Gentleman had given Notice of several Amendments in the direction of limiting the power of the Commissioners to deal with these endowments. Of course, at such short Notice it was impossible to say whether the improvements given Notice of were sufficient fully to guard these endowments; but he thought the Committee stage was really the proper time when they should be considered and discussed. The right hon. Gentleman had given a great concession with regard to the Governing Body; but he wished the Vice President would go further, and provide that where the founder had appointed representative trustees from one particular body or source, the two-thirds or the one-third which were to be preserved in the Governing Bodies should also be drawn exclusively from that source. No doubt the greater part of the power to be wielded under this Bill would be in the hands of the Commissioners, and he would suggest the importance of putting the names of the Commissioners in the hands of Members as soon as possible. He could wish that the right hon. Gentleman had given some good reason why what he considered to be good for the older endowments should not also be applicable to those of a more modern date.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he would not detain the House more than two minutes; but as he had a Notice on the Paper he thought it right that he should explain in a sentence why he had put that Notice down. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) could not anticipate what he had to say upon the Bill, and he had a good deal to say upon it at a later stage. He wished to express to the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council his sense of the very important concessions he had made. The right hon. Gentleman thought he might be charged with the fault of being too lenient in making these concessions. He did not think anyone who knew the right hon. Gentleman would accuse him of weakness in that direction. He had made the concessions not merely in order to enable the Bill to pass, but because the concessions were good in themselves. The right hon. Gentleman said that the mention of secondary education had given rise to a great deal of misapprehension as to taking funds from the poor and giving them to the rich. That misapprehension had been felt, and he did not think that those who entertained it were to blame. This Bill was wholly the result of a movement in Scotland for promoting secondary education. That was a thing desirable in itself; but then those who were seeking to promote secondary education, knowing that they need not apply for funds to the State, sought to make the funds left for the benefit of the poor of use to the richer classes of the community. Earl Spencer, when he introduced the Bill of 1880, stated that the aim of the Bill was the promotion of higher education generally throughout Scotland. His hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had shown that in this Bill, as originally introduced, that was set forward as one of its most important objects. That being the case, when the matter was not made perfectly clear and expressly stated in the Bill, they were perfectly entitled to oppose a Bill which appeared so liable to misconstruction. He thought the action of putting down opposing Motions for two years had been justified by the very important concessions which had been made, for not only had the funds been rescued, the constitution of the Governing Bodies greatly improved, but the power given to the communities had been modified in favour of representation. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He would keep his promise to the House, but he would point out that this great impatience to finish the debate—a very natural impatience in the circumstances — was another proof of the inexpediency of bringing on important Bills on any future occasion at the latter end of a Saturday afternoon, and he would do his best on any future occasion to prevent the repetition of such a proceeding.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter
before Eight o'clock
till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 17*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl of Gainsborough, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS — *First Reading* — Consolidated Fund (No. 4)*; Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns)* (194).

Report — Public Offices Site* (184); Entail (Scotland) (191-195); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money)* (181); Corn Returns (No. 2)* (187).

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS (SCOTLAND) ELECTION PROCEDURE BILL.

POSTPONEMENT OF SECOND READING.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) asked the noble Earl in charge of the Bill (the Earl of Galloway) to postpone the second reading, which was down for to-morrow, the Bill not having been printed.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he thought it was rather hard that he should be asked to postpone the second reading, seeing that the measure was simply a re-echo of the Report of the Select Committee, which had been in the hands of their Lordships for over three weeks. Considering that they had now arrived at the middle of July, the noble Earl might allow the Bill to be read a second time, on the understanding that a discussion would be taken on going into Committee on Friday.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he thought it would be most unreasonable. He had not seen the Bill, and as it proposed to make a very great alteration in the election of Representative Peers for Scotland, he thought it would be extremely hard and very unreasonable for them to be asked to read the Bill a second time to-morrow, when, at that moment, they had not even received a copy of it. He must protest against any attempt being made to proceed with the measure to-morrow.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR also thought that the Bill was one which should be printed and in their Lordships' hands before second reading.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that next week there would be an interval of repose when other Business would not come up to any great extent, so that it might be convenient if the noble Earl would fix the second reading for that week.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY stated that, after what had occurred, he would put down the second reading for Friday next.

Second Reading (which stands appointed for To-morrow) *put off* to *Friday* next.

EUPHRATES VALLEY RAILWAY.

OBSERVATIONS. MOTION FOR PAPERS.

LORD LAMINGTON, on rising to call the attention of the Government to the Report of the Euphrates Valley Railway Committee, and to move for Papers, said, that that Committee sat in 1871 to consider the subject of the desirability of constructing a railway in the Euphrates Valley. They reported on the matter to the House; but the subject of their Report had never been submitted to their Lordships, and he thought the House would agree with him that no time could be more hopeful or opportune than the present for bringing a subject in connection with it before their Lordships which had long been recognized as one of great importance—namely, the communication between this country and India. The question of enlarging that communication by a railway passing through the valley of the Euphrates was of great importance, and had for many years occupied attention on the part of both the Home and Indian Governments. It was so considered in the time of the Marquess Wellesley; and, in 1834, the Government of Lord Melbourne thought the matter so important that Parliament was induced to vote £20,000, and the Government of India £5,000, for a survey of the whole line through the valley, and the survey was undertaken by Sir John M'Neil and Colonel Chesney, two very eminent engineers. Their Report was a very valuable one. Nothing was done, however, and the matter was allowed to rest until the year 1857, when the Euphrates route once more claimed the attention of the Government. Lord Palmerston, referring to the Report of a Committee, of which Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham were Members, then appointed to examine into the matter, said that the Government were fully alive to the importance of the Euphrates route, that they had supported it in the past, and would continue to do so in the future. Subsequently, however, to that time, the scheme of the Suez Canal sprang up, and was carried out, and it was now a subject of absorbing interest in England. He trusted that the Government of the present day would not adopt the same attitude towards the undertaking he was now bringing under their Lordships' notice which it then assumed when the construction of the Suez Canal was suggested. Now, what were the arguments against that Canal? Why, that it would not pay, and that there would not be shipping enough to make it pay. The practical answer was, that they knew now how rapidly the tonnage passing through it increased, so that instead of 300,000 in 1870, in 1881 the Returns showed as much as 3,700,000 tons; while it was generally acknowledged that, if the Canal could be widened so as to admit the passage of double that amount of shipping, there could be very little doubt that the amount of shipping passing through would show a proportionate increase. It was impossible, however, to double the width of the Canal; but it was not impossible to construct the Euphrates Valley Railway, and they had now an opportunity of carrying it out. Consul General Herbert, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and other authorities were in favour of it. Sir Henry Rawlinson, an authority of the greatest weight, had emphatically pronounced his approval of the scheme. In March, 1872, Sir Henry Rawlinson said—

> "It cannot be doubted that there is a certain political value both to England and to India in the opening of a line such as is contemplated. The first great advantage is having an alternative line with Egypt; that must be a political object of considerable importance, especially in reference to the chance of local troubles in Egypt. If local troubles supervened in Egypt it might be of vital consequence to be able to avail ourselves of the other line of communication. Besides, the mere fact of our possessing an alternative line would, I think, also strengthen our prestige in India—that is to say, the knowledge that we had a double line, and that we were not liable to have our communications interrupted by the single accident of local troubles in Egypt, would, I think, improve our position in India. Then there is another element of political value in the development of the resources of Turkey, which would, no doubt, follow from the opening of this railroad."

Their Lordships would see that the reference to local troubles in Egypt was specially in point at the present time. He would also refer the House to another great authority on this subject; he alluded to Mr. Consul Barker. Mr. Barker, who had resided 26 years as Vice Consul and Acting Consul at Seleucia, Antioch, and Aleppo, and had, perhaps, as intimate an acquaintance with the country as any man living, stated in an official Report, addressed by him to Lord Granville, that—

> "A railway through Mesopotamia as a route to India would not, at first, be productive of much income to a company from traffic; but in a few years—certainly before the railway could be finished—the cultivation of grain would increase a hundredfold, and would go on increasing a thousandfold, and would attain to a magnitude and extension quite impossible to calculate, because bad harvests are almost unknown in these parts, for there is always plenty of rain and a hot sun to ripen the corn. Populous villages would spring up all along the line, as there is abundance of sweet water everywhere. Cereals can be grown there so cheaply that no country the same distance from England—say, for instance, Russia—could compete with it at all. And if Great Britain finds it

> necessary to rely more on the importation of foreign corn, where could a better field be found than the fertile plains of Mesopotamia, the cradle of mankind, which has all the advantages of climate, soil, sun, and water in its favour?"

All this showed that the line could be made, and that it would be beneficial to this country, to India, and to the country through which it passed. Further, no difficulty would arise from any unwillingness on the part of the Porte to consent to the proposal. In answer to a letter upon the subject, written by Sir George Jenkinson, on the 16th of February, 1870, to His Excellency Musurus Pasha, Sir George Jenkinson received an answer, which he would read to the House. It was as follows:—

> "Imperial Ottoman Embassy, March 12, 1870.
>
> My Dear Sir George,—Having communicated to my Government the contents of your letter of the 16th ult., respecting the project of a railway from Alexandretta to Aleppo, and from Aleppo to Bagdad and Bussorah, I hasten to inform you that, after mature consideration, the Sublime Porte has authorized me to declare to you that they accept and undertake to carry out all the conditions contained in your letter above referred to. In communicating to you this decision of the Imperial Government I do not hesitate to give you, according to your request, full authority to make of this letter such use as you may think necessary.
>
> Believe me, &c.,
>
> MUSURUS."

That showed the attitude of the Turkish Government in 1870; and, considering that nine-tenths of the traffic passing through the Canal was British, he asked their Lordships whether they were prepared to make the same blunder now with respect to the railway that they made in years gone by with regard to the Canal — namely, to postpone the matter to a time when it was too late to make the railway? It should be seriously considered by the Government, looking at the events which were passing in Egypt. Not only that, but politically, commercially, and strategically considered, this country could not have too many means of communicating with our Eastern possessions, and it was most important that we should have alternate routes to India. It might be said that there were difficulties in the way of making such a railway in connection with the wild tribes of the districts through which it would pass; but it had been found that the independent Chiefs were quite willing to do everything in their power to open up the country. An article in *The Times* contained the following apt remarks on this subject:—

> "The loss to England by exclusion from the Canal route would be political as well as commercial. To any other nation the fact that the Canal was obstructed, or that the control of it had fallen into hostile hands, could only mean that certain mercantile profits were placed in jeopardy) though even from this point of view it should not be forgotten that our stake exceeds in magnitude the stake of any rival Power twentyfold or thirtyfold. But in our case the necessity of keeping open the great highway between the Mother Country and her dependencies in Asia and the Southern seas is added to commercial interest and our financial interest in the Canal. Mr. Gladstone's attempt to show in 1877 that in time of war we might reasonably rely upon the Cape route has been abandoned by its author. It may be true enough that the Canal is too shallow and too narrow for the large and swift ocean-going steamers of the most modern type; but the moral is not that we should be willing to surrender the advantages of the Canal route—which may be measured by this single fact, that Bombay is distant from London 6,330 nautical miles by way of Suez, and 10,595 by way of the Cape—but that in time the necessity of enlarging and deepening the waterway through the Isthmus must be encountered, and the requisite improvements carried out at any cost."

By the Euphrates Valley Railway we should save 10 days between London and Lahore and the North-West Provinces of India, and five days in the journey to Bombay. The general features of the projected railway might be summed up thus—

> "1. It would pass through 900 miles of level country, and if it were made, it would connect the Mediterranean with the head of the Persian Gulf, between which and Kurrachee and Bombay regular communication is now maintained by a line of powerful steamers subsidized by the Indian Government. 2. Making Kurrachee the European port of India in place of Bombay, it would save about 1,000 miles in the distance between England and India, and by the substitution of railway for boat transit would reduce the time occupied in the journey by one-half—*i.e.*, to 10 days instead of 20 days. 3. It would render it possible to maintain India with a smaller European garrison than is now necessary, and would thus reduce our military expenditure. 4. It would save the Government large sums in sudden emergencies by the facilities it would afford—and that at all seasons of the year—for the transport of troops and stores. 5. It would enable troops from England to be landed at Kurrachee in about 14 days, and in two or three days more at Lahore, Peshawur, or Delhi. 6. It would subject an enemy advancing towards the North-West Frontier of India to easy attack in the flank and rear, and would render the invasion of India all but impossible. 7. It would make the resources of England so promptly available in the East that any hostile movement directed against us, whether from

within or without our Indian Frontier, might thus be effectually checked before it could assume formidable proportions. 8. It would give our extensive military establishment in India a direct influence in support of our power and prestige in Europe. 9. It would give England the first strategical position in the world. 10. It would facilitate the protection of Asia Minor by England."

He maintained, then, that they ought to see whether they could not at once take some steps to carry out that scheme, which had been proposed so often, and he was sure that the Government would recognize the importance of it. He was sure that the noble Earl the Leader of the House, if he had been present, would have admitted the importance of the question. If it were not constructed by Her Majesty's Government or a British Company, Russia or Germany, which had both been negotiating for concessions for the construction of a railway, and neither of which Powers was so much interested in the new route to India as this country, would be before us. He implored the Government not to shut their eyes to the great importance of the question. It had often been brought forward. They had made many great blunders. Lord Palmerston's Government made a great blunder in connection with the Suez Canal question, and they had only seen the mistake when it was too late. Let them not be too late again. They should derive benefit from their experience, and refrain from blundering in the case of the Euphrates Valley, the importance of which the Government should at once admit. Let them not give the Russian or German Governments the opportunity of making this line. Let them at once perceive the importance in a political, commercial, and strategical sense, of constructing the line by England or by English capital. He did not say anything about giving a guarantee for the £8,000,000, which, he believed, the scheme would cost; but let them be prepared to give a fair amount of encouragement and protection to those who were willing to make the line, which would place this country in the first political position in the world, would render the events now occurring near the Suez Canal of comparatively little importance, and would tend to maintain the glory and dignity of the Empire.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in reply, said, that his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) would have answered the noble Lord opposite (Lord Lamington) had he not been summoned to attend the Queen at Windsor; but, in his noble Friend's absence, it devolved upon him (the Earl of Kimberley) to say a few words on that occasion. The observations which the noble Lord had made were of very interesting character and related to a subject which had for many years excited a great amount of interest and attention both in India and in this country. In fact, he hardly remembered a time when the question of an alternative route to India by the Euphrates Valley had not been under discussion. As the noble Lord had stated, the result of that discussion culminated in the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the whole subject. That Committee sat in 1871 and reported in 1872. They discussed all the alternative lines, and he thought they agreed as to which particular line would be most desirable; but they also went into the question of expense, and he believed that the amount required to construct such a line was reckoned at £10,000,000 sterling. The requisite capital, it appeared, could not be obtained without a guarantee from the Government, and from the time when the Report was presented until now no Government had thought it advisable to enter into such a guarantee. No one doubted that an alternative route or alternative routes to India might be constructed, and that they must all of them be valuable. They would increase trade, and would, of course, afford the means of expediting our communication with India by another line in case the Suez Canal should unfortunately be interrupted; and, no doubt, that would benefit the commerce of the whole world. It did not, however, follow that the Government ought to enter into a guarantee; and he had no authority for saying that the present Government, any more than the late Government, were prepared to give such a guarantee. He was afraid, therefore, that the project would have to remain what it had been for so long—namely, an interesting project, but one not likely very soon to be brought to a successful issue.

THE EARL OF DERBY said, that, if he rightly understood his noble Friend (Lord Lamington), he was not asking for a guarantee either from the Imperial, or from the Indian Government. All he (the Earl of Derby) understood him to ask was for such unofficial assistance as might be fairly given by the State to any Company which undertook the construction of that line. If his noble Friend's request went no further than that, there could be no possible objection to it. In fact, the only persons who would be likely to have any cause for complaint would be the shareholders of the line. But having himself looked a little into that matter in former days, he (the Earl of Derby) saw little prospect of that railway being constructed without large and liberal assistance from either the English or the Indian Exchequer. In the present state of things, and considering the small amount of traffic that would arise from the desert districts through which it must pass, he did not think it would require much argument to convince their Lordships that an unguaranteed and unsubsidized line had not the slightest chance of success. It was true that a deputation had waited on Lord Palmerston on the subject, and that strong arguments had been used on the occasion, grounded on the advantage of a second line of communication with India; but since then the Suez Canal had been constructed, and a different state of things therefore existed. At the time referred to, not only was the Canal not made, but there was a strong belief that it never could be made. It must be borne in mind that what made a railway prosperous was passengers, goods, and mails, and there was not likely to be much prosperity of that kind, looking at the enormous expenditure of capital which would be necessary. His noble Friend had truly said that a saving of many miles would be gained by a line of this kind to the Persian Gulf, and that postal communication with India would be more rapid; but that was discussed a quarter of a century ago, when circumstances were different. Now that so large a proportion of the communication between this country and India was carried on by telegraph, it was far more important that the telegraph system should be rendered efficient and economical, than that a somewhat cheaper Mail Service should be provided. As to passengers, he thought his noble Friend had not sufficiently considered the difficult nature of the country over which this line was to pass. During half the year the line would be impracticable, owing to the excessive heat. This line, 700 miles in length, was to be carried through a burning desert in order to save four or five days; but there would be no passenger traffic over it for half the year. No doubt the Red Sea route was long, but it was performed in an open steamer, and not in a closed-up railway carriage. There was a great difference between travelling by a steamer, where it was possible to get some air, and being penned up in a railway carriage; and if a regiment of Europeans were sent by this line at any time between April and October, it was extremely probable that very few would arrive at their destination in a healthy condition. With regard to the goods traffic, all goods sent by this line would be liable to a double transhipment, the expense of which the goods could not bear, especially having regard to the competition of the Suez Canal. As his noble Friend did not propose to make this line a Government work, he would not enter into the question, which otherwise he might be prepared to raise—namely, the political difficulties which might arise in the event of protection being necessary in case of foreign invasion or domestic disturbance in the districts through which the line would pass; but such questions would have to be considered before anything could be done. No doubt their Lordships would agree with him as to the extreme importance of there being no interruption of the Suez Canal, nor did he believe that any British Government would permit it to be obstructed; but when it was said that the mere increase of traffic would make a second line necessary, as a matter of comparison between the two in an economical point of view, he believed that it would be found far more economical to widen and deepen the Suez Canal, rather than to construct a new line of communication. Many of the largest, and therefore most economical, class of vessels could not at present use the Canal, and he thought that money would be far more profitably spent in widening the Canal than in the construction of the proposed railway. Commercially speaking, he thought there would be a greater return from £1 spent on the former object than there would be from £10 spent on the latter. If the object of the Company was to obtain valuable commercial results, he had no hesitation in saying that he did not believe that they would be obtained by the Euphrates Valley line. The expenditure was far too heavy to afford a chance of any favourable returns; and even if such could be reasonably expected, he did not believe that either on political or commercial grounds the matter was one of urgent necessity.

LORD **ELLENBOROUGH** said, that in alluding to the Suez or overland route to India the name of Captain Waghorn should not be omitted, as having been the instrument selected by the President of the India Board, in 1839, to carry out the arrangements for the Overland Mail Service to India, a noble Relative of his having been at that time First Lord of the Board of Control. A Camel Service should be first tried, not only to open communication with the different Chiefs, but as a means of ascertaining, to some extent, how far a Mail Service would be remunerative; also some intermediate railway communication would have to be first tried to ascertain how the proposal would work, in which the Government should assist in the shape of a subsidy. At any rate, not any step should be omitted to insure the proposed route eventually to this country, after the preliminary steps were more complete in respect to surveying the route.

THE EARL OF **CARNARVON** said, that the question raised by his noble Friend (Lord Lamington) was one of great importance and interest; but, at the same time, there was no doubt that the proposed route was full of difficulties, and the main objection was that the termini would be at a great distance, and in the event of war that at Trebezond might be completely closed. There was, no doubt, something very attractive in an alternative route, which would be shorter than the existing route, and he (the Earl of Carnarvon) believed that this was the best that had been proposed for a railway through this district; but it would cost £8,000,000 or £10,000,000, and he could not see how any Company would undertake it as a commercial enterprize. The only justification for the Government affording any large assistance in its construction would be on military grounds; but there were three objections to it from that point of view. In the first place, the climate was so severe during half the year that it would be probably impracticable to send troops by the proposed route, closely packed for three days in railway carriages, without suffering a great deal; and, secondly, full advantage could not be taken of the railway unless it passed round the head of the Persian Gulf, and until, consequently, another line of railway was made to complete it. Lastly, it could hardly be denied that, although Colonel Chesney had stated that the tribes might be subsidized to prevent them doing mischief to the lines, yet an English general, in a time of difficulty and at a great crisis, would probably pause and consider how far he was justified in sending troops over long distances of railway lines that could not by any possibility be guarded, for it must be borne in mind that breaking up the line at any point might expose a large number of men to serious danger. There were, beyond doubt, two great lines of communication between this country and India—namely, the Suez Canal and the Cape route. They should not, though fully acknowledging the obvious value of the Suez Canal, neglect the Cape route. At present, the difference in the distances amounted, in point of time, to only 10 days, and that difference was a diminishing one as the large steamers increased their speed. Believing, as he did, in the enormous importance of the route, yet he would urge the Government to omit nothing to insure the safety and efficiency of the old route by the Cape. He quite admitted that the heat of the climate by the Euphrates Valley route would be very distressing to railway passengers, that the expense of construction would be enormous, and there would be little likelihood of any return; and he thought that if any preference or assistance was given, it was far better that it should be given to the Cape route.

LORD **BLANTYRE** said, there could be little, if any, doubt that a railway between the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf would pay, if the right line were taken. That line he would suppose to be from Alexandretta, by Aleppo, to Mosul, and along the left (East) bank of the Tigris to Bagdad. There would be no difficulty in passing soldiers along it—in hot countries, as in Spain, express trains started in the evening in place of the morning—the troops would travel at night, and pass the day resting in airy barracks. When the average return on about 10,000 miles of railways in India was about 5 per cent, a trunk railway, and selected line through Asiatic Turkey, must pay commercially. The difficulties were political. For instance, if an English Company had built a railway in Bessarabia, after the Crimean War—the Company would now find itself delivered over to Russia—the same, or something of the kind, might happen in Asiatic Turkey; but if England would give a guarantee, or a substantial subsidy, as in the case of the Suez Canal, the British nation would have an interest in supporting the Company. They did not fear for the undertaking as a commercial project, but required to be protected against political changes.

LORD LAMINGTON, in reply, said, with reference to what had been said by his noble Friend (Lord Ellenborough), he would remind the House and the Government that all the preliminary steps had been taken, and, with the consent of the Turkish Government and the approval of Her Majesty's Government, the line could be commenced at once. He would move for the production of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1871, and also request that any communications with the Indian Government on the subject should be presented at the same time.

Moved for, "Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1871 and 1872; together with the Minutes of Evidence, &c."—(*The Lord Lamington.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, the Government would consent to the production of the House of Commons Committee's Report; but he could not undertake to say whether they would produce Correspondence with the Indian Government on this question without Notice being given.

Motion *agreed to.*

Message to the Commons for Copy of the Reports from the Select Committee of that House of 1871 and 1872; together with the Minutes of Evidence, &c.

ENTAIL (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 191.)

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE said, he wished to draw the attention of their Lordships to the large number of measures—14, he believed—still on the Statute Book dealing with entail in Scotland. Those Acts required to be consolidated; and it would be well if the Government would give their attention to the question of the desirability of consolidating them. The effect of the present condition of affairs was, that in every case in which an owner of land, or person interested, wished to bring the law into operation, he would be obliged to call in the services of a lawyer, not only at great inconvenience, but very often at great expense, in order that none of the provisions of the Acts might be omitted from consideration. He did not suppose the Government could move in the matter at the present time; but he wished to impress upon them the great desirability of consolidating the law in this regard.

THE EARL OF MINTO said, he fully concurred in the observations of his noble Friend (the Marquess of Tweeddale).

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he would at once admit that it would be very desirable if steps could be taken to bring about a consolidation of the Law of Entail in Scotland. With regard to the subject complained of by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Tweeddale) as to the expense necessarily resulting from employing a gentleman of the Legal Profession, of course there was always a certain amount of work which could only be done by legal advisers. The noble Earl who spoke last (the Earl of Minto) appeared to think that the task of consolidation would be an easy one; but he (the Earl of Rosebery) could not agree with that, because, in the experience they had gathered from drawing the present Bill, they had been obliged to refer to previous Acts, and it was at once apparent to them that the codification of those Acts would be a work of considerable time and labour. After the passing of the new Act, however, probably it would not be so difficult to ascertain the state of the law as it was before; but still it would not be an easy matter. He would promise to submit the matter to the Scotch Legal Advisers of the Crown, and he hoped those hon. and learned Gentlemen would see their day at some future, but not very distant time, to carry the suggestion of the noble Marquess as to consolidation into effect.

Clause 2 (Definitions).

On the Motion of The Earl of Rosebery, the following Amendment made:—In page 1, line 9, after the second ("Acts"), insert ("and sections of Acts.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Provisions for applications for authority to borrow, charge, lease, and feu).

On the Motion of The Earl of Rosebery, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 29, leave out ("expedient") and insert ("for the public advantage and not prejudical to the estate"); line 31, leave out ("or nominal"); line 32, add new paragraph—

> "Provided that it shall not be lawful for the applicant to take any grassum or consideration for granting such fees or lease other than the feu duty or the rent, and if any such grassum or consideration shall be taken such feu or lease shall be null and void;"

line 33, after ("feu") insert ("or grant leases.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Lease may be renewed three years before expiration).

On the Motion of The Lord Watson, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 38, leave out ("fourteen"), and insert ("seven.")

The Marquess of TWEEDDALE moved an Amendment in respect of renewals of leases before their expiration.

Lord WATSON said, that in the Bill, as originally drawn, it had been proposed that a lease should be renewable to the tenant and his heirs at any time within "three years" previous to the expiration; but "two years" had been substituted for three, and power given to let to any tenant. He could not agree to the Amendment, as he believed that every facility should be given to those interested to renew their leases. He failed to see why the right should be restricted to the tenant in possession and his heirs, because the object was to provide for the letting of the property to the best advantage.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, that, in his view, to settle the renewal of a lease before the expiration of the old lease was contrary to the whole spirit of the law in Scotland. That would be interfering with the liberty of a landlord, who might desire to retain a particular person on his land. The end of the tenancy would be the time to make these arrangements.

The Earl of ROSEBERY said, in his opinion, it would not be fair to take away any of a tenant's existing rights.

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Provision for disposal of fund deposited or invested after fourteen years).

On the Motion of The Earl of Rosebery, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, line 24, leave out ("disentail"), and insert ("original application.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Earl of Rosebery, the following New Clause (*a*) was *added* after Clause 13:—

(Settlements by marriage contract not to be disappointed.)

> "Where any heir of entail in possession of an entailed estate, or the heir apparent to such estate, shall, together or separately, have secured by obligation in any marriage contract the descent of such estate upon the issue of the marriage in reference to which such contract is entered into, it shall not be competent for such heir of entail in possession or heir apparent, or either of them, to apply for or to consent to the disentail of such estate until there shall be born a child of such marriage capable of taking the estate in terms of such contract, and who by himself or his guardian shall consent to such disentail, or until such marriage shall be dissolved without such child being born, unless the justice or justices named in such contract, or the party or parties at whose sight the provisions of the contract are directed to be carried into execution, shall concur in such application or consent."

The Earl of ROSEBERY, in moving the insertion of a new clause (*b*), to follow the one just inserted in the Bill, said, that when the Bill was in Committee the noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns) had taken a strong objection to the clause as it then stood, and it was considered advisable to strike out the section, in order that the matter might be reconsidered at this stage. He (the Earl of Rosebery) must confess he attached great importance to the clause, and it had been reinstated with well-considered Amendments, which he believed would go far to obviate the objections which had been expressed. He did not, however, think that the words he proposed would carry out the arrangements the noble and learned Earl was willing to accept. The whole question had been argued on a previous occasion, so that it would not be necessary for him to repeat what he had already said in favour of the proposal. He would merely point out that, unless there was some such provision imported into the Bill, no creditor would either advance money or supply goods; and, if they did not provide such a clause, the proprietor only would be in a position to sell the estate. He thought their Lordships would consider the clause to be an equitable one, and he hoped they would accept it.

Moved, After the new Clause inserted after Clause 13, to insert the following Clause:—

(Powers of creditors of heir entitled to disentail.)

"Where any heir of entail in possession is entitled to disentail the estate, with the consent of any other heir or heirs, or upon such consent being dispensed with by the Court, any creditor of such heir in possession in respect of debt incurred after the passing of this Act who has obtained decree against him for payment and charged upon the decree, shall, in the event of the debt so incurred not being paid for six months after the expiration of the charge, be entitled to apply to the Court, and the Court shall, if the said debt is not paid within three months after the date of the application, proceed as if the heir in possession had made application to disentail the estate, and shall ordain him to execute an instrument of disentail of the estate, or of such parts thereof as may be necessary for payment of such debt; and if he refuses or fails to do so the Court may grant authority to the clerk of Court to execute such instrument, and after provision is made for the interests of any other heirs of entail whose consents are necessary in the application, and any other creditors whose debts are secured on the estate, the creditor shall be entitled to affect the estate for payment of such debt, and shall have the same rights and interests therein as if an instrument of disentail had been executed and recorded by the heir in possession himself.

"If the estates of such heir of entail in possession of an entailed estate shall be sequestrated for debt incurred after the passing of this Act, the trustee on his sequestrated estates shall be entitled to apply to the Court for authority to disentail the estate, and the Court shall forthwith proceed as if such heir had made application to disentail the estate, in the same manner as is directed in this section with regard to an application by a creditor."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

LORD WATSON said, he must point out that the original clause included creditors whose debts were incurred before the passing of the Act, whereas the present clause was limited to creditors in debts incurred after the passing of the Act. That was certainly an Amendment. As the clause stood originally in the Bill, it would have acted very unjustly, and it was accordingly struck out. He (Lord Watson), following the example of the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery), would refrain from arguing the question further than to observe that in the case of an entailed proprietor the position of the debtor was perfectly well known. As he had previously opposed the Amendment on general principles, he should not occupy their Lordships' time further, but would state that, in his opinion, if the Amendment were accepted the clause, as now framed, would be quite unworkable.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the last objection of the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Watson) would be a most formidable one, if it were well founded. He (the Lord Chancellor), however, believed that it was not well founded. He believed that the principle contained in the clause was a just and equitable one, and that the creditors should exercise the same power on the estate as their debtor, when he had a right to ask for its disentailment. The law was perfectly well settled in England, and creditors, under similar circumstances, could obtain a remedy against the tenant in tail in possession, although the effect would be not, as under this Bill, to buy out, but entirely to defeat the succession of the next heir.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not think the new clause would effect the object the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) had in view. No doubt, the creditors would well study the question, and there would really be no question of their disappointment. The next heir would take possession of the property, subject to the engagements to other members of the family, and to engagements with other persons afterwards. Now, by the clause it was proposed that, under all circumstances, he should be forced to oust the members of his family in favour of other parties having claims against him. It seemed to him that, in cases of that kind, the heir should be given a right of election. The clause, in his opinion, ought not to be adopted.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he was much grieved and surprised that the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) should have brought forward such an immoral doctrine. He (the Earl of Rosebery) was quite aware of the fact that there were some engagements entered into by the heir with the other members of the family; but engagements with the family should only run a reasonable time. It was all very well to argue this question on the ground of honesty; but, besides the ground of honesty, there was another ground which could not be lost sight of, and that was the ground of expediency. If a man who had the power of disposing of an estate chose to run into debt, and thereby become involved in difficulties, surely he ought not to be allowed to avoid disposing of his property. Supposing a man were owing £5,000 upon an estate, and that he was able to keep his creditors out of it by simply refusing to disentail, would that be an act of justice to the creditors? Would it be just to deliberately repudiate the power of paying debts by a simple application to the Court of Chancery? On the grounds of morality and justice, he hoped their Lordships would accept the proposal of the Government to insert the clause. If the clause were not agreed to, and if their Lordships should thus repudiate the power of paying their debts on application, the enemies of their Order would be furnished with a very serious argument against them.

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Amherst, E.
Bathurst, E.
Carnarvon, E.
Clonmell, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Feversham, E.
Haddington, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Lucan, E.
Mar and Kellie, E.
Milltown, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Onslow, E.
Pembroke and Montgomery, E.
Powis, E.
Redesdale, E.
Romney, E.
Rosse, E.
Rosslyn, E.
Sandwich, E.
Wharncliffe, E.
Wilton, E.

Cranbrook, V.
Hardinge, V.
Hawarden, V. [*Teller.*]
Hutchinson, V. (*E. Donoughmore.*)
Templetown, V.

Abinger, L.
Blantyre, L.

Brabourne, L.
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Colchester, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Denman, L.
de Ros, L. [*Teller.*]
Digby, L.
Dunsany, L.
Ellenborough, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Gage, L. (*V. Gage.*)
Harlech, L.
Harris, L.
Hartismere, L. (*L. Henniker.*)
Inchiquin, L.
Lamington, L.
Leconfield, L.
Manners, L.
O'Neill, L.
Oranmore and Browne, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Poltimore, L.
Saltoun, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Strathspey, L. (*E. Seafield.*)
Talbot de Malahide, L.
Trevor, L.
Ventry, L.
Watson, L.
Windsor, L.
Wynford, L.

Resolved in the *negative.*

Clause 18 (Price to be consigned. Where price paid in consols, dividends to be paid to applicant and his successors. Where estate encumbered.

Where applicant desires investment, trustees may be appointed. Powers of trustees. Purchase of lands. Investment after applicant's death.)

On the Motion of The Earl of ROSEBERY, the following Amendment made:—In page 7, line 26, leave out ("sub-section"), and insert ("sub-sections.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Disposition to be granted at sight of Court).

On the Motion of The Earl of ROSEBERY, the following Amendment made:—In page 9, line 25, after ("transaction"), insert—

("And in particular a clause providing that the purchaser shall have warrandice against the price, so long as the same shall remain extant, deposited or invested as aforesaid, and binding the applicant and his heirs of provision in warrandice to the extent of the shares of the price received by them respectively, in the event of the price being disentailed and divided among the applicant and his heirs of provision according to their respective interests therein.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Marquess of HUNTLY, the following new Clause was *inserted* after Clause 18:—

"In all applications for disentail or sale under this Act, where the heir in possession shall have expended sums in improving the estate which he is entitled to charge upon the entailed estate without consents, such heir shall be entitled to produce a statement of such expenditure, and upon the Court declaring such expenditure to be properly chargeable upon the estate, the amount thereof, or such portion as the Court may declare properly chargeable, shall be paid to such heir out of the price of the estate, and shall be taken into consideration in fixing the values of compensation payable to the next heirs."

On the Motion of The Earl of GALLOWAY, the following new Clause was *inserted* after Clause 20:—

"Where any money or other property heritable or moveable has been or shall be held or invested in trust for the purpose of purchasing land to be entailed, it shall be lawful for the person, who, if the land were entailed in terms of the trust, would be the heir entitled to possession thereof, to make summary application to the Court for warrant and authority to the person or persons by whom the said money or property is held in trust at the time, to deal with and apply the same or the proceeds thereof as if it were the price of entailed land sold in pursuance of this Act."

SCHEDULE.

On the Motion of The Earl of ROSEBERY, the following Amendments made:—In page 11, line 4, after ("50"), insert ("ss. 14, 15, 16, 17,"); in line 9, after ("51"), insert ("ss. 2, 3.")

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow*; and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 195.)

ANNAM—OCCUPATION BY FRENCH TROOPS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HARRIS asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If it is the fact that the French Government have landed troops at Hansi in Annam, and for what purpose; and, whether there is any reason to suppose that the effect of such landing of troops will in any way affect the interests of British trade in those parts? The noble Lord said that, in asking the Question, he did not wish to imply that there was even a remote possibility of the friendly relations at present existing between this country and the Chinese Empire being strained, or that there was any cause to fear French competition; but Annam was on the South, as Corea was on the North, a tributary of China, and he believed there was reason to fear that the encroachment of European Powers on either of those tributaries might lead to complications with China, which complications might affect our large and increasing trade in those seas.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in reply, said, it was quite true that French troops had attacked Hansi and captured it. The reason assigned was, that the position of the French in Annam had been endangered by the conduct of certain Mandarins. He was glad to be able to say that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, this would not in any way affect or endanger the interests of British trade in that part of the world.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL REPORTS.

QUESTION.

LORD HOUGHTON asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can make any arrangement with the Foreign Offices of Continental Powers by which the papers on foreign affairs communicated by Foreign Governments to their respective Public Assemblies may be deposited in the Library of the House for the use of its Members?

Earl GRANVILLE, in reply, said, the Question was not so simple as the noble Lord seemed to suppose. There was an official objection to giving statements of what took place in the Parliament of foreign countries; but as regarded the other branch of the Question, there was now a Committee sitting on the subject of the communication to Parliament of certain Papers of an international character, and the point might perhaps be considered by them. The Librarian of the House of Lords was a Member of that Committee.

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow a quarter past Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 17*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—*Report*—Law of Distress [No. 284].

Public Bills—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Fishery Board (Scotland) * [240].

Second Reading—Medical Act (1858) Amendment * [237].

Second Reading—*Referred to Select Committee*—Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) * [189].

Committee—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [213]—r.p. [*Sixth Night*].

Report—Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Finchley, &c.) * [219].

Third Reading—Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) * [195]; Turnpike Acts Continuance * [233], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (MILITARY AFFAIRS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.—EXPLANATION.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: It will be in the recollection of the House, that on Wednesday last I stated that so far were the Powers from having, as it was alleged, protested against the action taken for the protection of the British Fleet at Alexandria, that—

> "The only two Powers that had mentioned it—namely, Austria and Germany—had declared that our action was perfectly legitimate."

On Saturday I said that I saw no reason to modify that statement. Her Majesty's Government did not, of course, invite an expression of opinion on the part of Foreign Governments upon such a point; but my statement as regards Austria was founded on conversations between Count Kalnoky and Sir Henry Elliot, and between Count Karolyi and Lord Granville. With regard to Germany, I now find that I was not justified in stating that the German Government, as such, had expressed an approval. There were, however, both on Wednesday and on Saturday, circumstances calculated to make me believe that such was the case.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Can the hon. Baronet lay upon the Table a report of the conversation between Count Karolyi and Earl Granville?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Papers on the subject will be included among those to be presented in due course.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CAPTAIN M'NEIL, J.P.

Mr. GIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact, as stated in the "Belfast Daily Post," that a Memorial signed by the Rev. William Thompson, Rector of the parish of Layde, county Antrim, the Rev. Eugene O'Meara, P.P., the Rev. Charles Giles, Presbyterian Minister, the Rev. P. Starkey, P.P., Dr. Robinson, and over twenty of the most respectable merchants and farmers in the town and neighbourhood of Cushendall, county Antrim, has lately been presented to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, requesting an investigation into the magisterial conduct of Captain Daniel M'Neil, J.P., against whom a strong feeling of dissatisfaction exists in the locality; that the Lord Chancellor declined to grant an investigation, on the grounds that the matters complained of could be dealt with in a court of law; and, whether, in the present condition of the Country, it is intended to permit this gentleman to retain the commission of the peace?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The matter referred to in the Question of the hon. Member is one entirely for the Lord Chancellor, and my attention had not been called to it except by this Question. The Lord Chancellor has, however, favoured me with a report in reference to the question, from which I learn that he did receive the Memorial referred to, in which certain complaints were preferred against Captain M'Neil. Having considered the complaints, he arrived at the conclusion that there was nothing in them calling for his interference, and nothing that would justify him in removing Captain M'Neil's name from the Commission of the Peace.

POST OFFICE—POST CARDS.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the Postmaster General, Whether, in view of the fact that the existing Post Office Regulation, with regard to postage payable on a card with a halfpenny stamp affixed, makes it necessary that the contents of the card should be read in the post office, in order to determine whether they are or are not of the nature of a letter, and, further, that it is practically impossible for postmasters to decide the point if the communication be written in a foreign language, or in cipher, he will reconsider the subject, and allow cards with a halfpenny stamp affixed to pass through the post office without extra charge, irrespective of the matter they may contain?

MR. FAWCETT: As I stated on a previous occasion when a Question on this subject was put to me by the hon. Member, the chief reason why it has been thought necessary that post cards with an embossed stamp should alone be used was that for purposes of sorting it was desirable that cards should be of a certain size and substance, and that inconvenience would arise if the sorters had to judge of these matters. I am glad, however, to say that I think I now see my way to get over the difficulty by allowing cards with a distinctive mark upon them to be sent as post cards if a halfpenny stamp is affixed for postage.

MR. R. H. PAGET, while thanking the right hon. Gentleman for his concession, said, that he yet hoped to make him a thorough convert to his views; and he should, therefore, call attention to the matter on going into Committee of Supply.

DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—SUPERANNUATIONS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the case that, while the officers of English district lunatic asylums may after fifteen years' service be awarded a pension or superannuation allowance amounting to two-thirds of the amount of their salaries and of the annual value of their allowances, apartments, &c., the officers of Irish district lunatic asylums, whose salaries are much smaller, can after twenty years' service be awarded as a superannuation allowance only one-third of the amount of their salaries alone; whether, if this be so, there exists any sufficient reason for such a distinction between the two Countries; and, whether the Government intend to place Irish asylum officers on a footing of equality with their English fellows?

MR. TREVELYAN: The facts appear to be stated with accuracy in the Question of the hon. Member. The superannuation allowances of these officers are regulated by Statute. In the case of the officers of the Irish district lunatic asylums the principles laid down by the Superannuation Act of 1859 have been adopted; and it is not proposed to introduce any fresh legislation on the subject.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS—DISTRIBUTION.

MR. BUXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will use his influence in favour of the introduction of the scheme proposed by the Controller of the Stationery Office for the better and more economical distribution to Members of Parliamentary Papers, such scheme having appeared "not unworthy of adoption" to the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons, which reported on the subject last year, and of which Committee he was himself a Member; and, whether he can inform the House what steps have been taken by the Treasury or the Home Office as to the further recommendation of the same Committee, viz., That a fresh List should be drawn up for the Promulgation of the Statutes in place of the antiquated List still in force, originally drawn up in 1801, and condemned by a Committee of this House in 1835?

MR. COURTNEY: The subject of the distribution of Parliamentary Papers to Members is one of some difficulty; and although the Joint Committee did describe Mr. Pigott's scheme as not unworthy of adoption, they reported that they did not feel competent to make any definite proposals on it. I will, however, make inquiries to ascertain whether some alterations may not be adopted to come into force next Session. As regards the Promulgation List, a Committee has been appointed to revise it. They have made considerable progress with the work; but have yet a good deal to do before they can report.

RIVER THAMES—THE POLLUTION COMMISSION.

Mr. BRIGGS asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether, in view of the fact that a Royal Commission has been appointed to inquire into the pollution of the River Thames, he will state what steps have been taken to delay further expenditure of the ratepayers' money upon new Metropolitan sewage works at Crossness and Barking, until the Report of the said Royal Commission has been presented?

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I beg to inform the hon. Member that, in consequence of the great increase in the population of the Metropolis, the Metropolitan Board have been obliged to take measures for the enlargement of the sewage reservoirs at the outfalls, and the works referred to in the Question have been designed to obviate the necessity which has occasionally arisen of allowing the sewage to pass into the River before high water. No money has been spent on them up to the present time; and, in view of the appointment of the Royal Commission, further action in the matter has been adjourned for three months from to-day.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — ARRESTS AT LOUGHREA, CO. GALWAY.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on the night of the 5th instant, Constable Hughes, of the Bookeen Station, county Galway, arrested, in their homes, and took from their beds, eleven men, heads of families, in the parish of Kiltulla, refused them sufficient time to dress, handcuffed them, and took them, in drenching rain, to Loughrea, a distance of seven miles, not having informed any of the men of the charge to be made against them; whether, on reaching Loughrea, about 6 a.m., the eleven men, drenched to the skin, and suffering much from cold and hunger, were placed in the "black hole" of the police station, a cell 3ft. 9in. by 8 feet, filled with a sickening stench, and having only one small aperture to afford a supply of air; whether the eleven men were kept in this cell from 6 a.m. till half-past nine, standing crushed together for want of space; and whether the constable on guard refused to give a drink of water, or to allow any of them to quit the cell for a moment, although one of them, Martin Huban, suffering from congestion of the lungs, fainted for want of air, had to be held up to the aperture by his fellow prisoners to enable him to breathe; whether, at 9.45 a.m. the men, handcuffed in pairs, were taken from the station to the courthouse, all placed in the same lock-up, about 5 ft. by 7 ft., and there kept till 1 p.m. and whether food and drink were still refused by the police, and the men were kept fasting until they were brought into the courthouse, when the clerk of the court allowed them to buy some bread and butter; what were the terms of the charges preferred against the prisoners, and upon what evidence they rested, and whether the presiding magistrate accepted bails, and upon representations made by the parish priest of Kiltulla as to the respectability of the prisoners, his parishioners, reduced the amount of the bails at first required by one-half; and, by what action or observation he proposes to mark the sense of the Executive with regard to the treatment of these men, still in the hands of the police?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, there was no truth in the facts asserted. No one had fainted, water was supplied, and the men had been put up for better custody in the ordinary barrack lock-up.

CRIMINAL LAW—CASES OF CHARLES FROST AND EDWARD SMITH, WRONGFULLY CONVICTED.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can now inform the House if he intends to follow the precedents established in the cases of Johnson, Clowes, Habron, and others, and award substantial compensation to Charles Frost for having been twice wrongfully imprisoned, and also if he is prepared to compensate Edward Smith, who was wrongfully convicted at the same time and released upon the same grounds; if the Sergeant Walsh upon whose evidence these men were convicted is the same officer who procured the conviction, about seven years ago, of a man named Sweeny, whose case, upon being investigated, resulted in his release after he had served four months of a sentence of eighteen; and, if Sergeant Walsh is still a member of the police force?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, Frost had unfortunately fallen into the hands of advisers who had told him not to go to the Home Office, but to await Parliamentary proceedings, with the view of getting exorbitant compensation. If he abandoned that course, and came to him (the Home Secretary) he would be better advised. Sergeant Walsh was still a member of the police force, but had been degraded to the rank of sub-constable.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER ADJUTANTS.

MR. ROUND asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether an Adjutant of Volunteers can retire on a full pension of ten shillings a day after twenty-one years' service; or, is he compelled to serve on till he attains the age of fifty-five before he can claim the full pension?

MR. CHILDERS: No, Sir; he can only attain the full pension at the age of 55, if he has had 20—not 21—years' service.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. GEOFFREY POWER.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the case of Mr. Geoffrey Power, of Quillia, county Waterford, at present in Naas Prison under the provisions of the Coercion Act, has yet been re-considered; and, whether, in view of the fact that all the other suspects from the county Waterford have been released, and that the county is peaceable, he can now recommend his release?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. Geoffrey Power's case is at present under His Excellency's consideration.

SEEDS (IRELAND) ACT—THE SEED RATE.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that forty decrees were obtained at the last Quarter Sessions held in Arklow for debts due under the seed rate, the sums ranging from £3 12*s.* 4*d.* down to 8*s.* 3*d.*; whether one poor man, Denis Conoran, deposed that he was refused seed when he applied, but his father (since dead) got it, and that he died so poor that he, defendant, was still in debt for the coffin in which he was buried; whether this man was decreed for £2 6*s.* 9*d.*; whether only one month's time has been given for payment, the county court judge stating, in giving judgment—

> "He thought it was a very hard thing to proceed against these poor people at this time of year;"

and, whether, as Chairman of the Local Government Board in Ireland, he will take any steps to stop further action in the matter until after the harvest comes in?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have called for information about this question, but have not yet received it. The facts, as far as I have heard, are correctly stated. I have referred the matter to the Local Government Board.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS' SITTINGS IN CO. WICKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act have not visited the county Wicklow for several months past; what is the cause of the delay; and, when will they resume their sittings?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act sat in County Wicklow four times in February and once in March. There has been no unnecessary delay. New Circuits were commenced on April 17, and the County Wicklow comes at the end of the Circuit list. The Sub-Commissioners are sitting in Baltinglass to-day, and they sit in the town of Wicklow on the 31st instant.

MR. HEALY asked, could not the right hon. Gentleman keep the House from time to time informed of the movements of the Sub-Commissioners?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would consider if there was any way by which such could be done.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — MR. THOMAS K. AUSTIN, J.P.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that a printed Circular is now being circulated in Ireland, containing a copy of a Letter addressed, under date the 6th of May, by Mr. Thomas K. Austin, of Dublin, to Mr. Theobald, Secretary to the West Cork Railway Company, in which Letter Mr. Austin, referring to the murder of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, makes use of the following language:—

> "This last murder will have a good effect; the best thing which happened for several years. It will wake up the people of England, who cared little for our lives or property so long as it was not brought home to themselves. Loyal men were put aside, and communists and murderers pandered to;"

and, whether this Mr. Austin is in the commission of the peace; and, if so, whether the Lord Chancellor of Ireland will issue a writ of supersedeas to him?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have been unable to obtain any information about the alleged Circular. There is a Mr. Thomas K. Austin in the Commission of the Peace; but even assuming the Circular to have been issued, the Lord Chancellor informs me that he sees nothing suggested in the Question that would call for any action on his part.

CRIME (IRELAND)—CATTLE LIFTING.

Colonel O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, on the night of the 6th or morning of the 7th inst. cattle to the value of £168 were lifted off a farm, the property of a Mrs. Lawder, of Lawderdale, parish of Fenagh, County Leitrim; whether the theft has been reported by the County Inspector to the Inspector General of Constabulary and the head of the Detective Department; and, what steps, if any, have been taken, by the authorities to discover the thief or the cattle?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The facts are correctly stated in the Question of the hon. and gallant Member. The theft was reported by the County Inspector to the Inspector General. Two of the animals stolen were recovered by the Constabulary, and exceedingly active steps have been taken, hitherto without success, to trace the remainder. I am quite satisfied that everything has been done that could have been done to discover the thief and the cattle.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. ARTHUR MOLONEY.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether His Excellency has now considered the case of Mr. Arthur Moloney, confined in Naas Gaol for the last six months; and, what decision has been arrived at?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Arthur Moloney was discharged from custody on the 13th instant.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—BANDS AND PARTY TUNES.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on a recent occasion in the town of Thurles, the police, acting under the direction of Captain Miller, R.M., prevented a band attached to a religious confraternity in the town from playing on the way to religious service in the cathedral at seven o'clock on a Wednesday evening, as had been the uninterrupted custom every week for years past; whether the band at the time of the prohibition was playing a religious air, the "Adeste Fideles," and whether the same magistrate prevented the same band from playing on last St. Patrick's Day; whether the constabulary of O'Callaghan's Mills, county Clare, prevented the local band from playing "St. Patrick's Day" on the 17th of March last, and threatened to break the drums; whether the band has since been prevented from playing on Sundays or other days for the public recreation, though its proceedings had always been marked by perfect order; and, whether the Government will instruct them not to prevent the playing of bands for recreation or on public festivals, or except when the playing is likely to cause disorder or to endanger peace?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Captain Miller, R.M., warned the Thurles band that they would not be allowed to play on the 3rd of May, when the town was illuminated. This order was deemed absolutely necessary, inasmuch as on the 10th of the previous month this same band was followed by a disorderly crowd, and glass to the value of about £6 was smashed in the windows of the Bank of Ireland. Notwithstanding the prohibition, the band persisted in playing, and had to be stopped. They are not prevented from playing to and from the Cathedral, nor were they prevented on St. Patrick's Day. Another band which came from a distance was warned not to play. They did so, however; stone-throwing ensued, and some arrests were made. The O'Callaghan's Mills Band has not been prevented from playing on St. Patrick's Day or any other day. They have been warned to move off the public streets when creating an obstruction.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any reason for the further detention of John W. Finn, of Inchicore, Dublin, who was arrested about eight months ago, and who is still imprisoned under the warrant of the Lord Lieutenant; and, whether, as the charge against him was one of inciting to intimidation, he is one of the suspects included in the operation of the policy of release, announced by the Prime Minister on the 2nd of last May; and, whether John Macnamara, of Kiltown, Lisdomvarna, county Clare, has now passed three months in Galway Gaol under the Act of Edward III.; and, whether the Executive, in consideration of the imprisonment already suffered, will now set him at liberty?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency has carefully considered the case of John W. Finn, and has decided that he cannot, at present, order his release. His Excellency is making inquiry into the case of John Macnamara. He was committed to prison on the 23rd of April for six months.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would be pleased to direct the transfer of Mr. Richard Riggs, now detained as a suspect in Galway Prison, from thence to Kilmainham Prison, as his health is suffering in his present place of confinement, and as the distance at which he is kept from his family almost precludes the possibility of their visiting him, and causes him great loss and inconvenience in his business?

MR. TREVELYAN: No complaint has been received by the Government from this prisoner of his suffering from ill-health. His Excellency will, however, cause inquiry to be made into the matter.

ARMY—FOREIGN ARTILLERY SYSTEMS—ACCIDENTS TO MATERIAL.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If the Germans, after the war of 1870-71, published full accounts of the accidents which happened to their artillery material; if the Navy, during the last ten years, have made any experiments whatsoever on the system of artillery used by Germany and Russia; and, when we may expect any information as to the accidents which happened to artillery material during the late bombardment of the Alexandria forts?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the Admiralty are not aware whether the Germans, after the War of 1870-1, published full accounts of the accidents which happened to their artillery material. In reply to the second Question of the hon. and gallant Member, I have to say that the Navy have made no experiments, as all experiments in artillery are, as he is no doubt aware, conducted by the War Office. As regards his last Question, all accidents to artillery material on any occasion are ordered to be reported to the War Department; but I cannot say when the reports with regard to the recent bombardment will be received.

WEST INDIES—THE COURT OF POLICY, DEMERARA.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the independent inquiry promised to be held into certain defalcations and other matters connected with the Court of Policy at Demerara has been held; and, if so, what has been the result of the inquiry?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The promised inquiry was into matters connected with the Department of the Administrator General, and not into the Court of Policy. The Commissioners, Messrs. Probyn and Cunynghame, have reported, and their Report is under consideration. It shows that there has been gross neglect, and steps will be taken for re-organizing the Department on a better system.

LAW AND POLICE—THE RIOTS AT TREDEGAR.

Mr. CARBUTT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, on the occasion of the recent riots at Tredegar, there was considerable delay in procuring Military assistance, in consequence of the authorities having to send for it to Cardiff, Milford, and Pembroke, and, whether this delay might have been prevented if there had been a sufficient force at Newport, which is in the same county as Tredegar; and, whether he can state whether, viewing the fact that Newport is in direct railway communication with all the populous centres of the district, he will consider the desirability of making Newport the headquarters of a regiment? The hon. Member said he also desired to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the troops were ordered from Cardiff to Tredegar, where the order was countermanded, and whether they went back to Cardiff, and were sent a second time to Tredegar?

Mr. CHILDERS: I am satisfied, after full examination into the facts of this case, that no blame can attach to the action of Major-General Pakenham in connection with the despatch of troops to Tredegar on the occasion of the recent riots, and that the changes in the orders were chiefly due to the fact that the 9th was a Sunday, when some of the telegraph offices were shut, and there was great difficulty in obtaining railway transport. I am sorry to say that I cannot consider the accident of a riot having taken place at Tredegar a reason for stationing more troops at Newport; but, in point of fact, when the Force in England returns to its normal number, the propriety of increasing the strength at Newport, among other places about which I receive representations from hon. Members, will be considered.

Mr. CARBUTT: Have troops been called to go to Blaine, or any other place in Monmouthshire?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir. I have received no application for further troops for Monmouthshire.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: I beg to give Notice that I will ask the Postmaster General, If he will consider the necessity of giving greater facilities for the despatch of telegrams on Sunday in view of the very serious inconvenience which may result, as shown in this case, for the closing entirely of the offices on Sundays?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Who sent the telegram countermanding the despatch of the troops whilst on their way, and by acting upon which they were sent back to Cardiff?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he had spent a long time in looking into this matter, and was quite satisfied that no blame was attached to Major General Pakenham.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Was there a telegram sent countermanding the despatch of troops?

Mr. CHILDERS: Yes.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Who sent it?

Mr. CHILDERS said, he had the names of the whole of the officers concerned in this matter; but he could not from memory say who it was who sent the telegram. As he had said, he had taken great pains to look into what was done, and he believed that what was done was done for the best.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, At what hour on Tuesday morning, the 12th instant, a deputation of Turkish officials waited upon Admiral Beauchamp Seymour with a letter from the Ministry, and whether that letter deprecated hostilities, and offered to dismount their guns, and give satisfaction to the British demand; and, whether it is true that the Admiral replied that the time for negotiations had passed?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, no mention has been made in any of Sir Beauchamp Seymour's telegrams of his receiving a deputation on Tuesday morning, and we are quite unaware whether any such occurrence took place. If it did, however, he will, no doubt, state the circumstance in his despatch containing an account of the events of that day, and this despatch we expect to receive shortly.

MR. PASSMORE EDWARDS asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If the statement of the correspondent of the "Times" is confirmed, that "several shells from the 'Inflexible' burst right over the centre of the town," and that afterwards fires were "seen burning in those places;" whether the Government have received any additional information in reference to the origin of the fires that destroyed the City of Alexandria; and, whether he can say how many Egyptian soldiers and people were killed and wounded by the bombardment? Before the hon. Gentleman answered that Question, he wished to call his attention to the following item of information which appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* of that day:—"I saw upwards of 50 corpses in the streets, evidently those shot while looting." He wanted to know whether these shootings were going on without any trial in the streets of Alexandria?

MR. O'DONNELL said, before the hon. Gentleman answered that Question, he would ask—and he would, if necessary, give Notice of the Question—whether the attention of the hon. Member had been directed to the statements of the Correspondents of *The Standard* and *The Daily News*—the former stating that the fire from the Fleet struck the English Church, and *The Daily News* stating that the General Hospital was fired upon by the Fleet, a shell from the Fleet embedding itself in the walls of the hospital? He also asked, whether the attention of the hon. Member had been called to the statement of the Manager of the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, who remained at his post among 70 or 80 Europeans, that he saw shells falling within the city and many shells passing beyond the city; and whether, in the interests of artillery science, he will cause an inquiry to be made into the causes of the inaccuracy of the firing which, directed against forts at the water's edge, was thus reported to have extended inland into the habitations, and beyond the habitations, of the people of Alexandria?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have no information in regard to those points. Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of his Question. In regard to the last Question which my hon. Friend (Mr. Passmore Edwards) has put to me, and which is not on the Paper, that also will require Notice. My attention has not been called to the fact to which he refers. With regard to the Question which is on the Paper, I have to say that we have received no confirmation of the statement quoted from the Correspondent of *The Times*, nor have we any information beyond that which has been given to the House regarding the cause of the burning of parts of Alexandria. For a detailed account of the effects of the bombardment we await the despatch, which, no doubt, is on its way, from the Commander-in-Chief.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE DISTURBANCES AT LISTOWEL.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a report in the "Kerry Sentinel" newspaper of the Listowel Petty Sessions, held on the 8th instant; whether it is true, as stated in that report, that two resident magistrates who had no connection with the district of Listowel, then or at any former time, were brought specially to adjudicate in the adjourned inquiry into the charge against Mr. Harrington and others, arising out of the late disturbance in Listowel; whether Mr. George Sandes, chairman of the court, protested against such outvoting of the local bench, and refused to take part in the inquiry under such circumstances; and, if he can explain why, after the case had first been gone into before the local magistrates, resident magistrates, strangers to the district were imported for the conclusion of the case, and at whose request they attended there?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the case that two Resident Magistrates were sent to attend the Listowel Petty Sessions on the occasion referred to, and Mr. Sandes did act in the manner indicated in the Question. I have directed further inquiry to be made into the matter.

NATAL—INEQUALITY OF TAXATION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, with reference to Papers regarding South Africa just published, Whether it is still the case, as stated by Sir Garnet Wolseley, in his Despatch of 13th February 1880, that, in the Colony of Natal, the taxation of white men and

Natives is most unequal; that, while the Duty on articles for the white men's use is only six per cent., that on blankets and old coats for the Natives is fifteen per cent.; that, while agricultural implements for the whites are free, Kafir picks and hoes pay thirty per cent.; that, while the Natives are subject to a very heavy direct taxation, there is no tax on the land of white planters and speculators; and, if so, whether by the use of the power of the Crown, or by giving votes to qualified Natives, any remedy is proposed for this partiality?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: On looking at the Natal Tariff, I find that 6 per cent is the *ad valorem* duty on many articles, and 15 per cent, as stated, is the duty on blankets; but I find no charge of 30 per cent on Kaffir picks and hoes. On the contrary, I infer that they are admitted duty free. The present Tariff came into force since the date of the despatch named, and that may account for the discrepancy. The Natives are subject to a hut tax of 14*s*., which was imposed when the tax of £5 on Native marriages was abolished, and there is at present no land tax. With reference to the second part of the Question, I would say that these matters are regulated by a Legislative Council, and that even now Natives who elect to be under the ordinary law instead of the peculiar Native law are admitted to the franchise.

POST OFFICE—TELEPHONIC EXCHANGES.

Mr. J. K. CROSS asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has yet come to any decision as to the applications which have been made by various Companies for licences to establish and work telephonic exchanges?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to the Question of my hon. Friend, I have to state that I have received numerous applications to grant telephone licences, not only in places where telephone exchanges have been established by private Companies, but also where they have been established by the Post Office. Deputations have waited upon me, representing the United Telephone Company and other Companies connected with it, strongly urging that, in the interest of the public, it was desirable that private Companies should have an opportunity of competing against the Post Office in those places where telephone exchange business has hitherto been conducted by the Post Office alone. I have had similar applications to allow telephone exchange business to be established in places where the United Telephone Company or one of its branches has an exchange. After giving the matter very careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that it would not be in the interest of the public to create a monopoly in relation to the supply of telephonic communication. I am, therefore, prepared to favourably entertain the proposals that may be made to me by responsible persons to grant new telephone licences under conditions which may be regarded as giving adequate protection to the public and the Department. In case it may be supposed that inconvenience may arise from the multiplication of wires, I may remark that the licence of the Postmaster General to establish a telephone exchange confers no special power whatever to erect poles and wires on, or to place wires under, any highway or private property. The persons to whom a licence may be given will have to make their own arrangements with the local authorities, and with any persons whose property may be affected. It may be well to add that the licence of the Postmaster General confers no authority to carry on telephone business with any instrument the use of which would be an infringement of any patent.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—DIPLOMACY.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Conference has made a further application to the Porte to send troops to Egypt, and if the Government are aware whether or not the Porte has replied in the affirmative to the request?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: My hon. Friend speaks of a further application by the Conference to the Porte to send troops. The Conference made its first and only proposal on the subject on Saturday last, and Identic Notes were presented to the Porte on Saturday afternoon. Up to the present time no reply has been received.

Mr. BOURKE: I gave Notice on Friday that I would to-day ask the hon. Baronet some questions about the

Conference. I wish to ask him now, will that Identic Note be laid on the Table?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I do not think it would be desirable to lay it on the Table as a separate Paper; but I do not see any reason why its terms should not be read to the House. I will consider the matter, and let the right hon. Gentleman know to-morrow. I say that because it is not only a portion of the proceedings of the Conference, but by its presentation it has now passed outside the scope of the Conference.

Mr. BOURKE: Is there any idea when an answer is likely to be received from the Porte?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; but from conversations bearing upon the subject that have already taken place it is possible that no written reply will be received; it is impossible for me to say when a reply will be received, but it has been pressed for.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If the Admiral Commanding in Chief at Alexandria is in direct telegraphic communication with the senior naval officers at Port Said and at Suez; and, if he will state whether adequate precautions have been taken for the protection of British shipping passing through the Suez Canal?

Mr. BRYCE asked the hon. Gentleman to answer another Question, of which he had given him private Notice, whether he could state if ships were now passing through the Canal; and, in particular, whether the East India mail steamers had come through?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, as the right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, is well aware, telegraphic communication between Alexandria, Port Said, and Suez is conducted overland. This communication has been interrupted for some days, and we do not know that it has yet been restored. There is, however, circuitous means of telegraphic communication through Syria. With regard to British shipping passing through the Suez Canal, Her Majesty's Government are fully alive to the importance of affording it adequate protection, and have taken such steps as appear necessary for that purpose. I may add that we have a telegram, dated yesterday evening, from Admiral Hoskins, at Port Said, reporting everything quiet.

Mr. BOURKE: Have these steps been taken in conjunction with any other Powers?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Question is one that should be addressed to another Department.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state whether the Financial Control in Egypt is likely to be re-established; and, whether the subject is one of those left to the decision of the Powers?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The general object for which the Powers met was the restoration in Egypt of the former condition of affairs; but it would be impossible for me to make any statement at present respecting the details of future arrangements.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any information has been received regarding the removal of the archives and records of the European Courts previous to the recent fire at Alexandria?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Mr. Cartwright telegraphs that the Courts are safe and protected by an English guard. I assume the records are safe.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—SUSPENSION OF A CLERK.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER asked the Postmaster General, If it is true that a telegraph Clerk has been suspended without pay for a fortnight, on the ground that he had made a speech (which he was not allowed sufficient time to explain or justify) at a meeting of telegraphists; and, whether, in future, Post Office employés are to be debarred from meeting and discussing their affairs under similar penalties?

Mr. FAWCETT: The telegraphist in question, according to the report of a speech of his in the newspapers, had charged his superior officers with official favouritism; and when called upon to correct the report or else to substantiate the charge, he at first declined to do either the one or the other; and afterwards offered to substantiate, if a fortnight were given to him for the purpose. I considered that in making a public charge of such grave delinquencies without being in possession of proof of its correctness he had committed a very serious offence; and I accordingly suspended him for a fortnight without pay, as indicated in the Question of my hon. Friend.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—JAMES COUGHLIN.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will advise the release of James Coughlin, of Cloghan, a suspect in Kilkenny Prison, and who was arrested with two others on the same charge in February last, the two other suspects having been already released?

Mr. TREVELYAN: James Coughlin was declared in the warrant for his arrest to be reasonably suspected of arson. The other persons arrested in the same district in February last were reasonably suspected of intimidation against payment of rent.

APPOINTMENT OF INSPECTORS OF FISHERIES.

Mr. BIRKBECK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether any fresh appointment has been made in connection with the office of Inspectors of Fisheries; and, if not, if he would explain the reason; and, whether, before any appointment or appointments are made, he will inform the House what the position and duties will be of any new Inspector or Inspectors, so that it may have an opportunity of considering the best means of making the office as useful as possible both for sea and inland fisheries?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had several times stated that it had not been thought necessary to fill up the second place in the Salmon Fishery Inspectorship. The matter was under consideration. When any appointment should be made more useful for the general fisheries, of course it would come under the consideration of Parliament. If the appointment should be before the end of the Session, it would be considered in the ordinary way; but if the appointment was not made before the end of the Session, he thought it ought not to be delayed till next Session in order that it might be considered by Parliament.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS—FLOGGING AT ETON.

Colonel MAKINS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the fact that flogging in the Army has been abolished, Militia subalterns and members of Volunteer corps, who may be students at Eton and other public schools, can be subjected to the personal castigation which forms a part of the primitive discipline of these institutions; and, whether he has reason to apprehend any conflict of authority on this point between the Commander-in-Chief and the head masters or governing bodies of such schools? The hon. and gallant Member explained that the word "primitive" was a misprint for "punitive," adding that the adjectives were not contradictory.

Mr. CHILDERS: I suppose the hon. and gallant Gentleman has in view the famous case of Dr. Keate, who boasted that he had flogged the highest officers in the Army. I do not anticipate that there will be any such conflict as is anticipated in the conclusion of the Question if Eton boys who happened to be members of Auxiliary Corps are birched.

LAW AND POLICE—THE RIOTS AT TREDEGAR.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is able to lay any further information before the House in reference to the Anti-Irish riots at Tredegar; whether his attention has been called to the fact that some of the persons charged before the magistrates with participation in the riots have been treated with the greatest leniency, one being sentenced to but a fine of 10*s.* 6*d.*; and, if it be true that the Irish population has now been entirely driven from the locality; that hundreds of refugee families have landed in Cork in a state of absolute destitution; and, if any steps will be taken to obtain compensation for these sufferers?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I explained the other day that until an investigation has taken place before the magistrates, which I believe is going on to-day, I am not in a position to give any information. I am told that the fine was inflicted on a man who was not engaged in the principal rioting. I am afraid it is true that a large part of the Irish population has been compelled to leave the district. It is one of the unfortunate results of violence and intimidation, whether in England or in Ireland, that it does produce consequences to innocent people, for which it is difficult to compensate them.

MR. O'DONNELL: Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman think that the riots against the Irish at Tredegar were encouraged by the leniency with which he treated the rioters against the Irish at Camborne?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: The right hon. and learned Gentleman is, I think, misinformed when he says that the person who was fined only 10*s.* 6*d.* did not take any part in the riots. I shall read from a report in a Welsh paper. The report states that the man was identified by a police constable as one of the rioters who threw stones at the police. I may also inform the right hon. and learned Gentleman that a somewhat similar offence was punished in Ireland by five years' penal servitude.

MR. HEALY: And the Government made the Judge (Fitzgerald) a Lord.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, prior to the inquiry and report of the Military Committee presided over by Sir Archibald Alison, publicly expressed his disapproval of the proposal to connect France and England by means of a submarine tunnel; whether, if so, the Government intend to rely upon the "careful and voluminous report" of the Duke, announced by the Minister for War as an impartial expression of opinion upon the evidence; and, whether the Government will now announce to the House, categorically, whether they can sanction the construction of such a tunnel, and end further controversy on the subject?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to state that the Papers are in an advanced state of printing, and that the decision of the Government will be arrived at before long. My hon. Friend will excuse my saying that I pay no attention to after-dinner speeches on the Channel Tunnel, whether made by military officers or by Chairmen of public Companies, who may endeavour to import political considerations into the question.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government, by signing the "protocole de désintéressement," precluded itself from landing at Alexandria, immediately after the bombardment commenced, sufficient troops to prevent the terrible destruction of life and property which followed?

MR. GLADSTONE: This is a question upon a matter of opinion rather than a matter of fact; at the same time, it is a matter of opinion on which the House is entitled to be informed, and which is of considerable interest; therefore, I will state briefly the view the Government have taken generally on the subject of the instructions which they gave—the contingent instructions —for the bombardment. We founded that act entirely upon the principle of self-defence. Undoubtedly it is quite arguable that that principle might have justified any measure to provide against any probable or natural consequences of that bombardment. But it is not arguable, in our opinion, that it was a natural or probable consequence of the bombardment by the Fleet that an army estimated to number from 10,000 to 15,000 men should evacuate and burn and pillage the town. Our distinct judgment is this—and this is, I think, a substantial answer to the Question—that preparations adequate to cope with that army would most certainly not have been allowable under the instrument which is called the "self-denying" Protocol, or the *Protocole de Désintéressement.*

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will state the present position of the Khedive of Egypt; and, whether he is now considered to be the virtual ruler of that Country; and, if so, as far as the public interest will allow, what steps are being taken to consolidate the Khedive's authority, and generally to enforce law and order, and to restore public confidence in that Country?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not think I can add anything to the information already given to the House by the telegrams. I am not quite sure that I know what is meant by the phrase "the virtual ruler of that country." In the view of Her Majesty's Government the Khedive has been ruler of the country *de jure* all along, and he is now in a certain very limited measure ruler *de facto*, but only in a very limited measure; and all the steps taken to consolidate his authority, to enforce law and order, and to restore public confidence are really the substance of the questions which have been referred to the Conference at Constantinople, and with respect to which the Conference is now actively engaged?

Sir HENRY TYLER: I ask whether the Government mean to take active steps to restore law and authority without waiting for the decision of the Conference?

[No reply was given to the Question.]

Mr. BOURKE wished to ask the Prime Minister a Question arising out of the reply given by him to the hon. Member for Greenwich. Did the Government consider the Self-denying Protocol to be still in existence after the events in Alexandria; and what was the view taken by the Government of those events in relation to that Protocol?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Certainly, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, that Protocol is in existence at the present moment, and is in no degree impaired by the action of Her Majesty's Fleet on Tuesday last at Alexandria.

Mr. GORST: In the absence of any Notice of Motion from any other Member of the House relating to recent events, I beg to give Notice that I shall, on the earliest possible occasion, move the following Resolution:—

> "That the failure of Her Majesty's Government to avert the pillage and destruction by fire of the city of Alexandria, consequent on the collapse of the *de facto* Egyptian authorities during the bombardment of the forts, earnestly demands the censure of the Imperial Parliament."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Prime Minister, Whether, in view of the deplorable events alluded to by the Motion of which his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had given Notice, and the imperative necessity that the Government should, if possible, without loss of time obtain some indemnification from the House of Commons, he would arrange for the discussion of that Motion immediately after the conclusion of the debates on the Arrears of Rent Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am glad to see the noble Lord sufficiently recovered to ask Questions; but the Question put by him is unusual, as coming from an individual Member of the House, and would be more usual if it came from some Gentleman speaking on behalf of the great body of hon. Members opposite. I may remind the noble Lord that we are under engagement to propose Committee of Supply shortly, which probably may afford some opportunity to individual Members for the expression of their opinions; but I am not prepared, as at present advised, to say that immediately after the discussion on the Arrears of Rent Bill we will proceed to make arrangements for discussing the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

Mr. STANSFELD asked the Prime Minister, Whether he could say what chance there was of Wednesday being at the disposal of private Members, and of that Bill in which he (Mr. Stansfeld) was especially interested, and which was down as the first Order for to-day, being brought in?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he could not give a positive assurance on this subject, as the order of Business depended on the progress made with the Arrears of Rent Bill. If the Committee on this Bill was closed to-night, then he hoped the Bill, as amended, would be in the hands of Members to-morrow morning, and in that case he proposed that the Report should be taken on Wednesday; but if the Committee were not finished till Tuesday, then the Report stage would not be taken till Thursday, in which case Wednesday would be left to his right hon. Friend.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SCOTCH BUSINESS.

Mr. STEWART asked the Prime Minister, Whether, in view of the dissatisfaction caused by the manner in which the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill had been dealt with, and the additional proof thereby afforded of the necessity which existed for securing the proper conduct of Scottish Business in Parliament, he would consider the advisability of seizing the opportunity the present vacancy in the Cabinet offered to obtain that object by merging the sinecure office of the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster in that of a Secretary of State for Scotland?

MR. GLADSTONE: I trust my hon. Friend will not believe, from the unfavourable tenour of the answer I shall give to his inquiry, that I at all differ from him in regard to the preamble to the Question. I think the arrangements at present in force—if, in fact, any arrangement can be said to be in force —for the transaction of Scotch Business, which it seems to me is never transacted at all, are very unsatisfactory, and I deem it an imperative part of the duty of the Government, in the measures they have immediately in contemplation, to endeavour to make better provision for this purpose. I am not, however, prepared to engage the Government to the effect that the form or mode of that provision shall be the creation of a sixth Secretary of State.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether any special arrangement could be made, by means of a large Committee or otherwise, to insure the passing in the course of this Session of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he hoped that the Bill might proceed, and believed, if the hon. Gentleman would communicate with the Vice President of the Council, that he would find him ready to adopt any practical suggestion that might be made with this object.

CRIME (IRELAND)—AGRARIAN MURDER IN MAYO.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he had any information concerning the murder of a woman named Connell in the county Mayo on Friday last; and, whether any arrests had been made in consequence?

MR. TREVELYAN: The information which the Government received was very much the same as that in the newspapers.

MR. GIBSON: Was the murder agrarian?

MR. TREVELYAN: Supposed to be agrarian.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. EWART asked the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, Whether he intended to proceed with his Motion regarding Local Option, which stood on the Notice Paper for to-morrow evening?

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, that he should certainly do so if he had an opportunity; but he should be entirely in the hands of the Government if the Committee on the Arrears of Rent Bill did not close in the course of the Morning Sitting.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he thought, considering the extent of the material that still remained to be dealt with, that there was no reason why the Committee stage of the Bill should not be disposed of that evening; and, in that case, to-morrow evening would be available for the hon. Baronet.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked when it was proposed to take the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I do not propose to take it during the present week. I think it will be convenient to postpone it until after next week.

MR. CALLAN asked when the Government proposed to take the Vote of Censure on a paid official of the House; and whether the Prime Minister would take the earliest opportunity of enabling the House to express an opinion as to the recent conduct of the Chairman of Committees?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, we have no responsibility with respect to the Notice of Motion to which the hon. Member refers. I am not prepared, therefore, to give any answer to the Question.

THE MINISTRY—RESIGNATION OF THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: I should be content not to offer any observations to the House on this, to me, new and peculiar occasion; but I suppose that hon. Gentlemen are wishful to know, perhaps, more than they do know about the reasons why I am not now in my accustomed seat upon the Treasury Bench. But, to tell the truth, I have no explanation to make—there seems nothing to explain, and I have nothing to defend. The simple fact is that I could not agree with my late Colleagues in the

Government in their policy with regard to the Egyptian Question. It has been said—some public writers have said it, and some have said it in conversation—Why have I not sooner left the Government; why have I postponed it to this time from last Tuesday or Wednesday? I may answer that by saying that my profound regard for my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, and my regard also for those who now sit with him, was such that I think I was permitted to remain with them until the very last moment, when I found it no longer possible to retain my Office in the Cabinet. The fact is, that there was a disagreement, to a large extent, founded on principle; and now I may say that if I had remained in Office, it must have been under these circumstances—either that I must have submitted silently to many measures which I myself altogether condemned, or I must have remained in Office in a state of constant conflict with my Colleagues. Therefore, it was better for them, and better for me—the House, I am sure, will unanimously agree to that—that I should have asked my right hon. Friend to permit me to retire, and to place my resignation in the hands of the Queen. The House knows — many Members, at any rate, who have had an opportunity of observing any of the facts of my political life know—that for 40 years at least I have endeavoured, from time to time, to teach my countrymen an opinion and doctrine which I hold—namely, that the moral law is intended not only for individual life, but for the life and practice of States in their dealings with one another. I think that in the present case there has been a manifest violation both of International Law and of the moral law, and therefore it is impossible for me to give my support to it. I cannot repudiate what I have preached and taught during the period of a rather long political life. I cannot turn my back upon myself and deny all that I have taught to many thousands of others during the 40 years that I have been permitted at public meetings and in this House to address my countrymen. Only one word more. I asked my calm judgment and my conscience what was the path I ought to take. They pointed it out to me, as I think, with an unerring finger, and I am humbly endeavouring to follow it.

COLONEL MAKINS: I wish to put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman. ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. and gallant Member wishes to put a Question in reference to any Bill or Motion which is before the House, he is in Order. Otherwise, he is not in Order.

COLONEL MAKINS: I wished to put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman in reference to the statement which he has just made.

MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker, it is only by the indulgence of the House that I rise to say a single word, which my own feelings tell me—and I think the feelings of others in answer to mine—it would be culpable on my part to omit. This is not an occasion for arguing the question of the differences that have unhappily arisen between my right hon. Friend and those who were, and rejoiced to be, his Colleagues. But I venture to assure him that I agree with him in thinking that the moral law is as applicable to the conduct of nations as of individuals, and that the difference between us, most painful to him and most painful to us, is a difference as to the particular application in this particular case of the Divine law. Agreeing with him in the principle, we disagree in the application. It is to us, as it is to him, an occasion of the profoundest pain. But he carries with him the unbroken esteem—and upon every other question the unbroken confidence—of his Colleagues, and their best and warmest wishes that happiness and fame may follow him into the independent position into which he has found it necessary to retire.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 213.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 14th July.*]

[SIXTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART II.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

Clause 5 (Delegation of powers of Land Commission, 44 & 45 Victoria, chap. 49).

Mr. GIBSON moved, in page 3, line 36, to leave out "such," and insert "an." The clause provided that the Land Commission might by a special order delegate its powers, except that of making rules, to the Civil Bill Court, or to any Sub-Commission, or to any member of the Land Commission or of a Sub-Commission, subject to "such appeal (if any) to the Land Commission as may be prescribed." The object of the Amendment was to provide that upon all reasonable points there should be an appeal from the persons delegated by the Land Commissioners to the Commissioners themselves. It appeared to him that the words which he proposed to omit in this clause, if allowed to remain, would leave the matter to the discretion of the Commissioners, and the result would be that persons to whom the powers of the Commission were delegated would not be fettered by any control whatever. There was no guarantee in the Bill that there was to be an appeal from the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners; but, on the contrary, the provisions of the Bill, as it now stood, would enable the Government to select any Member of a Sub-Commission, no matter how little trusted, or how small his knowledge, to discharge very important duties, and then leave it as a discretionary matter whether there was to be any appeal or not. He believed there was absolutely no qualification whatever required for a Sub-Commissioner, to whom those duties might be delegated. He would not enter into any lengthened argument; but he proposed to move the three Amendments which stood in his name together, as they were consequential. The first proposed to omit the word "such," in order to insert the word "an." The next was to leave out the words "if any;" and the third proposed to leave out the words "as may be prescribed." The clause would then run—

> "The Land Commission may from time to time by rule under this Act or by any special order delegate, subject to an appeal to the Land Commission, any power or duty under this Act," &c.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 36, leave out the word "such," in order to insert the word "an."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'such' stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he understood his right hon. and learned Friend to contemplate that there should be an appeal as a matter of right on all reasonable points; but what the reasonable points were his right hon. and learned Friend had not indicated. To a certain extent he went with his right hon. and learned Friend—namely, that on all matters of law there ought to be such an appeal; but in matters of fact it would be impracticable. If the Bill was necessary at all, it was also necessary that affairs under it should be wound up and these arrears disposed of as rapidly as possible; and surely matters of fact in regard to the conditions which controlled the application for benefit under the Bill might be left to any man of ordinary common sense without requiring him to be a lawyer. If they gave an appeal in every instance, no matter what their intention was, they would necessarily include matters of fact, and, instead of an appeal being given as a matter of right on all reasonable points, they would include an appeal on points that were most unreasonable.

Mr. GIBSON said, he had reserved, in moving the Amendment, his right of stating, at greater length, his views in regard to the necessity of the Amendment. He regretted that his right hon. and learned Friend (the Attorney General for Ireland) had not given any indication whatever, which he might easily have done, what was to be the nature of the tribunal they were asked to trust. Would it be a legal tribunal, or a lay tribunal? Would it be an Assistant Commissioner who would know nothing about law, or have any respect for law at all? The Commissioners might appoint, not lawyers, but laymen, to discharge their duties, and he contended that against the decisions of such persons there ought in all cases to be the right of appeal. Surely it was a matter within the breast of the Government what the nature of the tribunal was to be, and he asked for a distinct statement from them whether they intended to retain the power of delegation to any member of a Sub-Commission who was not a lawyer, or to any man who had not had a legal training. The decision of questions which might arise under Sub-sections (*a*) and (*b*) of Clause 1, referred to as preliminary conditions—namely, that the rent payable in respect of the year had been satisfied, and that antecedent arrears of rent were due to the landlord, might well be left to the discretion of the persons appointed to ascertain them. But it was a very different thing when they came to Sub-section (*c*), which fixed as another condition that the tenant was unable to discharge such antecedent arrears. That was a very vital question, and he contended that in every case it ought to be inquired into by some person, whether a barrister or solicitor was immaterial, who should have had a legal training, and that the decision should be subject to an appeal, with the penalty of imposing costs if the appeal were found to have been brought rashly or vexatiously. What he wanted to know now was, whether the preliminary administration of the Act would be given to one individual, and might that individual not be a person of legal training, and was it intended to insure that, no matter what the authority was, there should be no absolute right of appeal, but only a discretionary power to grant an appeal? He did not consider it any answer to be told that the Land Commission had the power of granting an appeal under the 7th section of the Bill. That was a most unsatisfactory answer, and he hoped the Government would be prepared to give a distinct answer now to the questions he had put.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) asked that there should be an appeal in every proper case; but how did his right hon. and learned Friend propose to proceed? Did he require an appeal in every case? He understood his right hon. and learned Friend to say "No."

Mr. GIBSON: In every case, if it is a lay tribunal.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he had already stated that the Government could not undertake to give an appeal in every case. If the tribunal consisted of a land agent it would not be necessary to give an appeal in every case on questions of fact, but only on matters of law, where the tribunal would not have been conducted under the authority of a lawyer. His right hon. and learned Friend objected to matters either of fact or law being disposed of by laymen in regard to investigations concerning the ability of a tenant to discharge his antecedent arrears. Now, he (the Attorney General for Ireland) should not have thought that there was a landlord, or tenant, or agent in Ireland, or any unconcerned person, who would not in a few moments ascertain whether a tenant had been able honestly to pay the antecedent arrears. His own opinion was that a practical man would be able to find his way to a solution of that question much more satisfactorily and readily than any legal Court. Probably a practical man might not be as competent as a lawyer to decide a question of law; but matters of facts were in a very different position. His right hon. and learned Friend asked him what was to be the tribunal sanctioned by the Bill. That was already pointed out in the clause—namely, the Civil Bill Court, or any Sub-Commission, or any member of the Land Commission or of a Sub-Commission. His right hon. and learned Friend asked if they were going to single out a lay member, or a Sub-Commissioner, and not a legal member or a competent man, and his right hon. and learned Friend added that if that was their proposition then he should ask for an appeal, not only in regard to questions of law, but in reference to matters of fact. He could not see the logic of that argument, because a lay Sub-Commissioner would be perfectly competent to give opinions upon all matters of fact, and it was not necessary to provide an appeal from his decision upon matters of fact. But no matter who the Commissioner might be, whether he was a lawyer or a lay Commissioner, he had already admitted that it would be reasonable to give an appeal from his decision upon matters of law. Of course, it was the duty of the Government and of the Land Commission to take care that all investigations under the Bill would be conducted by competent, and not incompetent, persons.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (the Attorney General for Ireland) had admitted that in certain cases it was right that an appeal should be given, and he thought the Committee were justified in asking that if that was the opinion of the Government, they should introduce words into the clause to render it obligatory. He could not understand, although the right hon. and learned Gentleman said it was so intended, that the construction of the words of the clause, as they now stood, really insured an appeal, even in cases connected with matters of law. As his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) had pointed out, there might be no appeal upon anything at all. The Attorney General for Ireland said it would be the duty of the Government, or of the Land Commission, to insure that a competent Sub-Commissioner was appointed to hear these cases. All he (Mr. Lowther) could say was that, if such a person could be found, he would be desperately hard worked, because he was likely to have all the work of his Colleagues thrown upon him. He was prepared to say, without hesitation, that as far as the performances of these gentlemen had been made public, the impression made upon his mind was that, as a class, they had not shown themselves competent persons. The right hon. and learned Gentleman talked about an "expert." He did not use that word, but he understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman to include in that designation a land agent, for instance, as being an expert in regard to the value of land. But what the Committee required to be assured of was, that he should be a person capable of sifting evidence. The name of nearly every Sub-Commissioner had been brought before the House from time to time as being unfit to decide points of law, or, in point of fact, to sit upon any public tribunal whatever. He would not refer to any of these gentlemen individually, but would only deal with them in the abstract, and it was a well-known fact that on separate occasions the names of nearly every one of them had been more or less brought before the House of Commons as a person unfit to discharge the duties intrusted to him. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland talked of casting these duties upon all of the Sub-Commissioners.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he had distinctly stated that there would be an appeal on matters of law, and he had drawn a distinction between appeals on matters of law and matters of fact. He did not consider it reasonable that there should be an appeal on a matter of fact, and he had stated why. He had no objection to introduce words into the clause giving the right of appeal on questions of law.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, no doubt the right hon. and learned Gentleman had made a concession; but he did not understand that the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposed, without reservation, to give an appeal even on questions of law.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) remarked, that he had not put any reservation upon the matter at all.

MR. J. LOWTHER: But the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not propose to give an appeal on matters of fact.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Certainly not.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, it appeared to him that there ought to be an appeal on matters of fact. Public confidence had been rudely shaken in the Sub-Commissioners, who were popularly known in Ireland as sub-confiscators. ["Oh!"] He repeated that assertion.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY rose to Order. This tribunal was a judicial tribunal, and it was a standing rule of that House, he believed, that aspersions should not be permitted to be cast upon judicial tribunals. The right hon. Gentleman had taken every possible opportunity of making the same speech for the purpose of disparaging the Sub-Commissioners, and making imputations upon the manner in which they discharged their judicial functions.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is not a question of Order; but it is the practice of the House to speak with great respect of judicial tribunals. What the right hon. Gentleman now states is stated upon his own responsibility.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) was not correct in his statement that he (Mr. Lowther) made the same speech over and over again for the purpose of casting reflections upon the Sub-Commissioners. As far as he could call to mind, he had scarcely ever alluded to those gentlemen except on one occasion, when he had certainly stated that they were popularly known in Ireland as sub-confiscators, and he felt bound to repeat that statement. He wished to know from the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (the Attorney General for Ireland) whether, when the Government considered the propriety of framing words to insure an appeal in all cases of law, they would also consider the propriety of giving an appeal on matters of fact, when only one person was to constitute the tribunal, or when there was to be no legal person upon it?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, of course the Government would consider the matter so far as questions of law were concerned; but he could not give a pledge that there would be an appeal in all cases on questions of fact.

MR. PLUNKET remarked, that before the Committee divided upon this question it was right that it should be clearly understood what had been asked for by his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson). He must say it appeared to him the proposal made by his right hon. and learned Friend was an extremely fair one. All he asked for was this—that a person dissatisfied with the decision of a Commissioner, or whoever the parties might be appointed to hear these cases, should have an opportunity of an appeal. Of course, if they made a strong tribunal in the first instance, they might fairly say that they would only give a right of appeal in certain cases; but, in the proposal of the Government, what his right hon. and learned Friend pointed out was that they would not even give an assurance that the tribunal of First Instance was to be composed of men who had had any experience or practice whatever in the sifting of evidence or the decision of technical questions. He ventured to submit to the Committee that questions as to the ascertainment of arrears due to the landlord might arise which would be questions of extreme difficulty and delicacy. His own opinion was that it would require a skilled person to decide these points, who should have had experience in regard to legal and technical questions, and who should have been able to observe the way in which judicial proceedings had been conducted. What his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) said was this—if they would assure him they were going to appoint persons who had had professional experience either as barristers or attorneys, then it would only be necessary to give an appeal on questions of law. He agreed with his right hon. and learned Friend that it would be extremely unsatisfactory if, while they were without any guarantee or assurance whatever as regarded the character of the persons who were to form the tribunal of a First Instance, they were to refuse to the Committee the satisfaction of knowing that there would be a right of appeal. The weaker they made the tribunal of First Instance the greater would be the necessity for giving an appeal. He would certainly make those who were to compose the tribunal of First Instance much more careful and effective in their proceedings if it were known that in all cases there would be a right of appeal.

MR. GREGORY said, that anyone who was old enough to have had the experience he had had in the old Courts of Insolvency would admit that it was by no means an easy matter to come to a decision, even on matters of fact, where the fact was the ability, or otherwise, of persons to pay their creditors. The persons who came under the clause would have every inducement to conceal the truth, and it would not be very easy to extract the truth from them. The question involved in the Amendment was a very serious one, because if they appointed a Commissioner who had no legal knowledge, and was absolutely unacquainted with the ordinary methods for sifting evidence, great injustice might be done, and a good many false statements might be made. He thought it would be well for the Government to consider the matter, and see if they could not provide something more satisfactory than the clause as it now stood.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he thought it ought to be remembered—and the most bitter opponents of the Sub-Commissioners would not deny it—that among their ranks could be found competent persons to conduct such inquiries as would be necessary under this Bill. It would also be admitted by the most bitter opponents of the Bill that if the measure was to do any good at all it must be brought very speedily into operation; and if they were to have an appeal in every case, not only on questions of law but on matters of fact, no one could say when the proceedings under the Bill would be likely to come to an end. They would have burning questions in regard to arrears of rent cropping up certainly for the next 18 months, and in the meantime other arrears would be accruing. He hoped the Government would stand firm by the clause, and that they would not accept the Amendment.

Viscount EBRINGTON suggested that the Law Officers should give some definition as to what would be considered matters of fact before the Committee went to a division. So far as he could see from the wording of the clause, a man who owed his misfortunes to drink, and who suffered from *delirium tremens*, might cite that fact as a proof of his inability to pay. Would that be a question of law or fact? Again, a man might produce a receipt from a whisky dealer for the exact amount of his rent, showing the way the money had gone. Would that be a question of law or fact?

Mr. BRODRICK said, there had been a great divergence between the opinions of the different Sub-Commissioners, and it was extremely unlikely that any general agreement would be arrived at now; and in a considerable number of cases injustice would undoubtedly be done unless the Government agreed to grant an appeal. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Johnson) said that practical men only would take cognizance of these matters; but he submitted to the Committee that the majority of the Sub-Commissioners were not practical men, and they were now giving to the Sub-Commissioners work for which they were never intended. Whatever difference of opinion there might be about the ability of the Sub-Commissioners, there could be no difference of opinion about this—that the decisions they had already given in different parts of Ireland showed a great divergence of opinion, and it was quite certain that in adjudicating upon these new matters the views of the Sub-Commissioners would be still more divergent. But although they might differ on other matters, they were all likely to be strongly prepossessed in favour of the tenant, and in favour of giving something; and, as the House of Commons was the guardian of the public money to be given under this Act, they ought to take care that the tribunal appointed to make the preliminary inquiries should be a thoroughly competent one.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, he had heard complaints made in that House over and over again of the absolute uniformity of the decisions which had been given by the Sub-Commissioners; but now the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Brodrick) said that there had been an extreme divergence in the views of the Sub-Commissioners, and that it was a proof of their incompetency to conduct the preliminary inquiries. It seemed that any argument was good enough to urge against the Sub-Commissioners. He had no intention of defending them at present; but he thought these attempts to discredit the working of the tribunal were not likely to increase its usefulness. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Lowther) said the Sub-Commissioners were known throughout Ireland as sub-confiscators. Now, in all probability, he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) knew as much of Ireland as the right hon. Gentleman, and he gave to that assertion an emphatic contradiction. Any opinion that the Sub-Commissioners were at all likely to act in a manner that would lay them open to such a remark was, in his opinion, absolutely incorrect. His noble Friend (Viscount Ebrington) asked whether certain circumstances indicating that a man had spent his money at the whisky shop would constitute inability to pay his rent? He would remind the Committee that the principle involved in that question had already been discussed, and the Committee had decided that the matter was one not of the means by which the inability had been brought about, but whether, as a matter of fact, the tenant was unable, and that would be the matter for the Sub-Commissioners to inquire into. Undoubtedly matters of law might arise, and if they should arise there would be an appeal to the Commissioners themselves. They were not dealing with complicated rights, but simply with loans of money varying in amount from £2 to £30. Of course, the vast majority of cases which would come before the tribunal would affect very small amounts; probably the average would be £7, or even less. It was right that there should be an appeal where any question of law arose, and that the

Government had undertaken to provide. His right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland had said an appeal would be provided in every case where there was a difficult question of law.

Mr. GIBSON said, he had no wish to prolong the consideration of the clause by the time necessary for a division; but he wished to point out that the Government's view of the matter would be negatived if his Amendment were not accepted. Now was the time for dealing with the question of appeal in regard to matters of law. If the question were to be shunted off to the Commissioners, the object the Government professed to have would be entirely negatived.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, he had not understood his hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) to complain of the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners. What his hon. Friend did say was that they had given very different views for the decisions they had arrived at, and that was a material point, because it showed that they were not in accord upon the reasons which guided their action. Nevertheless, there had been entire uniformity in the way in which they had acted. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst) said, truly enough, that there were many of the Sub-Commissioners who were capable of deciding these questions; but the hon. and gallant Gentleman did not mean to say that if a question arose in Derry it should be sent for decision to the county of Cork, in order that an experienced Sub-Commissioner might have an opportunity of considering it. Unfortunately, all these questions, as they arose, must be decided by the Sub-Commissioners of the district in which they did arise.

Mr. WARTON said, it was all very well for the Government to promise an appeal in regard to questions of law. It might turn out that questions of fact would arise, much more difficult than questions of law. There would be very few questions of law indeed, because the only question which would have to be proved was whether or not the rent had been paid. He could not understand the argument of the Solicitor General for Ireland as to the inability of a tenant. Dishonest tenants might, after the intimation conveyed by the Solicitor General for Ireland, proceed to spend all their money in drink, and, by that means, defraud both their landlords and their other creditors; reducing themselves to that agreeable level of inability which would bring them under the consideration of the Sub-Commissioners. Such a view was quite in accord with the general morality of the Bill. The Prevention of Crime Bill gave an unheard of appeal—namely, an appeal in criminal matters upon questions of fact; but now a measure was proposed which dealt purely with civil matters, and the Government refused to recognize the propriety of any appeal at all.

Mr. HINDE PALMER understood that the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) would be satisfied with an appeal on general questions of law without requiring an appeal also as to matters of fact. He understood that the Government were ready to concede that point, and, if so, why further prolong the discussion?

Mr. GIBSON said, he had already stated more than once that if an inferior and purely lay tribunal was constituted, then there must be a general appeal; but if his Amendment were negatived, the Government would be prevented from providing that there should be an appeal even on questions of law.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 235; Noes 140: Majority 95.—(Div. List, No. 268.)

Mr. BRODRICK, in consequence of the refusal of the Government to grant an appeal, moved to leave out the words which authorized the Commissioners to delegate their duty to any Sub-Commissioners. He asked the Government to consider the position in which the Committee were now placed in regard to this clause. During the time these attacks had been made upon the Sub-Commissioners, no defence of any sort had been attempted by the Government. So long as these statements were allowed to go unrefuted, it could not be satisfactory to include the Sub-Commissioners as a tribunal in any Act of Parliament. A pledge had been given early in the Session by the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. W. E. Forster) that he would inquire into the objections which had been raised, and endeavour to put the case of the Sub-Commissioners before the House; but from the time the right hon. Gentleman went out of Office, that pledge had remained unredeemed. These men had been charged with ignorance, incapacity, and partiality in the exercise of their duties. There had also been statements made against their knowledge of law; and he was bound to say, that while he agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst) as to the attitude some of the Sub-Commissioners had taken, the majority of them acted as if they neither knew law nor regarded facts. He had been told by some hon. Members on this side of the House that it would not be discreet to exclude the Sub-Commissioners from these tribunals, because it would be impossible to find competent and honest men in Ireland to discharge the duties. It was said that they had already got down to a low class of persons, and that it was undesirable to go lower down. Now, if it were impossible to find men in Ireland competent to carry out the provisions of this Bill, he thought they ought to send over Englishmen to do the work. It was essentially necessary that they should get hold of some tribunal which would be clear of the traditions of the Sub-Commissioners, and clear also of the inducement to give large sums of money in the shape of compensation. If the Government insisted on placing such men on the Commission, it would come to this—that they would have men employed in adjudicating in the cases of men who had been their private friends or clients, and to whose good offices they would commend themselves by their lavish distribution of public money. Some of the Sub-Commissioners had recently canvassed for others, and would probably soon canvass for themselves, the men to whom the money was to be given. He did not mention that fact as an imputation against the Sub-Commissioners so much as against the impropriety of appointing men whose tenure of office was so brief upon this new tribunal. It must be borne in mind that they had been appointed for very short periods, and at very inadequate salaries. They would shortly return to their ordinary functions, and they would be very anxious to obtain the good offices of those whom they had served during their short judicial term. He did not intend to trouble the Committee with objections to individual Commissioners or particular decisions. These had been brought before the House on former occasions, and were subjects of daily comment; but he put before the Government the broad fact that dissatisfaction undoubtedly existed, and that in forming such a tribunal and refusing an appeal, the Government were giving the surest pledge that the proposed investigation would be illusory, and that the safeguards in the Bill were intended to be disregarded.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 39, to leave out the words "or to any Sub-Commission."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'or to any Sub-Commission' stand part of the Clause."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken stated that no defence of the Sub-Commissioners had been offered by the Government, although a defence of them had been promised by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). The hon. Member said that the charges made against the Sub-Commissioners were charges of ignorance, incapacity, and partiality. Now, it was quite true that those charges had been brought forward in that House on several occasions, both by the hon. Member (Mr. Brodrick) and several other hon. Gentlemen opposite. He did not understand that a mere allegation of that kind, even coming from the hon. Member, was any charge which those interested in the administration of the law were either called upon to answer, or were in a position to answer. Mere words of general accusation or abuse did not afford the opportunity of defence. He had heard very strong language used against these men, who were servants of the public, who were discharging a difficult duty cast upon them by law, and whose discharge of those duties was not facilitated by the mode in which they were habitually treated by certain Members of that House. He must say that nothing more unfair and nothing more contrary to the English spirit of fair play they might have expected to see in that House, he was unable to conceive. It was utterly impossible to offer a defence to charges so preferred. They did not single out the individual attacked, nor did they name the particular case. They said nothing of how the ignorance, incapacity, and partiality had been displayed. His right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) did undertake that in case any question in reference to the Commissioners and their appointments was brought before the House, he would be prepared to defend his action in the matter. He was quite sure that his right hon. Friend was in the same position now. The hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) said he was not attacking the Sub-Commissioners so much for their ignorance, incapacity and partiality, as the circumstances of their appointment, and the circumstance that they were only appointed for a short time, and that they had taken part in political affairs before they were appointed. But these were circumstances which did not affect this particular question as to the discharge of their duties at all. The charges were charges of breaches of duty, incompetency, and incapacity; but he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) said that up to the present time no such charge had been brought against the Sub-Commissioners in that House in a way that would enable the House to deal with it. If such an accusation were directly made against any Sub-Commissioner, the Government, if they thought the individual attacked was in the right, would certainly be prepared to defend him. He believed the Sub-Commissioners had discharged their duty to the best of their ability. They were still discharging their duty, and their discharge of their duty had not been challenged in any way that could be fairly taken hold of. There had been appeals against their decisions, some of which had been affirmed, and others refused. The decisions of the Sub-Commissioners had, in the vast majority of cases, been affirmed; but, no doubt, on one or two points of law the higher Court had arrived at a different conclusion from the Sub-Commissioners. It appeared to him that what they required under this Act was the appointment of practical men acquainted with farming matters; and he expected when the Act came to be administered, and inquiries were instituted into the preliminary conditions, that they would be conducted with justice and without the necessity for instituting in every case a regular law suit. Under these circumstances, it seemed to the Government that the accusation on which the Amendment was based was one that it would be cruel for the Committee, in the absence of evidence, to adopt; at any rate, no reason had been shown as yet why these duties should not be intrusted to the Sub-Commissioners.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had given a direct challenge to hon. Members on that side of the House to substantiate the assertions they had made in regard to the conduct of the Sub-Commissioners. In point of fact, the hon. and learned Gentleman had raised, instead of the small Amendment of the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick), the whole question of how these Sub-Commissioners in Ireland discharged their duties. ["No!"] The hon. and learned Gentleman had repudiated that there was any ground for questioning the mode in which the Sub-Commissioners had discharged their duties. Now, he (Sir Hervey Bruce) contended that there was, and he thought the majority of the Committee would agree with him. That, however, was neither here nor there. He should be very sorry to bring a charge of gross partiality against any of the Commissioners; but he distinctly brought the charge of ignorance and incapacity for the performance of the particular duties to which they had been appointed. Many of them had never known anything about land, except, perhaps, going out from their places of business in the evening for a walk, before they were appointed Sub-Commissioners. It was not necessary for him to particularize individuals. The fact was quite known to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) who appointed them. [Mr. W. E. Forster dissented.] All he could say was that if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) did not know the fact that many of the people appointed were not connected with the land in any way, but were people connected with business in the town, he was the only person who was ignorant of that fact. He did not like to say anything strong against the right hon. Gentleman; but he ought to have known this fact, because it was very well known to everybody in the district. A case occurred only last week in which a Sub-Commissioner heard the application of some tenants of his own. ["Hear!"] The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was welcome to his cheer. The more the hon. Member abused the landlord class in Ireland, the more they were convinced they were doing their duty as men of honour and as magistrates in the country, and the more they believed that they would earn the respect of the people amongst whom they lived. Now, let him turn to the consideration of the action of the Sub-Commissioners who decided in some of his cases last week. In giving his decision, one of the Commissioners said——

MR. HEALY rose to Order. He wished to know whether the hon. Baronet was allowed to go into particular cases which had been heard before the Land Commission?

THE CHAIRMAN: the hon. Baronet will be in Order, if he endeavours to show that the Sub-Commissioners are not fit to exercise their duties; but he cannot go into a general statement of their inefficiency under another Act.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE concluded, from what he had heard, that the same Sub-Commissioners would be employed under this Act as were employed under the Act of last year, and he wanted to show that by a very curious process they came to a conclusion on a very important point. It had been said that in his case the Commissioners had reduced the rents on the evidence of a certain gentleman—that gentleman was Mr. Robertson. It was necessary to state what that gentleman was in order to make the matter clear. That gentleman came over to Ireland as a young man—he was not then a valuer, and had never learned valuing—to do some drainage work. He did not do that work badly, and then he (Sir Hervey Bruce) made him his steward. In that capacity, however, he was a failure, and he (Sir Hervey Bruce) was obliged to get rid of him. Mr. Robertson then entreated of him to admit him as tenant of the home farm. He (Sir Hervey Bruce) was advised by his people of business not to employ him in that capacity; but, believing he was not a bad sort of man, he did admit him. Mr. Robertson completely failed as tenant of the home farm; in fact, he brought the farm to such a state that it was with difficulty he (Sir Hervey Bruce) afterwards got a tenant. Mr. Robertson brought proceedings for damages, and afterwards took a farm in Scotland. The landlord there did not care much for him. Undoubtedly, Mr. Robertson had suffered whilst in Scotland so much from paralysis, that both his body and mind was enfeebled; and yet it was upon his evidence that Mr. Greer said he had lowered his (Sir Hervey Bruce's) rents.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he rose in consequence of the remarks the hon. Baronet (Sir Hervey Bruce) had made with regard to what he (Mr. Forster) must have known at the time he appointed the Sub-Commissioners.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE: I spoke of what the right hon. Gentleman ought to have known.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, if he understood the hon. Baronet correctly, he said that many of the Sub-Commissioners had no knowledge whatever of the value of the land, and knew nothing at all about land; that, in fact, they were men of business whose occupation was in the city. The hon. Baronet, however, did not mention any names. It was a perfectly new idea to him (Mr. Forster) that many of the Sub-Commissioners knew nothing about land, and he believed it would turn out to be a mistake. The legal Commissioners, of course, were not ostensibly appointed for their knowledge of land. They were appointed for their knowledge of law; and with regard to the Sub-Commissioners, he was unable to call to mind any sort of corroboration of the hon. Baronet's opinion. He had not the slightest doubt that the hon. Baronet held his opinion with perfect sincerity; but he (Mr. Forster) could not remember appointing any gentleman to whom the hon. Baronet's remarks would apply. The hon. Baronet had referred to a case in which he was personally interested. If the time of the Committee was to be taken up by the consideration of every case in which either the Representatives in that House of the landlord class, or hon. Members representing the tenants, were specially interested, many weeks would elapse before the Committee would get to the end of this discussion; but that, of course, was a matter for other persons to deal with rather than for himself. He must, however, say that when charges were made against individuals, especially individuals who had a most difficult judicial duty to perform, the general custom had been, up to this year, for the hon. Member making the charge to give Notice of his intention to do so, in order to allow those whose duty it was to defend, if it were proper to do so, the accused, to obtain the requisite information in the matter. In the present instance, for example, how was it possible for his right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) to make an answer to the remarks of the hon. Baronet? In common fairness to Mr. Greer, the Chief Secretary for Ireland ought to be in a position to ask Mr. Greer for his version of the story. He thought the hon. Baronet, however much he might feel aggrieved, would see that in future, before he brought forward charges in the House of Commons against gentlemen who had a very difficult duty to perform, he ought to give proper Notice of his intention to do so. He (Mr. Forster) thought the House would credit him when he said that he appointed the Sub-Commissioners as far as he could with impartiality. In making the appointments he tried to ascertain in every case that the gentleman had knowledge of land, that he was a man of integrity, and that he was a man of fearlessness—that he would carry out his own belief of what was right, undeterred and unalarmed by what might be said of him by either side. He thought it would be very difficult to find another case of so many gentlemen being appointed to perform such important duties, and who had performed their duties so well as the Irish Sub-Commissioners. No doubt they had given dissatisfaction to both sides; but it was utterly impossible that in performing such duties as they were called upon to discharge they should not give some dissatisfaction. Over and over again he had heard, from both sides, testimony of the devotion and industry with which the Sub-Commissioners had done their duty; and when regard was had to what the Sub-Commissioners had to do, to the fact that affairs in Ireland were not in a very satisfactory condition, and also to the fact that the Sub-Commissioners' influence was greatly weakened when unfair charges were brought against them, he might fairly appeal to hon. Gentlemen not to bring charges against the Sub-Commissioners without an opportunity being given to the persons against whom the charges were made of defending themselves.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE assured the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Forster) that when he came down to the House he had no intention of saying one word about the Sub-Commissioners. He was only prompted to do so by the taunt which was thrown across the Table by the Solicitor General for Ireland.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment made a general charge against the Sub-Commissioners, and he was answered by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, who said it was strictly unfair to make general charges. The Solicitor General for Ireland was followed by the hon. Baronet (Sir Hervey Bruce), who made a specific charge, mentioning the name of an individual Sub-Commissioner. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) then rose and said the hon. Baronet was not proceeding fairly. If hon. Gentlemen were neither to make general charges or specific charges, how were they to conduct their business? How was it possible to legislate if the Treasury Bench disapproved of both general and specific charges?

Mr. GIVAN said, he would not feel justified in saying one word to the Committee at this stage but for the interesting story the Committee had heard from the hon. Baronet (Sir Hervey Bruce). It was right the Committee should be possessed of some little more information on the subject in order that they might come to a just conclusion. He wished the Committee to know that Mr. Robertson had no official position in connection with the Land Commission. In the cases alluded to by the hon. Baronet he was brought forward as an independent witness on the part of the tenants. The hon. Baronet had said it was upon Mr. Robertson's evidence that Mr. Greer based his decision. He challenged the hon. Baronet to contradict this—that the reason given by Mr. Greer for the reduction of the hon. Baronet's rents was that upon his (Sir Hervey Bruce's) purchase of the estate he had arbitrarily increased the rents, and had refused to listen to any reason or any excuse on the part of the tenants.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE: I beg to contradict that that was not what Mr. Greer said in his speech.

MR. GIVAN said, he would give the hon. Baronet the precise words of Mr. Greer. What Mr. Greer said was—

> "When he (Sir Hervey Bruce) proposed to increase the rents, the tenants asked him to appoint one man and they would appoint another, and the hon. Baronet said 'No.' The tenants next proposed to have an arbitrator appointed by the hon. Baronet himself, and they would pay the costs; but he refused"—[Sir HERVEY BRUCE: Pure imagination.]—"and adhered to his own rents which he had arbitrarily fixed."

THE CHAIRMAN: The conduct of Mr. Greer is not the Question before the Committee. The Question is, whether the Sub-Commissioners are capable of exercising the functions under this Act?

MR. GIVAN quite agreed with the Chairman that his (Mr. Givan's) observations were somewhat out of Order; but he asserted that the remarks of the hon. Baronet (Sir Hervey Bruce) and of the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick), in making a general condemnation of the Sub-Commissioners, were equally out of Order. The decisions of the Sub-Commissioners had been repeatedly brought under the notice of the House, but not a single case had ever been brought forward in which it could be shown the Commissioners had acted ignorantly, incapably, or partially.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, if anyone had done anything to depreciate the judicial qualities of the Sub-Commissioners and to call in question their impartiality, it was the Solicitor General for Ireland. He (Lord George Hamilton) would trespass upon the attention of the Committee for a minute or two while he laid before them a few facts, for the accuracy of which he would vouch, and then he would ask whether it was likely Conservative landlords could have confidence in some of the Sub-Commissioners? The Solicitor General for Ireland's appeal to the great agricultural constituency of Londonderry upon his election was this—"If the Conservatives are left to work this Land Act they will appoint Conservatives to act as Sub-Commissioners. If you support me I will take very good care that is not the case." After the Londonderry Election three gentlemen were appointed Sub-Commissioners, every one of whom had taken a more or less active part in the election. They were Mr. Greer, Mr. Cunningham, and Mr. Meek. He was not going to call in question any of the decisions; but he desired to point out that the Chairman of the Sub-Commission in the county of Tyrone was a practising barrister in the Circuit of which Tyrone formed a part. It had been an invariable rule not to appoint barristers to even County Court Judgeships in the counties in which they practised, but this gentleman was appointed for one year. He intended to resume his functions as a practising barrister, and it was a matter of absolute certainty that the persons to whom he would look for briefs were the solicitors who had practised before the Law Court of which he was Chairman. Mr. Cunningham was the Chairman of the Liberal Association of the County Donegal, and he had taken a great part in reference to the Tenant Right Union. A good many of the landlords of Tyrone were Mr. Cunningham's political opponents, and the undoubted impression which the unfortunate speeches of the Solicitor General for Ireland, followed as it was by the appointments he (Lord George Hamilton) had referred to, created was that Mr. Cunningham, and others of the same stamp, would be biassed in his decisions against those who differed from him politically. Turning to County Armagh, he found that Mr. Meek had recently been appointed Sub-Commissioner. Mr. Meek was the tenant of a farm valued, he (Lord George Hamilton) believed, at £25. Mr. Meek gave most extraordinary evidence on behalf of some tenants in Dungannon. His evidence was disregarded by the Land Court then sitting in Dungannon; but what happened? He was appointed Sub-Commissioner in the immediate neighbourhood in which he gave this extreme *ex parte* evidence. The man might be perfectly qualified to act as Sub-Commissioner; but he (Lord George Hamilton) thought his appointment to a district in which he had taken a very leading part as a politician was not fair to the man himself, and not fair to the Land Act he had to administer. The Irish Government appointed the Sub-

Commissioners, but the Land Commissioners distributed them over Ireland. The Government said these persons were perfectly fitted to act as Sub-Commissioners, and the Land Commissioners said that if they were qualified to act they might act anywhere. The result was there was a shuffling of responsibility. It was all very well to talk of these Sub-Commissioners as Judges. No Judge in this country had even been called upon to perform such duties as these Sub-Commissioners were required to discharge. He had read in a pamphlet written by no landlord, a very accurate description of the powers of these Sub-Commissioners. These powers were not judicial, but *quasi*-legislative. That was to say, there was no definition of what constituted a fair rent; the Sub-Commissioners were bound by no rule or regulation; whatever suggested itself to them they could do, and that which they did had the effect and force of law. If that be, and he thought it was, a more or less correct description of the functions with which the Sub-Commissioners were invested, the Committee had a right to object to gentlemen being appointed whose main qualification was, not that they had knowledge of land, but that they were political partizans.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) had addressed himself very fairly to the question from his point of view; but he (Mr. Forster) must absolutely deny that any Sub-Commissioner had been appointed because he was a political partizan; he was perfectly sure he made no such appointment. It was almost impossible to find a large number of gentlemen who had taken no part in politics, and he did not know that it would have been any recommendation of the gentlemen who had been appointed Sub-Commissioners if they had not. The state of Ireland had been such that men who had any good stuff in them would feel strongly upon political questions, and would naturally take their part in them. He found, therefore, that he could not properly lay down a rule that he would appoint no man who had meddled in politics; but he certainly did endeavour to guard himself against appointing a man who acted unfairly in political matters, or against appointing a man because he had taken part in political matters. With regard to Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Meek, he believed neither of them had any connection with County Tyrone.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: Mr. Cunningham is a corn merchant there; he has dealings there.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he could not speak as definitely as the noble Lord. If he had continued in his late Office he should have stated publicly that if Mr. Meek had given evidence in land cases in a certain county, it would be well that he should not be sent to that county as a Sub-Commissioner. He understood the noble Lord to say Mr. Meek had given evidence in Tyrone.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: I believe he had given evidence in Dungannon and Cookstown, which are in Armagh, the neighbouring county.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, it would be a matter of detail which would require serious consideration whether a gentleman should not be appointed to one county, because he had given evidence or taken an active part in political matters in the adjoining county. He thought it would be undesirable that a gentleman should be sent as judge in these matters—[Mr. Gibson: Hear!]—perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman would allow him to finish the sentence. It was undesirable that a gentleman should be sent as judge in these matters who had been giving evidence in similar cases in the same district, and he had no doubt the Commissioners would take that into account. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) must remember that the Commissioners had great difficulties to contend with in making the allotments. For instance, there was a great feeling in the Province of Ulster against Commissioners being sent there who knew of the Ulster Custom, and as there were only a certain number of Sub-Commissioners who were connected with Ulster, it was a difficult thing to send Ulster men to that Province. That was a difficulty which he thought the noble Lord would himself feel and make allowance for in considering the conduct of the Commissioners. If it was to be laid down as a positive rule that no man should have been appointed who had any connection with one side or the other, hon. Members from Ireland sitting below the Gangway opposite might have objected to every landlord and every landlord's agent who was appointed. It was utterly impossible to lay down such a rule. He endeavoured to choose the Sub-Commissioners as fairly as he could from the different classes—namely, landlords, agents, tenant farmers, and, in one or two cases, yeomen. While choosing them, however, from these classes, he endeavoured to satisfy himself—he might have been mistaken—that he was selecting men of ability, of integrity, and of courage. If he had added to these qualifications that the Sub-Commissioners must be men who had taken no part in politics, he had no hesitation in saying that he would have got incapable, know-nothing men, against whom charges would have been far more plentiful than those against the present Sub-Commissioners.

MR. BRODRICK said, this discussion was assuming rather wide limits; but he was bound to say that if they owed that fact to anybody, they owed it to the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Porter), who had invited the Committee to diverge into criticisms of the particular decisions and charges against the Sub-Commissioners. He had felt inclined to go into the Library and refresh the mind of the Solicitor General for Ireland with some of the specific charges which had been made, in which case the Government would have had the satisfaction of seeing the debate continued till past midnight. But his (Mr. Brodrick's) remarks were carefully directed at general objects, and for the best of all reasons. The Committee would recollect they had had a very long discussion on the conduct of the Sub-Commissioners. But that discussion had arisen on the Motion with regard to the House of Lords; and, consequently, the Government, who had their own reasons for keeping silence, had declined to make a reply. No reply was made, and what the Solicitor General for Ireland had asked the Committee to do was to assume that all the charges which were made on the former occasion were entirely groundless. These charges remained uncontradicted to this day; and what the Solicitor General for Ireland denounced as unfair as it was un-English was the reiteration of them. He was not going to be tempted, even by the language of the Solicitor General for Ireland, to forego the course he had laid down for himself on this occasion—namely, of limiting his observations to subjects which were germane to the discussion before them. But, as he had been challenged to state a single objection which he had brought forward to the Sub-Commissioners, and which the Government had ignored, he would remind the hon. and learned Gentleman of one fact. It had been stated time after time in that House that one Sub-Commissioner, Mr. M'Devitt, had, previous to his appointment, enunciated doctrines directly at variance with those laid down by the Government as to the manner in which a fair rent should be assessed. The conduct of this Sub-Commissioner had been called in question, and no Member of the Government had attempted to defend it. In the face of all the facts, he thought hon. Members were justified in assuming that the Sub-Commissioners did not constitute a competent tribunal to carry out the provisions of this Act; and he might add that the tone adopted by the Government in their defence and the poverty of their arguments were not likely to shorten the discussions relating to them which might arise on future stages of the Bill. He should certainly not be deterred by the indignation of the Solicitor General from dividing the Committee on the Amendment.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he did not remember any special charges being made in regard to Mr. M'Devitt in the debate in the House of Lords; but the hon. Member (Mr. Brodrick) was quite correct in saying that the statement was made that Mr. M'Devitt had enunciated views different to those of the Government. At the time he (Mr. Forster) appointed Mr. M'Devitt, he was not aware of the particular expressions on his part; but if he had been, he was not at all sure it would have prevented him appointing Mr. M'Devitt. If a man was to be debarred appointment for the expressions in his writings or speeches, in all probability he would never get appointment. Certainly, if he had known what Mr. M'Devitt's opinions were, he would have called his attention to them. Mr. M'Devitt was the Sub-Commissioner appointed for Tyrone. When the statement referred to by the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) was made, he (Mr. Forster) ascertained, and the Commissioners ascertained, that Mr. M'Devitt had taken a rather active part in the Tyrone Election. [Mr. HEALY:

The Election in 1880?] Of course, in the Election of 1880. That was thought to be a reason why he should not go to Tyrone. He was sent to the South, and he appeared to have given great satisfaction there; he had performed his duty, assisted by his two colleagues, with great impartiality. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brodrick), and those who sat near him, should look more carefully into all the facts surrounding the appointment and conduct of the Sub-Commissioners before they made statements in that House. He believed it would have been very difficult indeed to have found any Commission who would have worked with more impartiality than the Commission of which Mr. M'Devitt was at the head.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, the whole argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), so far as it referred to the question generally, appeared to be this—it was a matter of extreme difficulty, almost impossible, to secure for these appointments persons who possessed the confidence of both sides, or who had not such antecedents, either political or otherwise, as to cause the suspicion that they might have formed an opinion on the question to be submitted to them. This very point was one which was urged last year when objection was taken to referring questions of fair rent to the Land Court, upon the ground of the extreme difficulty of securing a just and fair decision. The argument of the right hon. Gentleman, therefore, was practically one against the Land Act of 1881. In reply to the observations of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton), the right hon. Gentleman had said it was wrong to send Sub-Commissioners to do work in the part of the country with which they were connected.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, his remarks solely applied to sending Mr. Meek to try cases where he had given evidence.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, Mr. Meek gave evidence with regard to fair rent in the part of the country with which he was connected; but it seemed to him that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman applied also to the cases of Mr. Wylie and Mr. Cunningham. The Solicitor General for Ireland distinctly challenged the Opposition to produce special instances in which the Sub-Commissioners had gone wrong. Special instances had been given by the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) and by the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) as to a failure of justice in the Land Court. He would like to hear what the Solicitor General for Ireland had to say in regard to those special instances, because when the Committee were asked by the Bill to impose fresh duties upon those very tribunals whose action had been stated with great force to be unsatisfactory, and when special instances had been given in which it was proved to have been so, it was at any rate due to the tribunals themselves, and to the proposals in the Bill, that the Government should vindicate the tribunals against the charges that had been made, and show that they were qualified to discharge the duties imposed upon them, and that there was some chance in future of persons not being called upon to decide cases in the part of the country with which they were connected. He had placed an Amendment on this subject on the Paper. He must not discuss it now, but he hoped it might receive the favourable consideration of the Government. The question was of great importance. No one could say it was right that a number of persons who were intimately connected with an Irish county, who must feel the friendship or the hostility towards persons living in the county which that connection might engender, should be sent under this Bill to decide questions, not merely between landlord and tenant, but as to whether the money of the State should be given, possibly, to friends and neighbours amongst whom they lived. That was a principle which he was sure the Prime Minister would not contravene.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he thought the Committee would feel it was impossible to make any progress in the matter before them by the consideration of these individual cases. The Motion was one to pass sentence for incapacity, for ignorance, and, perhaps, for partiality upon the Commissioners as a body. The hon. Member (Mr. Brodrick) asked the Committee to condemn the Commissioners on an action when, *primâ facie,* there was the strongest reason for their being included in the operation of the Bill, because the functions they would have to perform under the Bill would be much easier and less delicate than those they were now discharging. It was evident that the germane character of the matter pointed to them as the persons to administer this Act. They were already at work, and there were a number of them who, the Government hoped, would soon have got through the direct business of the Land Commission. It was attempted to show that in certain individual instances the Sub-Commissioners had gone wrong. The hon. Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) made a statement which was founded entirely upon his allegation as to the confession by a Commissioner of the grounds on which he had given judgment. But the hon. Member was immediately contradicted flatly by another hon. Member (Mr. Givan), who quoted the precise words of the Commissioner, Mr. Greer. Unless the quotation be an entirely false one, it must overbear the general statement of the hon. Baronet (Sir Hervey Bruce). Particular cases had been brought forward by the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) in which it appeared that men who had given evidence before Land Commissioners in one county had been appointed to discharge the duties of Commissioners in another county. Surely that was not a very great offence. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: An adjoining county.] In an adjoining county. It would be absurd to say that no one who belonged to a particular county, and who had taken part in land decisions, should ever be appointed in that or any adjoining county to serve on the Commission. The charge made by the noble Lord was not contested; but, after all, it was an extremely small one—it was the result of inadvertence such as might easily arise, and might be very well avoided in the future. He quite agreed it was quite reasonable that the Land Commission should be on their guard against appointing any persons connected with the county by professional practice, property, or residence. Upon the principle of the Amendment they were all agreed. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) brought forward two other cases; but he (Mr. Gladstone) would not go into them now. They were both dealt with by his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland at the commencement of the Session. ["No!"] The whole matter was gone into; he was right in that. In his opinion, the whole case was gone into by his hon. and learned Friend when he was made the object of a sharp personal attack when he first entered the House; and if ever a complete reply was made to a series of accusations, it was that made by his hon. and learned Friend. Then, again, Mr. M'Devitt had been accused of impartiality. The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) came in on the other side, and contended that Mr. M'Devitt was a Commissioner whose conduct was greatly to be criticized and canvassed on account of his partiality towards the landlords. Were the Committee, upon such an amount of evidence with regard to the 40 Sub-Commissioners who were at work all over Ireland, and who were better acquainted with the subject than any other body in the country at the present time—were they to say that they were prepared to condemn these men and exclude them from the operation of this Bill, upon *ex parte* statements, into which there could be no adequate examination? He would not say more than that the hon. Baronet's (Sir Hervey Bruce's) statement was flatly contradicted by another hon. Gentleman (Mr. Givan), and he would appeal to the hon. Baronet to admit that it was not possible for the Committee on this occasion to get at the bottom of these things. This kind of discussion only exhausted the time of the Committee, and could have no satisfactory termination.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, although the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would take the contradiction of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan), which he was justified in doing, against his (Sir Hervey Bruce's) statement, he would again point out that the Commissioners, according to their own judgment, relied upon the evidence of Mr. P. Robertson. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) said the Commissioners made charges against him (Sir Hervey Bruce). He regretted he was not present in Court at the time. He considered his attendance in Parliament more pressing than his attendance in the Court; but it was unfair that charges should be made against him behind his back and embodied in the judgment.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, it had been stated that the administration of this Arrears Act would fall upon the present Sub-Commissioners. He could only say that, if that were so, the Act would have to wait a long time before it was administered. From what he knew of the working of the Land Act in Ulster and a good part of Ireland, the Assistant Commissioners would not be able to devote any time to the administration of the Arrears Act for one or two years. He wished to remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that their tactics upon the Act of 1881 were exactly similar to those pursued by them in respect to the Act of 1870. When the Act of 1870 was passed the Commissioners were denounced. The County Court Judges were then called briefless barristers; in fact, every imputation which was cast upon the Assistant Commissioners now was cast upon the County Court Judges after the passing of the Act of 1870. It was most unseemly that these demonstrations and continual attacks should be made in that House, and made by landlords who were suffering a reduction of their rents at the hands of the Sub-Commissioners. The tenant farmers of Ireland would see very plainly that the landlords of the present time were determined to destroy, if they could, the Act of 1881, as they did the Act of 1870. A great deal of complaint was heard about the Sub-Commissioners. But why did the landlords complain? They had the right of appeal, and they were appealing in nearly every case. What had been the result of the appeals? Substantially the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners remained unaltered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question is not that of the Land Act; but it is whether the Sub-Commissioners ought to exercise the powers under this Bill.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, the debate had taken a very wide turn, and he was not going much further afield.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is perfectly in Order if he refers to the capacity or incapacity of the Sub-Commissioners to exercise the powers under this Bill.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, violent attacks had been made in that House that night upon the Sub-Commissioners, whom he was endeavouring to defend. Had he had Notice that the conduct of the Sub-Commissioners was about to be under review, he could have produced a pocket full of letters containing complaints of the partiality of the Sub-Commissioners from the tenants' point of view. They in that House, who, in some degree, represented the tenant farmers, had made no attacks upon the Sub-Commissioners, when they had every opportunity of doing so. The landlords, however, had availed themselves of every opportunity of attacking an honourable body of gentlemen who were carrying out most difficult duties.

MR. HEALY said, it was well the Committee and the country should observe that the members of that class who were at present arraigned before one of the Courts of Justice in Ireland were using their position in the House of Commons to defend their own private interests and affairs. He would like to know what would be thought if hon. Gentlemen interested in the sugar trade were continually attacking the Government for any course the Government might pursue in regard to their trade? If hon. Gentlemen were allowed to make their charges against the Sub-Commissioners unchecked, the impression would get abroad that there was universal dissatisfaction with regard to the appointments and decisions. Hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway, who were landlords, were merely throwing dust in the eyes of the people, so that they might be blinded as regarded the landlords' dealings with their tenants. So far from the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners being satisfactory to the tenants as a body, he might say not a day passed without his receiving by post scores of letters of complaint as to decisions of the Land Court in particular cases. The Committee ought not to allow it to go forth to the country that the landlords were the only persons who had a grievance. Only one charge had been made from the tenants' side, and it happened that that was made against Mr. M'Devitt. He (Mr. Healy) picked Mr. M'Devitt out for complaint, because it appeared to him that, from the tenants' point of view, Mr. M'Devitt's Commission was the worst in Ireland. In Kerry, Mr. M'Devitt had left some of the rents as much as 50 per cent above Griffith's valuation, and the tenants thought they had some just cause of complaint. He did not think it did the Sub-Commissioners much harm to have these complaints made against them by the landlord party. The Sub-Commissioners were certainly as pure-minded as the landlords against whom they had given decisions.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 176; Noes 90: Majority 86.—(Div. List, No. 269.)

SIR HERVEY BRUCE moved, in page 3, line 39, to leave out from "Sub-Commission," to "and," in page 4, line 1. His object was that one member of the Land Commission or of a Sub-Commission should not be able to give a decision. That would not be casting a slur on the Commissioners; but he thought it was a matter of considerable importance that this question, before being decided, should be examined with the greatest skill.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 39, to leave out from "Sub-Commission," to "and," in page 4, line 1.—(*Sir Hervey Bruce.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he thought the Amendment unnecessary.

MR. J. LOWTHER urged that this was a very important question. No assurance had been received from the Government whether the Sub-Commissioner who was to act singly was to be an expert, in any shape or form, on legal matters. It would not be unreasonable to ask that a single Commissioner who was to sit by himself was to be a person of legal training. He imagined that, at any rate, a certain portion of the Sub-Commissioners would be persons of legal training, and therefore there could be no difficulty in giving this assurance, and introducing words to carry out that purpose—namely, that any Sub-Commissioner who sat alone should be a person versed in legal matters.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he was strongly of opinion that if an effort was to be made to get these arrears settled soon—and it was most desirable for the sake of the landlords, the tenants, and for the peace of Ireland generally, that that should be the case—it would be found very difficult to work the matter with the present number of Sub-Commissioners. He thought it very desirable that the Government should have power to increase the number of Sub-Commissioners; but he entirely disagreed with the hon. Baronet in proposing this restriction as to Sub-Commissioners. In some cases a Sub-Commissioner might be a man eminently fitted to deal with the question; but if this Bill was to be of any use, it must be put in force as quickly as possible, and he hoped it would soon leave the Committee and become law, and that the Government would not be hampered in the measures necessary to carry out their object.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he hoped the Government would do something to carry out the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Forster). This Amendment seemed to him to be of some importance, but not from the point of view from which the Solicitor General for Ireland appeared to regard it. He understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that it would be a comparatively rare thing for these inquiries to be delegated to one Commissioner. It seemed to him that if the Bill was to work at all within reasonable time, the inquiries would almost invariably have to be held before one Commissioner, and, therefore, it was of great importance, not merely to provide additional persons to carry out the work, but to take care that when these inquiries were intrusted to one person, he should be a person properly qualified. He himself had put down an Amendment later on suggesting a professional qualification. If it were possible to provide, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) had suggested, that these inquiries should be delegated to one person, if he had special qualifications, that would be a great improvement to the Bill; and then the Government might appoint persons who should commence acting with as little delay as possible. Under the Act of last year the valuation of land had to be dealt with; but under this Act the matter to be decided was entirely different. What was to be ascertained now was not the value of land, but the solvency or insolvency of a tenant, and that question could be more thoroughly dealt with by persons professionally qualified.

MR. MOORE said, he hoped the Bill would not be limited by such a restriction as this. There were too many barristers who could not get anything to do; and if the Government were restricted to barristers, there would be more of the wretched appointments of which there were too many in Ireland now. It was the curse of Ireland to be attached to a country like this, which demoralized the people, and found employment for men who were in no way qualified for the posts they held. Under this restriction a number of men who were unemployed would be found hanging about the Four Courts in Dublin seeking for appointments. He should not wish the Government to be further hampered by being compelled to send a Commission of three to decide every question. This Bill would be worth nothing if it was not put into operation quickly. He did not wish to speak with disrespect of the poor honest tenants; but, under this clause, a great many bad men would come forward who had withheld their rents, and if the landlords were to wait until these men got in their pleas still further confusion would be created. If the Sub-Commissioners were unable to cope with their work at present, the Government should increase their number in order to get the Bill worked as quickly as possible, and give satisfaction to the country. If the Bill was not put into such a form as to come into practical operation in six months, it had better not be passed.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he hoped a decision would be quickly come to upon this Amendment. Practically, the Amendment came to this—There were 500,000 tenants under £30 in Ireland, and it was extremely likely that one-third of these would come under the Bill; if the Amendment was carried it would leave, for the purpose of making the orders and for inquiry so far as those duties were not delegated under the next part of the clause, 23 County Court Judges and 16 Sub-Commissioners. The thing was plainly impossible, for the Bill was to appease people, and he hoped that before the Committee entered upon the question of professional qualification they would dispose of this Amendment.

Mr. GIBSON said, he did not think this section had been considered by the Government, and some ridiculous consequences must result from it. Power was given under this clause to the Land Commission to delegate to one member of a Sub-Commission all the powers under the Act except that of making the rules. It would be competent for the Land Commission to delegate to any member of the Sub-Commission—Mr. Meek, for instance, or anyone who had no special qualifications—and then they might delegate to another person, like Mr. Meek, the power of hearing appeals from Mr. Meek.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) pointed out that there was an Amendment on the Paper which would alter the phraseology of this clause in a way which would meet the objection of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. The phraseology of the clause was open to the objection raised. It provided that the

> "Land Commission shall be deemed for the purpose of such delegation to include the Court, Sub-Commission, or member of the Land Commission, or of a Sub-Commission to whom such power or duty is so delegated."

Mr. GIBSON said, he would reserve any criticism till he saw that Amendment; but at present the structure of the clause enabled the Land Commission to give to any single member of a Sub-Commission any of the powers of this Act, except the power of making rules. That was a grave objection to the clause; and he thought it a very grave objection, bearing in mind that there was nothing in the Bill to indicate what was to be the qualification of a person who was to be a member of a Sub-Commission. There was no power in Clause 7 to prescribe the qualifications of any of the persons who were to administer the Act under Clause 5. There was the power given under the Land Act to the Land Commission to prescribe the qualifications of Assistant Commissioners. He was bound to say they exercised that power by laying down qualifications so elastic as to enable them to appoint anybody they pleased; but there was no such restriction in this Bill, and it was with a view to remedying the absence of any clear statement that his right hon. Friend had suggested to the Government to consider whether they would take power to delegate to a single member of the Land Commission other than a person legally qualified. If the element of qualification was left out, chaos would be the result; and he could not acquiesce in giving all the powers that might be exercised under this Act to unqualified persons. He went as far as anyone could go in assuming that if such a Bill as this was to go on the Statute Book, the sooner it was effected the better; but, on the other hand, there were certain inquiries which must be real, and the powers of the Bill ought not to be frittered away by persons of no responsibility or qualification. If the Bill became law, he had not a shadow of doubt that in a great number of cases the landlord and tenant would agree; in cases where they did not agree, there would be someone sent down armed with this power who might feel it his business as soon as possible to say that the conditions were satisfied, and that there was nothing to do but to see that the money was paid up. He felt the logical force of the arguments in favour of this Amendment; but he would suggest at the present moment that his hon. Friend should allow the Amendment to be negatived, and he might take the words which the Government proposed to meet some of the inconveniences which had been pointed out.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he thought it did not require any legal qualification to decide whether a man was solvent or not, and the necessity of having a learned member of the Commission seemed to him absolute folly. What he believed would happen was this—that if the landlord and tenant agreed, that would not be done without a good deal of fencing, and test cases would have to be decided before they did agree. He believed landlords would be disposed to agree, because they would be afraid of their cases coming before the Land Commission; but he thought tenants would not agree until they had seen what their neighbours were doing. Therefore, a great many cases would have to be first decided; and he thought it better that the three Commissioners should sit alone, and get through the work quickly.

Amendment *negatived.*

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) moved, in page 4, line 1, to leave out the words—

> "And in the construction of this Act the expression 'Land Commission' shall be deemed for the purpose of such delegation to include the Court, Sub-Commission, or member of the Land Commission or of a Sub-Commission to whom such power or duty is so delegated,"

for the purpose of inserting—

> "And every Court of Sub-Commission or member of the Land Commission or Sub-Commission to whom such power is delegated shall in reference thereto have all the powers of the Land Commission."

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. BOURKE wished to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland what the words "members of the Land Commission" would include in the last portion of the section they were now discussing? It was provided, towards the end of the clause, that the Land Commission might, from time to time, with the assent of the Treasury, appoint fit persons to conduct investigations and make reports in reference to the preliminary conditions required to be proved for the purpose of orders under the Land Act, and the Land Commission or Civil Bill Court, or any Sub-Commission, &c., might adopt any such reports, and from time to time direct a fresh investigation to take place. He wanted to have an explanation of that part of the clause.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, it was not proposed to delegate to the members of the Sub-Commission the power of making an order; but it only proposed to empower them to make a report. Consequently, the words "Sub-Commission" in the early part of the clause would apply to any of the delegates under the subsequent portion of the section.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked if these words might not be held to authorize the Land Commission to delegate to the Sub-Commissioners the duty of appointing fit persons to conduct inquiries? Surely that could not be intended.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) thought it fair to admit that that result would follow. At one time it was intended; but the Government now proposed in the next clause to avoid that consequence altogether. The duties under the next part of the section would be confined to the Land Commission itself, and he would see that the words were limited.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought it was most inconvenient that the Committee should be called upon to discuss the matter without having the words of the clause before them.

Was he right in understanding from the reply of the Solicitor General for Ireland, that with the alteration just mentioned it would not be in the power of the Land Commission to delegate to anybody the appointment of these persons?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the words as they stood at present with the alteration he proposed to make would require that the persons to conduct the investigations should be appointed by the Land Commission, with the consent of the Treasury.

MR. GIBSON said, he would not make any criticism upon the words which had been now read. They were probably better than the words as they originally stood; but, in a certain sense, they were still restricted. In the clause as it stood it was proposed that the expression "Land Commission" should be deemed for the purposes of delegation to include the Court, Sub-Commission, or a member of the Land Commission or of a Sub-Commission to whom the power or duty was delegated, and that they should have power to appoint fit and proper persons to conduct investigations and prepare reports. If the Committee now struck out that part of the clause down to line 11, he doubted whether the effect would not be to leave the Sub-Commissioners at liberty to act upon the reports given by the fit persons appointed. He did not intend to make a full and complete criticism of the clause at the present moment; but he would say in advance that the matter was an important one, and required further consideration on the Report.

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. BOURKE moved to omit the words—

> "The Land Commission may, from time to time, with the assent of the Treasury appoint fit persons to investigate and report as to the existence or non-existence in the case of holdings of the preliminary conditions required to be proved for the purpose of orders under this Act and as to the values of such holdings, and the Land Commission or Civil Bill Court, or any Sub-Commission or any member of the Land Commission, or of any Sub-Commission dealing with an application under this Act as respects any holding, may adopt any such report, or any part thereof, as may seem expedient, and may from time to time direct a fresh investigation to take place, or may themselves or himself take evidence in respect of the subject matter of such investigation."

The object of this paragraph was to give power to the Land Commission, with the assent of the Treasury, to appoint fit persons to investigate and report as to the existence and non-existence of the preliminary conditions required to be proved for the purpose decreed under the Act. Now, he thought this power was a very dangerous power, because it gave to the Sub-Commissioners the power of appointing persons who were wholly irresponsible.

MR. GIBSON: And for whom no salary was provided under the Bill.

MR. BOURKE said, that was so. No salary was attached to the appointment, and the persons appointed might be men absolutely incapable of performing the duties which the clause proposed to impose upon them. The number also was unlimited, and they might have a small army of new officials appointed, who, when they were appointed, were to report upon matters which might be altogether unintelligible to them. It would, however, be seen that these persons were only to have the power of reporting, and not the power of judging and coming to a decision, and when the Sub-Commission came to investigate the reports presented to them, they would have no means of knowing whether the gentlemen who reported had made themselves acquainted with the facts they were asked to report upon at all. Therefore, the reports would be wholly without value. He was aware that the Solicitor General for Ireland had intimated his intention of moving that the latter part of this paragraph should be omitted; but he did not think there was the slightest necessity for giving the Land Commission power of appointing these gentlemen at all, in regard to whose qualifications there could be no guarantee whatever.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. GLADSTONE said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed. The best security, after all, would be the intervention of the Treasury with respect to the qualification of the persons. It was provided in the clause that they were to be fit persons for conducting the inquiry, and the Treasury would have the greatest interest in seeing that the money advanced by the State was properly expended. That power of intervention on the part of the Treasury would be a better security than could be provided by any words they could insert in the clause, and no power of appointing persons to take part in these inquiries would be made except by the Land Commission, and it was quite possible that in many cases the agency of the local magistrates might be rendered useful. They must get every kind of assistance they could from people who were qualified to render it without looking too strictly at the exact nature of their qualifications or preliminary training. That was the only object the Government had in view in asking for these large powers. Everything would be under the control of the Treasury, whose object would be to make the inquiry real, and to see that fit persons were appointed. It was upon that account that the terms of the clause were made general, so that they might have as large an operation as possible.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought there was some force in the statement of the Prime Minister as to the interest the Treasury must necessarily take in these matters, and the value their check would be upon the operation of the Bill; but it was not at all clear that they would be the governing parties in the appointment of these persons.

Mr. GLADSTONE remarked, that the Treasury would have the power of veto.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH would venture to suggest that they should have something more than a veto—namely, that they should have to some extent the initiative in the matter. As the right hon. Gentleman admitted, there must be a certain qualification on the part of those who accepted these appointments, and he thought that the Treasury should be directed by the Bill to prescribe the qualification. If that suggestion were accepted, it would remove most of his objections to this particular sub-section.

Mr. BIGGAR wished to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the proposed delegation of power under the Bill to the local magistrates. He believed that there were admirable local magistrates, and he did not propose to present any argument against them as a body; but he thought it most undesirable that local magistrates, or local men at all, should be intrusted with the power of deciding these cases. On the contrary, it was desirable that they should appoint men who had no local prejudices of any sort. If they appointed local magistrates to decide matters in their own particular localities, it would give rise to considerable jealousy and allegations of unfairness and partiality. He was clearly of opinion that in matters of this sort, land agents or persons who had been brought up to ordinary business habits were quite as well qualified to form an opinion as to the insolvency of a particular tenant as a lawyer or a local magistrate. He certainly thought that as far as possible the Government should avoid local appointments. Take the case of the county of Cavan. He had no charge to make against the local magistrates there as men of honour; but one of them was a land agent for the county, and had local connections with the landowners of the county, and for that reason, although no fault might be found with his decisions, his partiality might be questioned, and it might be said that he was certain to be influenced by his former connection with the county. Altogether, it was a position they should not ask any local magistrate to undertake.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that in the opinion of the Government the Bill was one for the benefit both of the landlord and the tenant, and he thought that, under all the circumstances, the local knowledge possessed by the local magistrates might be usefully taken advantage of; and he hoped the proposal would not be found objectionable.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he had no wish to argue that the local magistrates would act unfairly or in a manner that would give rise to complaint; but he had no doubt that in some cases they would give adverse decisions, and those decisions were likely to be found fault with. He believed the Prime Minister was right in his opinion that the Bill was for the interest of the landlord as well as the tenant, and that in the great majority of cases it would work smoothly; but in some cases it would not work smoothly, and he did not think there ought to be room for adverse criticism.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, no difficulty was likely to arise. These gentlemen were only to report; and if any circumstances were brought to the notice of the Land Commission to induce them to think that injustice had been done, the reports would not be acted upon.

Mr. GIBSON said, he wanted to be quite clear in the matter. As he understood it, the Government proposed that the Land Commission, the Civil Court, or the Sub-Commission should be all empowered to appoint fit persons, and the Government could delegate the power of appointment even to one member of a Sub-Commission, or one member of the Land Commission.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, that was so under the clause as it stood; but the Government intended to introduce an Amendment which would give the power to the Land Commission only. The words in the previous part of the section would be struck out.

Mr. GIBSON said, he thought that in order to make the matter clear, something beyond the Amendment already suggested would be required. Of course the Government would, if necessary, make their meaning plain on Report; but he should like to know what was to be the tenure of office and the salary attached to it? It was a very curious thing to propose in Ireland the appointment of a crop of officials who were to wander over the four Provinces with an uncertain tenure of office and an uncertain scale of pay. He presumed that the Government only intended to appoint persons with a limited tenure of office. That was quite right; but had they considered the expense? The Prime Minister estimated that the whole thing would be done for £2,500,000; but he thought something must be added for the expense of working the Act, and he wanted to know what provision had been made for that purpose?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that the question raised by the right hon. and learned Gentleman was one which the Treasury would have to decide, subject, of course, to the control of Parliament. The Land Commission would make the appointments with the assent of the Treasury, and the Treasury must be satisfied both as regarded the tenure and the salary. The tenure would be very short, and the expense would not be very large.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to state precisely what the words were he intended to insert.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, the Amendment the Government intended to propose would provide that the Land Commissioners should have the power of appointing the delegates and of adopting their reports.

Mr. BULWER said, the clause had been so much cut about during the discussion by the introduction of Amendments which were not on the Paper, that any Member of the Committee must be excused if he was not able exactly to follow the effect of it. He understood the main object of the Government was to get a satisfactory tribunal, and one that would act justly between the taxpayer and the tenant who sought to obtain the benefit of the Bill, and the landlord who was also to get something from it. He would suggest to the Government that there ought to be some more convenient mode of putting the Act into operation than was suggested by this clause. What was the process proposed by the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite? That process he understood to be this—the power was to be given to the Land Commission, who had authority generally to deal with the matter. They were to have the preliminary authority, and they were to have the power of delegating their authority to a Sub-Commission or a single member of a Sub-Commission. In addition to that, they might appoint persons, subject to the approbation of the Treasury, who were to go around the country and to make reports, and then the tribunal not being able to confirm the conclusions themselves were to consider those reports. Now, he would ask any practical man what would be the value of such reports if the Sub-Commission or the Land Commission were to be at liberty to adopt or repudiate them at their pleasure? How could they tell whether the reports were worth the paper they written upon or not? He regarded this as one of the most clumsy provisions ever introduced into a Bill. There were 500,000 tenants with holdings under £30, and they might depend upon it that every one of them would, by hook or by crook, get something under the Bill. If each of them were to get only £5, the whole of the available capital proposed to be appropriated under the Bill would be swept away. He thought the Government ought to propose some more workmanlike scheme for putting the measure into operation than the present proposal, which was a proposal bristling with complications.

DR. LYONS believed that the proposal to appoint persons to conduct preliminary inquiries would create great delay in the working of the measure. There must necessarily be very extensive inquiries, seeing that there were over 500,000 tenants at and under £30 value, and it might be found necessary to inquire into as many as 350,000 of them. It was proposed that, in the first instance, a certain number of persons should make an inquiry and report, and then they were to get the Land Commission to take up each individual case after the report was made. He thought that the Government should make a proper selection of the persons to conduct the investigations, and should give them the power, not only of making an inquiry, but of deciding at once upon the spot. If the decisions were suspended over a period of six, eight, or twelve months there would be a great deal of angry feeling among tenants. He thought it would be better for the Government to amend the clause in the direction indicated, upon Report. It was quite clear that they had not as yet made up their minds upon the subject; and he would suggest, therefore, that the Committee should pass the Amendment on the understanding that eventually a clause would be brought up providing for the appointment of a better class of officers, with power to decide once for all on each claim. He thought that was the most practicable mode of dealing with the question.

Amendment *negatived.*

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he did not propose to move the next Amendment which stood in his name, and which was to the effect that the persons appointed should be barristers or solicitors.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) moved, in line 11, after the words "Land Commission," to omit the words—

"Or Civil Bill Court, or any Sub-Commission, or any member of the Land Commission or of any Sub-Commission."

Question, "That those words stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) moved, in line 16, to omit the words "or himself."

Question, "That the words 'or himself' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

MR. GIBSON said, he had modified the Amendment he now proposed to move since it had been placed on the Paper. The Amendment he now proposed to move was, in line 17, after the word "investigation," to insert the words—

"Any person or persons administering any jurisdiction under this Act shall take the prescribed oath of office."

He thought it would not be a matter agreeable to the Committee that any person should be appointed to a judicial office without being required to take some prescribed form of oath. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and every person who administered a judicial office in Ireland was required to take an oath. By some slip it had not been made obligatory on the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act to take an oath; and he should endeavour as far as he could, every time the matter came under the cognizance of the House, to have that point remedied.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 17, after the word "investigation," to insert the words "any person or persons administering any jurisdiction under this Act shall take the prescribed oath of office.—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he would not object to accept the Amendment if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would add to it the words "if any." He quite agreed that, as a general rule, every person who was called upon to exercise judicial jurisdiction should do so under the sanction of an oath; but it must be borne in mind that no provision had been made for the administration of the oath in the case of the Sub-Commissioners.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the proposed Amendment, to add the words "if any."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. PLUNKET said, it was obvious that the Amendment suggested by the Attorney General for Ireland would make the proposal of his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) worth nothing at all, although the right hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General for Ireland) himself admitted that every person ought to be bound, as a general rule, in such cases by an oath, and, above all, persons who were required to conduct judicial investigations of a most important character.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) remarked, that the tenure of office under this clause would only be for a short time.

Mr. PLUNKET said, the Attorney General for Ireland told them that the tenure of office would only be for a short time; but he thought the point was just the same, whether it was for a short time or for a long time. If the Attorney General for Ireland insisted upon opposing the Amendment, or rather upon pressing his alteration of it, he should divide the Committee against it.

Mr. GIBSON said, the fact that no oath was administered to those exercising jurisdiction under the Act had attracted very great attention in Ireland, and he certainly should press his Amendment upon the Committee. He declared deliberately that it was a great scandal that under the Land Act of last year judicial jurisdiction should be administered without the sanction of an oath, and without the slightest open and official obligation being incurred by those who administered it. The Lord Chief Justice could not act without swearing an oath of office; and his right hon. and learned Friend well knew that the high Office he administered was administered under the high sense of having taken the oath; and it was astounding that the Government should propose that these unknown persons, possessing no prescribed qualifications, and who had done nothing to command public confidence in the slightest degree, should be able to decide these questions without taking the oath. He could understand his right hon. and learned Friend saying it was better to leave them unbound and unfettered; but to say that he recognized the force of this Amendment, and then say that at the end he would add words which would make it worthless, seemed most ridiculous. His Amendment was sound in principle, and unanswerable in reasonableness; but it was suggested that two qualifying words should be put in at the end which would make the provision worthless. Suppose the words "if any" were added to the Amendment, could the Attorney General for Ireland suggest a single possible application which the Amendment would then have? Would it not be far more honest to say that he was against the whole thing?

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, he was very much inclined to agree that "if any" were inserted they would render the clause absolutely useless; and he was not prepared to vote for the original Amendment, because, in his opinion, it would tend very little to increase the sanctity of the oath, or the obligation of duty. He thought the tendency of the present time was to diminish very much the requirement of an oath on matters of a subordinate character. If the Amendment proposed a solemn declaration in writing, he would be willing to agree to it; but the tendency was to abolish very much the frequency and mere formality with which oaths were taken formerly for subordinate offices, and to substitute solemn declarations, which were equally binding on honest men. Not long ago oaths were administered for all sorts of purposes; but an Act of Parliament was passed substituting a solemn declaration. He regarded this as a comparatively subordinate office. It was right, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman had said, that Judges of the land, having very important duties to discharge, should be compelled always to take the oath; but the administering of oaths for all sorts of subordinate offices destroyed the solemnity and sanctity of the oath, and, on that ground, he should be very much disposed to vote against the Amendment. At one time there were about 300,000 oaths taken a-year by officers in minor positions, and for verifying trivial transactions; but where was the sanctity of all that? In his opinion, a solemn declaration in writing would be better than an oath in these cases. If the Government put in these words "if any," they would practically destroy the effect of the Amendment; but he was opposed to it, and to the whole principle of administering oaths to officers of this description.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) suggested that the words "if any" should be withdrawn, and a decision taken on the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

MR. BIGGAR said, he thought this was a matter hardly worth troubling about. It must be assumed that the Government would appoint gentlemen of reputation and character, who would act impartially and honestly, whether sworn or not; and he did not think the two Front Benches should squabble over an Amendment of this kind, which, in all probability, would not have any effect whatever.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY argued that, as the persons appointed would be to a certain extent obscure, and would hold their offices for an uncertain period, although they had important duties to perform, there should be some security as suggested by this Amendment.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the view of the Government was that if by any chance the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was carried, they would, on the whole, prefer the addition which had been proposed. He firmly believed that the majority of the Committee agreed in that view, and he had seldom heard the case put better than by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Biggar), who had spoken with extreme good sense. If a Sub-Commissioner was not patriotic enough and public-spirited enough to do his duty, and justify the confidence the country had placed in him, he did not believe it would have the slightest effect upon him, whether he was sworn or not; and if there was no other objection, he should strongly oppose the Amendment, because the Sub-Commissioners would be the same, to a certain extent, as those who had been administering much more important offices; and it would, therefore, be to a certain extent illogical and somewhat insulting to the present Sub-Commissioners to say that at this particular period in their career, when they were to undertake duties less important than those they had already discharged, they should be required to take an oath, when they had not been required to do so in regard to the more important duties. On these grounds, he should support the suggestion to withdraw the words "if any," and then he should ask the Committee to do their best to defeat the Amendment.

MR. PLUNKET said, he thought the Chief Secretary was under a wrong impression in thinking that his views were generally supported, because there had been very different opinions given on this subject. The Attorney General for Ireland said he could approve of the general principle of administering oaths, and the hon. and learned Member for Lincoln (Mr. Hinde Palmer) thought oaths ought only to be administered to high officials. The Chief Secretary had the advantage of agreeing with the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), and with him alone, in saying that the oath was of no use in judicial offices. The right hon. Gentleman said the patriotic feelings of the Sub-Commissioners would be quite enough; but, surely, that would apply equally to the Lord Chief Justice. Then he said he would not pass any stigma on the Sub-Commissioners, who had been doing so well up to the present time. But it was a question whether the Sub-Commissioners had given satisfaction, and certainly it was not considered satisfactory that these gentlemen were not bound by oath.

MR. WARTON said, the Committee had witnessed a very amusing spectacle. First they were favoured with the absence of the Attorney General for Ireland, and were getting on very well with the Amendment, when he returned and began to alter the colour of the arrangements altogether. The Attorney General for Ireland had used the most extraordinary argument that he had ever heard from him—namely, that there was no occasion for the Sub-Commissioners to take the oath because their appointments would last for so short a time. This was no slight matter, and he was certain that the country would be astonished at this matter being passed over in this light and airy manner. If they desired to invest this office with any sanctity at all, they should be sworn in the proper way, and he hoped the discussion would continue until the Home

Secretary, or the Prime Minister, came and explained what the Government meant.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he thought the remarks of the Chief Secretary had been entirely misapprehended by the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Plunket). What the Chief Secretary said was that if the oath was to be administered to these Commissioners under this Bill, that would disparage their duties under the Land Act, 1881, when they were not required to take the oath. It might happen that a Commissioner would be sitting three-quarters of a day administering cases under the Land Act, and then suddenly he would have to administer cases under this Act; and, with all due respect to the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, he thought the Amendment ought not to be pressed.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 34; Noes 126: Majority 92.—(Div. List, No. 270.)

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he should not dwell on the principle which the Amendment he was about to propose embodied, because that principle had been fully accepted by the Prime Minister. He thought it was the general feeling of the Committee that no person should be employed on such inquiries as were contemplated by this Act, or in the decision of any cases under the Land Act of last year, in a neighbourhood with which he was connected either by profession, property, or residence. Now, he had endeavoured, looking to what had already occurred and been fully stated to the Committee, to formulate that principle in the Amendment which he had placed on the Paper. This principle was accepted by the Land Commission in spite of the appointments which had already been discussed. In a Paper recently circulated, signed by Mr. Litton, it was stated that the Commissioners, in the arrangement of Circuits, had endeavoured to provide that the Assistant Commissioners should not be employed in localities with which they were connected professionally. The impropriety of an opposite course was fully recognized, and the Memorandum went on to argue that it was important to provide that any person who might happen to be connected either by profession, property, or residence, with a particular Province or Circuit, should not be employed in that Province or on that Circuit. Looking especially to the tenant right of Ulster, he felt there would be a difficulty in acting upon that principle with regard to that Province; and, therefore, he had limited the proposal he was about to move to the employment of no person in the county with which he was connected by profession, property, or residence. He understood it was the intention of the Government that some of the inquiries contemplated by the 2nd sub-section of the clause should be conducted by the local magistrates. Now, that appeared to him to be a very questionable proposal. The Committee had already heard from the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that, in his opinion—and he fancied that opinion would be followed by almost every hon. Member sitting in that quarter of the House—there was a considerable objection to intrusting these inquiries to the local magistrates. He proposed, then, in the interests of fair dealing between the landlord and tenant, that no one should be the judge of the question between them who, by his connection with the locality, might be biassed towards either side. It seemed to him most essential that those with whom the decision would really rest, as to whether the tenant did or did not fall within the condition of inability to pay, should not be biassed in favour of the tenant fulfilling that condition. It might be argued that the actual decisions would rest with the Land Commissioners, and not with the persons appointed under the 2nd sub-section of the clause. But to this he replied that the Land Commissioners delegated a portion of their functions to the persons in question, and their decisions must necessarily rest upon the evidence and report which they furnished to them; and, therefore, in practice, if not in theory, the decision would rest with the persons so appointed.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 19, after the word "oath," to insert the words "No such person or persons shall in any case be employed in pursuance of this section in any county with which he or they are or have been since the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two, connected by professional practice, property, or residence."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that it was intended, in some cases, to intrust the inquiries that would be made to Justices of the Peace; and he feared the adoption of the Amendment would make it impossible for the Commissioners to avail themselves of the services of these gentlemen, who were most likely to be acquainted with the circumstances of the localities in which the inquiries would be made.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was somewhat surprised at the reply of the Solicitor General for Ireland, because the Prime Minister had distinctly admitted, in the earlier debates which had taken place on this subject, that it was objectionable that questions arising between landlord and tenant should be decided by persons interested in the locality. He could not believe that if the intention which the right hon. Gentleman had stated were carried out, it would be satisfactory in its result, either to the landlords and tenants or to the Treasury, which had to find the funds for the purpose of the Bill.

MR. GIVAN said, he thought the right hon. Baronet might be satisfied that it was the intention of the Commissioners to carry out the spirit of the Amendment. Only two persons, as far as his knowledge went, had been appointed who were connected with the localities in which they were called upon to act, and they had since been removed by the Commissioners.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had used the strongest argument possible in favour of the Amendment. The hon. Member said two cases had occurred of persons being appointed who were connected with the localities, in the manner sought to be provided against by the right hon. Baronet's Amendment, and this was considered so objectionable by the Commissioners that the gentlemen in question were removed as soon as possible.

MR. HEALY said, he did not think, from the point of view of Irish Members, that there was any good reason against the adoption of the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet. They did not desire that any undue influence should attach to the persons engaged in the investigation of these cases. He viewed with great apprehension the statement of the Solicitor General for Ireland that the Resident Magistrates were to be engaged in these inquiries; indeed, he had the same feeling with regard to any magistrates being so employed. On the whole, he thought the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet desirable, and he should vote in favour of it.

CAPTAIN AYLMER remarked that the functions to be discharged by the persons employed under the clause were judicial, and the first necessity in that case was independence. He held that this could not be secured by the employment of persons who had property in the county or were resident there; and he should, therefore, support the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. TREVELYAN said, they had been told that persons connected with the neighbourhood could not fairly judge between landlord and tenant; but it had also been truly stated that the Land Commission had laid down the principle that the Sub-Commissioners should be employed as little as possible in their own special districts. He thought the right hon. Baronet opposite would see that some anxiety had been shown during the last month to correct any deviation from that rule. But he wished to point out, in reply to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer) that the functions to be discharged under this Bill were much more of an administrative than judicial nature, and the Government thought one very important element amongst the officers who were to conduct the operation of this Bill would be the Justices of the Peace. That was not the opinion of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), nor of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who, if the Committee went to a division on the Amendment, could vote with hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. These might or might not agree with the Government as to the Justices of the Peace in Ireland being proper persons to be employed with others on these Commissions; but he would point out that, if the Amendment were carried, those Justices of the Peace would, for all practical purposes, be unable to act in their own neighbourhood. It was a perfectly legitimate case for the Committee to decide. He had stated the opinion of the Government; but they would be perfectly willing to abide by the decision of the Committee.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he thought that, for the purposes of this Act, it was not essential to employ strangers to the district; on the contrary, those who, like the Justices of the Peace, farmers, and land agents, knew the circumstances of the people, were best qualified to investigate and report as to the existence of the conditions required by the Bill. Therefore, however pertinent the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet might be to the Land Act, it was not so with regard to this Bill. Local knowledge, in his opinion, was most essential. With regard to Mr. M'Carthy, he had been authorized by that gentleman to state that he had no clients whatever in that portion of the barony in which he had acted.

Mr. PARNELL said, he did not think it would be desirable for the Government to tie themselves up by accepting this Amendment. At the same time, he was bound to say he did not like the way in which the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had referred to the Justices of the Peace. He did not think the Government could find a class of men more unfitted to perform these duties, because they were so intimately connected with one of the parties to the dispute. Of course, the functions of these tribunals would chiefly come into play where there was a dispute between the landlord and tenant. He must say that to single out the unpaid Justices of the Peace to have any part whatever in the performance of the duties under this section of the Act was a most unfortunate selection. One could have hit upon half-a-dozen different classes in the country who would perform the duties better. For his own part, he would even prefer the paid magistrates. Again, there were the Clerks of the Unions, who were better fitted, by their knowledge of the financial condition of the ratepayers, to administer this Act than the Justices of the Peace, who, in every county, formed a little coterie of their own, and who would find it almost impossible to resist the claims of private friendship and fellow-feeling, which, as hon. Members were aware, made us "wondrous kind." He thought it desirable that these functions should be committed to no person interested in the ownership or occupation of land. An arrangement of that kind, he thought, would be a very reasonable one, and one which might very well be agreed to. But the selection of persons directly associated with the interest of one class was, he feared, an arrangement which, if carried out, would have a very bad effect.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that persons locally well-informed and selected fairly were most likely to get through the work contemplated by the clause more successfully than strangers. There must be a large amount of inquiry into the circumstances of persons on the spot; and those who had the necessary knowledge, and were chosen because they knew the locality, would most probably give greater satisfaction than those who did not possess that knowledge. With regard to the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act, it was right that those, as a rule, should not be persons connected with the locality. That was well known and admitted. But he might point out that the introduction of the words of the Amendment would almost be an absurdity, because they were intended to refer not only to the last sub-section, but to the whole clause. The Committee had, in the early part of the clause, said that the County Court Judges, who were certainly connected with the localities, might make the primary inquiries. But they were now asked to say that—

> "No such person or persons shall in any case be employed in pursuance of this section in any county with which he or they are or have been since the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two, connected by professional practice, property, or residence."

He presumed that the great majority, at any rate, of the County Court Judges were connected with the localities by residence. The Amendment was at variance with the first part of the clause, and he therefore hoped it would not be adopted by the Committee.

Mr. GIBSON said, he thought they could not entirely surrender their judgments to that of the right hon. Gentleman in this matter, notwithstanding the conciliatory tone of the speech he had just made; nor could they completely exclude from their recollection the circumstances which had recently occurred. If he might be allowed to say so, he entirely dissented from the construction placed almost triumphantly by the right hon. Gentleman on the Amendment of his right hon. Friend. He pointed out that the only antecedent to which the words "no such persons" were referrible was the phrase "fit persons" in the second paragraph of the clause, and by no straining of language could they be made to apply to the County Court Judges, the Commissioners, or the Sub-Commissioners. He was disposed to think, from the manner in which the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the magistrates differed from the statements of the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, that the Government had no very definite view with regard to this matter, and that they kept themselves entirely free to do what was most agreeable and popular at the moment. He should vote for the Amendment, because it was a sound principle that the persons who administered justice in this case should be independent of the locality; and he was bound to say he had been made a little suspicious of the Government's intentions by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, which appeared to him intended to disarm opposition in all parts of the House.

MR. SYNAN said, he had been surprised to find that the occupants of the Opposition Benches founded all their Amendments to this Bill on the principle that there would be a conflict of interest between the landlord and tenant. He was able to say from his own knowledge that there would be the very reverse of a conflict of interest. The inquiry to take place under the Bill was as to the ability of the tenant to pay his rent, and it was an insult to common sense to say that strangers would be better able to form a judgment on that point than persons living in the locality. There was, undoubtedly, a conflict of interest between the landlord and tenant under the Land Act, and some improper persons had been appointed who were afterwards removed. But no such conflict of interest could arise under this Act; and, therefore, he said that the persons most competent to inquire as to the fulfilment of the prescribed conditions were persons living in the district. He thought that the Government could find in the district persons much more competent and better acquainted with the relations of the landlord and tenant than the local magistrates. But he did not wish to fetter the powers of the Land Commissioners. They were the best judges of the persons whom they should appoint, and he did not think it right to limit their jurisdiction in matters relating to the administration of the Bill.

MR. GIVAN argued that if the Amendment were adopted, all a County Court Judge would have to do in order to relieve himself of the duties imposed upon him by this Act was to take a residence in the county where those duties were to be performed.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, there were in every district magistrates independent of both landlords and tenants. Moreover, in the Petty Session Courts they had the machinery necessary for the working of the Bill ready to their hands; whereas, if the administration were to be left entirely to the Sub-Commissioners, it would be years before the Act could possibly be administered.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he should vote against the Amendment, because it would exclude every Poor Law Guardian, clerk of the Union, relieving officer, and local valuator in the district.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 77; Noes 157: Majority 80.—(Div. List, No. 271.)

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, he had an Amendment to propose with reference to oral evidence in matters relating to the Bill being given on oath. He submitted that the best place for the insertion of this Amendment was after the word "oath" in the last paragraph of the clause. He had understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to say that he would give effect to the principle of the Amendment by the insertion of some words in Clause 7; but he wished to point out that that clause was permissive only, and it was with the intention that the Government should make the provision directory that he pressed his Amendment on their attention at this part of the Bill.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 19, after the word "oath," to insert the words "and no oral testimony shall be given in any investigation under this Act except upon oath."—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that in all cases evidence would be taken on oath, and therefore he hoped the hon. and learned Member would not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. PARNELL said, with reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson), recommending that the Government should use the Petty Sessional machinery for the purpose of making inquiries under this clause, he could not but think this would be the worst possible kind of machinery that could be employed. It was true that the machinery in question existed all over the country, and in a certain sense—that was, mechanically—it would be adequate for the purpose. But he was bound to say he could not imagine a class of men more unfit for the employment than the clerks of the Petty Sessions. They might have knowledge, but they were not sufficiently independent to be intrusted with such a responsibility as would be cast upon them by the clause. The clerks of the Petty Sessions held their appointments from the magistrates subject to the nominal consent of the Lord Lieutenant; and therefore he did not think they were sufficiently independent, either by their normal position, or in virtue of the appointments which they held, to exercise satisfactorily the duties that would be required of them in cases of dispute under this Act. But another machinery existed ready to the hands of the Government. He considered that the clerks of the Union were admirably suited to administer this section with impartiality. He trusted the Government would not proceed any further in the direction indicated by the hon. Member for Tyrone, or grant any judicial functions so, far as disputed points were concerned, to clerks of Petty Sessions in Ireland.

MR. HEALY said, he had voted with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) on the last division as a protest against the idea that the local magistrates were fit persons to administer this Act. They knew that the local magistrates were, as a rule, local landlords, and it was most absurd that they should be allowed to decide in cases of dispute between landlords and tenants. He therefore trusted some assurance would be given by the Government that these gentlemen would not be employed. It was not enough for the Government to say that these magistrates should not adjudicate on their own cases. It was well known that the magistrates decided cases at the Sessions in accordance with the interests of their neighbours, because they knew a case might some day come forward in which their own interest would be involved. Thus, Mr. Brown would adjudicate in the interest of Mr. Smith. [Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: No, no!] The hon. Member for Galway was a swell. He was not; but he had had some experience of these magistrates. Probably the hon. Member for Galway was a magistrate himself, which would account for the impartial view he took of the matter. He was there to express the views of persons in a humble position, and he said that the magistrates, as a rule, were distrusted by the people at large, and that the Government could not have intrusted decisions under the Act to any class of persons more likely to be distrusted than they were. He, therefore, trusted some assurance would be given that the magistrates would not be employed to carry out this clause.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, the hon. Member for Wexford had applied to him the epithet "swell," and he thought that the Chair would have called the hon. Member to Order on that account. But there was another epithet beginning with the letter "s" which he might apply to the hon. Member; however, he would not go beyond that letter. Nothing could be more inconsistent than these attacks on the local magistrates by hon. Members opposite, because, when it was proposed to intrust the administration of the Coercion Bill to special magistrates, a strong plea was put in on their behalf. So that at one time the local magistrates were spoken of as desirable persons to administer these Acts, and at another they were described as persons not to be trusted. But it was probable the hon. Member for Wexford knew nothing about them, and was not likely to know, except, perhaps, that on some future occasion he might come before them. He believed, as a general rule, and especially with regard to his own neighbourhood, the people of Ireland had confidence in the local magistrates; and he was certain that a more hideous and abominable calumny could not be uttered against this body of men than to say that they decided cases according to each other's interest, and not according to law.

Mr. DALY wished to say nothing against the position occupied by the county magistrates; but, without any prejudice against them as a class, he confessed they were eminently unfit for the position in which the Solicitor General for Ireland intended to put them. He said they would be more than human if, after the prolonged struggle they had been engaged in with the tenants, they were not prejudiced in favour of the landlords. He thought Irish Members had a right to demand that fit and proper persons should be employed in the administration of the clause. He regarded the local magistrates as prejudiced, and, therefore, unfit to be appointed to carry out the duties that it was proposed to place upon them; and to say that they were to act in conjunction with the Petty Sessions clerks was simply making the matter worse. Under the circumstances, he said they were entitled to have a denial given to what was implied by the statement of the Solicitor General for Ireland—namely, that these persons were to be employed.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, they could not go to a worse body than the Petty Sessions clerks for information of this kind. The proper body was the Union clerks, who could afford the information immediately. From the Petty Sessions clerks no more information could be obtained than from the police.

Mr. PARNELL said, he had merely expressed the hope that the Government had formed no intention of proceeding in the manner recommended by the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) —namely, to use the Petty Sessional machinery for the purposes of this section.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the machinery would be provided when the Government brought up the clause.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Incorporated provisions of Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870) *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Rules for carrying Act into force).

Mr. GIBSON (for Mr. W. H. Smith) moved to insert after "Act," in line 36, page 4—

> "And the manner in which the tenant shall set out in the prescribed form any property or effects of which such tenant may be possessed or entitled to, and which would be applicable to the satisfaction of any arrears of rent."

The Amendment of his right hon. Friend explained itself. Clause 7 enabled the Land Commission to frame rules for certain purposes, and the Amendment enabled a certain elasticity to be introduced into the clause.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHILDERS said, while the Government could not agree to the exact phraseology of the Amendment, they were in entire accord with its spirit.

Mr. GIBSON said, he would make any modification the right hon. Gentleman thought proper. For instance, if the right hon. Gentleman desired it he would leave out "in the prescribed form."

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Mr. VILLIERS-STUART moved, in page 4, line 43, after "defrayed," to insert—

> "Provided always, That the benefits of this Act shall be free of cost to any duly qualified tenant making application, unless it should be proved that his application is knowingly fraudulent, and that no landlord shall be liable to any costs, unless it can be proved that he has vexatiously and unjustifiably opposed the claim of the tenant to take the benefit of the Act."

The hon. Gentleman said, the purpose of the Amendment was to prevent the benefit of the Arrears Bill to a large number of tenants in Ireland who must need it from being entirely swallowed up by the costs of obtaining it. An enormous majority of holdings were under £4 a-year, and in a large proportion of cases very much under £4 a-year—many of them were not more than

£1, or even 10*s.* a-year. It might be difficult for hon. Members to realize that a sum of £1 or 10*s.* should be out of reach of any class of the community. But, as a matter of fact, such was the case with thousands in the West of Ireland. Now, if the costs of the investigation in Court into their solvency was to be thrown upon them, it would either deter them from applying for the benefit of the Act at all, or it would swallow up the value of the sum advanced by the State for their relief. In the County Donegal 21,000 out of 38,000 holdings were below £4 a-year. In Mayo the proportion was almost exactly the same. In Galway 29,000 out of 39,000 were under £4 a-year. In the case of Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon, Kerry, and Clare the proportion of very small holdings was not much less. The population of the counties he had named was about 2,000,000. Even on his own property there were 226 tenants whose rent was under £1 10*s.* a-year, and were in many cases as low as 10*s.* a-year; and it was exactly in those small holdings that the greatest need existed of an Arrears Bill. To offer them, therefore, the benefit of this Bill with one hand and to meet them with a bill of costs in the other was to treat them to the punishment of Tantalus. It would be equally unjust to throw the cost upon the landlords, as the effect would be to divert into the pockets of the County Court attorneys the lion's share of that one year's rent which the State offered as a composition for all arrears; because they, as this Bill was compulsory, would be brought into Court without themselves having any voice in the matter.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 43, after the word "defrayed," to insert the words "Provided always, That the benefits of this Act shall be free of cost to any duly qualified tenant making application, unless it should be proved that his application is knowingly fraudulent, and that no landlord shall be liable to any costs, unless it can be proved that he has vexatiously and unjustifiably opposed the claim of the tenant to take the benefit of the Act."—(*Mr. Villiers-Stuart.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he thought the Committee would consider that this Amendment was not necessary or proper. The Land Commission would, under the Bill, as they did at present under the Land Act, make provision for the payment of the costs. The Committee were dealing with persons who had next to nothing; and he agreed with the hon. Gentleman that it would be too much to expect them to pay the costs. He thought, however, that it would be well to leave the matter to the Court. The probability, he thought, was that there would be no costs in the generality of cases, and therefore it would be unwise to adopt a provision in reference to costs. He trusted his hon. Friend would not press his Amendment.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he hoped the Committee would remember that the Attorney General for Ireland had now stated that, as a general rule, there would be no costs.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Punishment of fraudulent claim).

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) was not in the House; but the Amendment which stood in his name seemed to him (Mr. Arnold) to be of some importance. It was very desirable the Government should explain to the Committee why they proposed in the Act to give the Court the option either to send a person to prison or to fine him. He would particularly draw the attention of the Government to the fact that in the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act almost similar words occurred. The only difference was that in the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act the Government had adopted the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). He would be glad if the Government would explain why a distinction was made in the two Acts. He would move the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 19, to leave out the word "either."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'either' stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, if it were not for the gravity with which the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) proposed this Amendment, he should have thought he was jesting in introducing it. The presumption of the clause was that the debtor had wilfully withheld his rent, and the clause provided as a punishment for a fradulent claim that he,

> "Upon conviction shall be liable, in the discretion of the Court, either to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour, or to a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds."

The Amendment, and the one immediately following it, also in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), suggested that no alternative should exist at all, but that, if a person preferred a fraudulent claim, it should not be in the discretion of the Court to punish him by imprisonment or fine, but to subject him to imprisonment and a fine not exceeding £500. He should think his hon. Friend did not mean that that should be so.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON moved, in page 5, line 23, to leave out "to whom it is paid," and insert, "on behalf of whom it has been paid." This clause proposed a punishment for a fraudulent claim, and it concluded by making any sum advanced a debt to the Crown. The sum would be paid to the landlord; but it was not intended that the debt should be due from him. The debtor would be the tenant, and to make this clear he proposed this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 5, line 23, to leave out the words "to whom it is paid," and insert the words "on behalf of whom it has been paid."—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'to whom it is paid,' stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) accepted the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Charge of liabilities under Act on Irish Church Temporalities Fund and Consolidated Fund).

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, the two Amendments to this clause he had on the Paper would have the effect of excluding altogether from this clause any mention of the Consolidated Fund. Although the Amendment he now had to propose—namely, to leave out "primarily" in page 5, line 27, was one of considerable importance, it was capable of being stated in a very few words. He would not have moved it all if the Committee had come to the conclusion that the advantage to be gained by the tenant by this Bill should have been by way of loan instead of gift. The Committee had decided that the advance to the tenant should be by way of gift, and the object of his Amendment was to raise the question whether the taxpayers of this country were to be free from any burden in respect of it, or whether they were to be burdened with a charge which would prove to be almost unlimited in amount. It was not necessary for the purposes of his Amendment to discuss the precise amount of the charge, independently of the clause which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister introduced to the Committee upon Thursday last. The effect of that clause would be that the Consolidated Fund would be required to find a very large additional sum of money for the purpose of loans to tenants. The estimate which the right hon. Gentleman had made of the probable requirements of the Bill for the purpose of gifts to the tenants was that it was not likely that the charge on the Consolidated Fund would exceed £500,000. There were many hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House who very much disputed the accuracy of that amount. They believed that the estimate of the sum to be required under the Act was too small, and that the amount estimated to be derived from the Church Surplus was very much too large. But suppose, for the purpose of argument, they were to adopt the estimate of the Prime Minister, surely it was perfectly clear that the smaller the amount which they were going to call upon the Consolidated Fund to advance, the more reckless it was to depart from the sound principle of policy which had hitherto governed Parliament. Let him examine the circumstances under which the taxpayers of this country were asked to contribute this money. Was trade flourishing, was agriculture prosperous, was there a prospect of even a moderate harvest, was there a large surplus, was there any surplus, was the Revenue of the country increasing by leaps and bounds, was the Expenditure of the country, under the exercise of a rigid economy, steadily decreasing? He was afraid they must admit that every one of those questions ought to be answered in the negative. As regarded the general Expenditure of the country, they knew that in the course of the last two years it had, instead of steadily decreasing, greatly increased. They knew there was a proposal for fresh taxation in the financial arrangements of the year; they knew that the taxpayers of the country were already called upon to contribute £400,000 in the present year to the special circumstances of Ireland; and it also seemed extremely probable that, ere the first Budget of the year was disposed of, they would have a second Budget presented to them. That was the financial condition of the country; but, in spite of these disadvantages, he believed the taxpayers would not flinch from making exceptional grants, if those grants were based upon sound and well-recognized principles. He could have understood perfectly well the Government asking the taxpayers of the country to contribute, as they had often contributed before, in the case of exceptional distress. The taxpayers of the country had constantly made, where exceptional distress had been proved, loans for the purpose of enabling the people to tide over that distress; but the proposition now made was of an altogether different nature. The objection he entertained to the grant from the Imperial Exchequer was, first of all, that any such grant would be fatal to the efficient administration of the Act. If there was one thing more than another that was desired, it was that the inquiries necessary under the Act in order to ascertain the inability or the ability of a man to pay his rent should not be sham inquiries, but should be *bonâ fide* and serious inquiries. But under existing circumstances those who were going to conduct the inquiries knew they had the Consolidated Fund behind them. If they knew that the only chance they had of providing the necessary money would be to come to Parliament and say—"We have examined into these cases, and we have come to the conclusion that we have selected cases which will bear investigation, and may fairly be put before Parliament as cases in which advances ought to be made, and, therefore, we ask Parliament to supplement the Church Fund," the inquiries would be genuine, and every care would be taken to protect the Consolidated Fund. His next objection to the proposed grant was that not only was it demoralizing in itself, but that it must be dangerous in the very near future. The Government were asking the State to intervene under circumstances which were wholly unprecedented, and far beyond the limits of State intervention. What was it they were going to try to do? Certain debtors in Ireland were going to be enabled to compound with certain creditors. Those creditors were to be compelled to receive something less than their just debts. All the other creditors were to be left in possession of their legal rights, and the debtors were to remain in the full possession of their property. It was with this object that these grants of public money were going to be made. Anybody looking at the matter from an impartial point of view would say—"But you are going to make a distinction between the honest and the dishonest tenant; of course, it will be a hard thing if you are going to treat the honest tenant like the dishonest tenant." The way the Government were going to treat these tenants differently was that the taxpayers were to be called upon to contribute towards the payment of the debts of many men who could pay them themselves, but who would not pay them; and not 1*s.* of the public money was to be given to the men who, with great difficulty, and at great personal sacrifice, had paid their just debts. The principle was bad enough in itself; but it became much worse when they proceeded to the further question — Where was it going to stop? If they once adopted the principle, it would carry them a great deal further than they could at present foresee. He would not, on this Amendment, discuss what was likely to be the effect of any such proposal as this upon the minds of the tenant farmers both in England and in Scotland, although they could not disguise from themselves that the discontent, the great discontent, which this proposal had excited, was entirely warranted by the facts. Let them limit themselves to Ireland, and he thought they could most usefully trace out in a few words the history of the present proposal. The germ of this proposal was found in the exceptional legislation that, two years ago, was intended to be applied to a certain part of Ireland where distress had recently been prevalent. In the next year a proposal was made and accepted by the House by which advances should be made out of the Consolidated Fund for the purpose of making loans to tenants valued under £30. In the course of the ensuing winter an agitation arose, and later the Representatives of the Land League in that House brought forward a proposal by which the loan was no longer to be a loan, but a gift. That proposal was accepted by the Government, and was embodied in the Bill now under consideration. But the Government did not stop there, for they now went on to say that in addition loans were to be granted to tenants whose valuation did not exceed £50, and the condition of inability to pay was to be altogether dispensed with. He did not doubt there would be another agitation during the year, and that when the Land Law Amendment Bill of 1883 came up further proposals would be made by the Land League which the Government would accept. The House of Commons would find that the limits within which this principle had been confined would be extended. The Committee would recollect, no doubt, that not only were these gifts to be made to people who had been suffering from distress arising from bad seasons, but they were also to be given to men who had been suffering from want of employment. He wondered what the labourers in Ireland were going to say to that? Could it be doubted that the next proposal they would have before Parliament from Ireland would be one from the labourers who had been suffering from want of employment, and he did not know what answer the Government could possibly give them. But he had not mentioned these facts for the purpose of blaming Her Majesty's Government. Their original error was in departing from sound principle. When once they left the ground of sound principle, it was very difficult indeed to find a firm standpoint from which to resist the demands of future agitators. The object of his Amendment was to stop this at the outset, and to ask the Committee to pause before it departed from sound principle, and imposed a charge on the taxpayer, small enough in itself at the present moment, but certain to be increased in the immediate future. In short, the present proposal might be described as the thin end of the wedge, and he asked the Committee to prevent the wedge being put in at all.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 27, to leave out the word "primarily." —(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'primarily' stand part of the Clause."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was very much surprised that the hon. Member, in proposing this Amendment, had made no reference whatever to the general policy of the Bill. What he imagined the hon. Member meant was this—that the Church Surplus Fund should be devoted to meeting arrears of rent as far as it would go, and that if there was any more required, those tenants who had not been reached, and wished to make further application, should be left out in the cold. He (Mr. Arnold) had been much surprised at this, because there was legislation in this country with regard to land that bore a very strong analogy to the case under the notice of the Committee. An analogy to the proposal of the Bill might be found in the annual payment of £16,000 for the enfranchisement of copyhold.

MR. GLADSTONE: I quite admit that the hon. Gentleman who has moved this Amendment, and other Members of this House, are entirely within their right as the Representatives of the people in refusing a demand made by the Government on the public purse. It is for them to judge of the proposal strictly and severely, and, whatever may be said of the course they take, they are in the natural position of the Representatives of the people, and are entitled to decline to allow such a charge as this to be put upon the taxpayers. I think the Committee will admit that we have never endeavoured to gild this proposal by making light of what it involves. We have always said that nothing but the most exceptional circumstances and great and urgent public considerations could justify it; and we have protested against anything like disguise, and any attempt to impose it upon the country under what may be called false pretences. We have recommended it on its merits, and on its merits the House has accepted it on repeated divisions, by large majorities. It has, however, been the fate of this Bill, more perhaps than of any other measure, to be contested by a series of Amendments in Committee, many of which were absolutely fatal, if carried, to the Bill, and this is one of these Amendments—perhaps it may be the last. The hon. Member (Mr. Stanhope) has alluded to a Land Bill for 1883, in respect of which, I may say, the Government have made no compact of any kind—they have made no promise whatever as to the legislation of 1883. There are certainly claims which arise, not upon the general structure of the Land Bill, but upon some points in connection with it—claims which have been pushed forward from the Bench on which the hon. Member sits with great activity. These are points there are strong reasons for dealing with when the condition of Public Business will permit it; but none of them are so formidable or so extensive as that to which the friends of the hon. Gentleman have given particular countenance. When the hon. Member speaks of this proposal as being a formidable one to the taxpayer, I would say that the one thing that, judging from the signs of the times, appears really formidable, far more so than any others, is the extraordinary scheme which has been promulgated by the Report of the House of Lords' Committee with regard to the land of Ireland. That, indeed, is a scheme formidable to the taxpayer. That is a scheme which does not make a certain call on the liberality of Parliament—which does not make a claim within certain fixed limits, but which calls for an unbounded liberality, which calls for an unbounded expenditure, and which calls for unbounded risk and unbounded difficulty—political difficulty as well as financial. That I do call a formidable scheme from every point of view. I would ask the hon. Member to recollect the vast annual expenditure entailed upon the country by the present state of Ireland. If the hon. Member would take the trouble to examine the charge made upon us in regard to the police of Ireland, and the charge made in connection with the Judiciary of Ireland, and all the other special charges which grow out of Irish disorder, I think he will see that it is not an immoderate statement to make to ask the House to pay £500,000 once for all on a measure that we consider will be attended by beneficial results for the peace and order of the country—an expenditure which we will take care, so far as we are concerned, at all events, shall not be drawn into a precedent. [*A laugh.*] It is very well to laugh; but I say we trust it will not be drawn into a precedent, and I say that, as far as we are concerned, it shall not be; and I maintain that this £500,000 does not represent more than a moderate excess over the reasonable charges which the present state of Ireland draws from us every year, even with the risk, or perhaps the promise, of its being a permanent and a growing excess. Therefore, if we ask for this outlay, we ask begging you to submit it to this test—whether it is well adapted to the process of restoring order and contentment in Ireland? I urge on you, if it be so—and it is for the House to say whether it be so—that it is an expenditure that may ultimately prove, and that, too, in a short time, to have been a strictly economical payment even from a financial point of view. The hon. Member seems to talk of sound principles, and to draw a distinction between sound and unsound principles in a way that I think will not bear examination. He thinks it would be a perfectly sound principle if we dealt with the Church Surplus alone, but that the moment we pass to the Consolidated Fund we pass into the region of unsound principles. [Mr. E. STANHOPE: I did not say that.] I beg the hon. Member's pardon; but that seemed to me to be the basis of his speech and the basis of his Amendment. The Amendment does not seek to save 6*d*. of the Church Surplus. It surrenders that Surplus to our mercy; but it takes away from us the Consolidated Fund. Well, I deny that sound principle would carry us to the extent of taking the Church Surplus and desert us when we come to take the Consolidated Fund. I say that we require as grave a case to justify us in taking the Church Surplus, which is the property of the people of Ireland, as to justify us in taking the Consolidated Fund, which is the property of the people of the Three Kingdoms. The hon. Member says he thinks there would be great recklessnes under the Bill as it now stands, and that he would get rid of that recklessness by striking out the resort to the Consolidated Fund. I do not understand that argument. The very same motives which lead the Treasury, so far as it can control the expenditure, to study economy and care in the administration of the Church Surplus Fund, even if there were no Consolidated Fund in prospect, would operate, and do operate now, to prevent our having resort to the Consolidated Fund. The hon. Member, it is plain, has not the courage of his opinions. If he had the courage of his opinions, and if the sound principles of which he speaks were worth anything, then he ought simply to strike out the Consolidated Fund and decline altogether to allow us to resort to it. He would say—"I decline to allow you any resort to that Fund;" but he does not say that. All he says is—"First, spend the Church Surplus Fund. When you have spent it come back to me and tell me, and I will allow you to go to the Consolidated Fund." [An hon. MEMBER: No, no!] I beg the hon. Member's pardon. That is distinctly what he says. The hon. Member himself has not contradicted me.

MR. E. STANHOPE: What I said was this—that there might be a case for resorting to the Consolidated Fund, if you were able to show that you had endeavoured to exercise the most rigid economy in carrying out this Bill in Ireland; but that, in spite of your efforts, there was some small deficit. But by this Bill you give them the Consolidated Fund beforehand.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member states that if there was some very small sum remaining that might be paid out of the Consolidated Fund; but the principle of such a payment as that would be precisely the same. We are told now, when we have spent the Church Surplus Fund, if we can show that economy has been used we may take any small amount that we require from the Consolidated Fund. What excuse can the hon. Member make for allowing us to avail ourselves of the Consolidated Fund in that way? You have laid down the principles on which the money is to be expended; and the meaning of your declaration is—"We will run the risk of crippling the operation of this measure; we will run the risk of causing all the operations under it to be arbitrarily suspended, and drive you back to Parliament—to the necessity, perhaps, of summoning Parliament at a minute's notice—in order that we may not run the serious political and social risk of having to say to a number of these tenants who are now in arrears—'You have proved your case; you have shown your destitution; Parliament has enacted that such destitution has certain claims to relief in respect of rent; but Parliament has not provided us with sufficient funds, and, therefore, you must go about your business.'" That is the way the hon. Gentleman asks us to go back to the administration and the observance of sound principles. The Committee is very well aware of the extreme gravity of this matter. If we are to act in such cases do not let us pass a measure with the serious risk of its being totally inefficient. The hon. Member says that, according to his estimate, the sum which would be required from the Consolidated Fund would not be a small, but a very large amount. Does he intend, after Parliament has passed an Act promising a certain proportion of arrears, to refuse payment of those arrears; or does he not think he proposes to refuse the payment of those arrears because the Church Surplus is exhausted, and the charge would come on the Consolidated Fund? I submit that we had very much better not pass this Bill at all, because it would be a measure that would mock the people of Ireland, and pledge the faith of Parliament to certain principles of relief to persons hopelessly in arrears, and then say—"That relief shall be arrested because the Church Surplus Fund is exhausted." Sir, the Committee is engaged in much too serious an operation to be arrested in its course by considerations of this kind. You have determined that the state of the Land Laws of Ireland has required the adoption of extraordinary measures; you have determined to establish a great judicial machinery for the purpose of giving to the tenantry of Ireland the power of checking excessive rents by resorting to a judicial tribunal. That machinery is largely at work. It has decided many cases; it has caused the decision of many more; it has operated as a test—as an effectual test—of multitudes of rents upon which there has been no direct action by the Land Commissioners, because sometimes tenants have had an opportunity of going into the Court, but, knowing that their rents were equitable, they have not sought to go further. But there is one large portion of the population of Ireland—and that the poorest portion—who have been involved in heavy arrears, partly, perhaps, through their own fault, but much more through the operation of a most vicious system and the most faulty law. The question is whether that part of the population is to be excluded from having that adjustment of their rent which you have offered to the population at large. Sir, it is almost the good faith of Parliament which requires that we should not hesitate as to the finishing of this operation. You cannot safely, and you cannot warrantably, make these offers without giving them a consistent and thorough application. They belong essentially to the great work you have undertaken. No other mode of pursuing that work has been found out and offered to our notice. We cannot stop at the point the hon. Member has arbitrarily, as I think, chosen for us. We have no right to spend the Church Surplus Fund unless there be a great public necessity for such an expenditure. If there be a great public necessity, we have no right to stop when the Church Surplus Fund is spent; and unless the Committee is content with a maimed and mutilated work I trust it will reject the Amendment moved by the hon. Member.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The right hon. Gentleman, in arguing this Amendment, as in arguing many other Amendments which we have discussed in the course of the Committee on this Bill, has had this advantage over his opponents—that he has been able to say—"If you insist upon this Amendment or that Amendment, you will, in fact, destroy the Bill." Now, we do not maintain that we are in any way bound by any such argument as that; but, so far as we are concerned, we think the principle on which the Bill is founded is to a very great extent a false and bad principle; and, therefore, we are not to be stopped when we come to any point on which we think it right to take a stand, and to take the judgment of the Committee, by being told—"If you carry this Amendment, you interfere and oppose the principles on which we found the Bill." With regard to the particular proposal which my hon. Friend makes, or rather with regard to the particular objection which he takes, it is one which seems to me so perfectly clear and evident, and upon which he has so perfect a right to pronounce an opinion, that, if that opinion be contrary to the proposal of the Government, it will lie on the Government to consider in what way, if at all, it will be necessary to modify their scheme in order to meet the objection that has been taken. Well, the right hon. Gentleman says that he can see no distinction, and that the Committee ought to see no distinction, between the use of the surplus of the Irish Church Temporalities Fund and the application of the Consolidated Fund in this case. Well, that certainly is a new doctrine. Here you have a case in which it is proposed that money of a public character shall be applied to meet the circumstances of a certain number of persons who, according to the theory of the Government, are placed in a position of difficulty by reason of the failure of seasons and other causes which have put them into a disadvantageous position, and which prevent them from taking full advantage of the recent land legislation of the Government. Well, the proposal that is made is one of which, as I have said, we do not approve. But still it is one which is founded upon the necessity, or the alleged necessity, of making some special arrangements for the benefit of the people of a certain part of the United Kingdom; and it does not seem so altogether unreasonable that resort should be had to that Fund for the purpose as it is to come forward and say we are to apply the Consolidated Fund of the whole of the United Kingdom, contributed by the whole of the taxpayers of England and Scotland as well as Ireland, for the purpose of benefiting a particular class in Ireland. We say that the distressed agriculturists in England and Scotland have an equal right to come forward and say—"We are quite as much entitled to a share in this Fund as the distressed agriculturists of Ireland." This is a fund of a general character; and when the right hon. Gentleman tells us that "we are engaged in a great operation, and that we are not to be checked in carrying on that operation by such petty obstacles as this which the hon. Member seems to be putting in our way," the right hon.

Gentleman uses language of a most alarming character to those who are contributors to those funds. What does this language amount to? It amounts to a tolerably distinct intimation that the right hon. Gentleman is not prepared to limit his demand to the £500,000 of which he has spoken, but that, if necessary, the call upon the Consolidated Fund may be much more considerable. We are dealing with two unknown quantities—namely, the amount that may be demanded to meet the arrears, and the amount which will be derived from the Church Temporalities Fund to pay those arrears; and the difficulty in dealing with these two unknown quantities is to be supplemented by the difficulty in regard to the further unknown quantity of the amount of the demand that will ultimately have to be made upon the Consolidated Fund. My hon. Friend (Mr. Stanhope) says this is a dangerous principle. Well, there can be no doubt about its being a dangerous principle. It is not a question of amount only. My hon. Friend says—"You have no more right to take the Church Temporalities Fund than you have to take the Consolidated Fund." I differ from him in that. But there is this, at all events, to be stated—that in taking the Church Temporalities Fund, you are taking from that which is limited in amount, and when you come to the Consolidated Fund you are taking that which, for all practical purposes, may be described as unlimited; and there is no saying how far you may not go. If you confine your operations to operations based on the Church Temporalities Fund, you cannot go beyond the amount of that Fund; and I presume the Government would take care to have their measure so framed that it would not be possible to exceed the amount of that Fund. If you are not to go beyond the Church Temporalities Fund, some change in the Bill may be necessitated, and the Government may not like to make that change. Nevertheless, whether they like it or not, it would be perfectly possible to make the change. For instance, if they make the principle of payment of arrears, under the Bill, by loan instead of by gift, they will make the Church Temporalities Fund go much further than they are likely to do under the principle which they seem inclined to adopt; or they may impose limitations and do other things which at present they decline to do, because they have the Church Temporalities Fund to fall back upon. I say that not only the Representatives of England and Scotland, but Irish Members also, have a right to object to this, because you are going to fall back upon the general taxes, to which Ireland as well as Great Britain contributes, and to throw upon them a burden with which, I say, you have no right to saddle them, and which, if you do saddle upon them, will form a precedent which may be followed in many other cases. I do not think there is any occasion to enter into a long debate upon this matter. It is a question of great importance; but it really lies in a nutshell. There is one argument, however, which I have to take notice of, and that is the argument of the Prime Minister, when he says—"After all, what are you going to do? You are only going to take £250,000 from the Consolidated Fund—you are going to take that from the taxpayers; but you will more than make up to them for it in the amount that you will save in the restoration of peace, and order, and quiet in Ireland—you will be relieving them of police, judicial, and other expenses." This is to be a final measure; but we have had so many final measures of late, and if this is the ground upon which we are to go to our constituents and offer them comfort, I am very much afraid that we shall only have our trouble for our pains. If we have to say to them—"We have involved you in great expense; but you must be consoled by thinking that this outlay is to make Ireland comfortable and happy for ever, and thus to relieve you of expense in the future," I am afraid our constituents will look upon us as very foolish and very untrustworthy Guardians of the National Purse. Whatever the decision of the Committee may be, I am sure that in moving this Amendment, and in supporting it to the best of our power, we are only doing that which is due from us to our constituents.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, the clause at which the Committee had arrived raised entirely new considerations. The Bill before the House was one which presented to them an embarrassed state of finance in Ireland. They had been occupied in devising means for alleviating the embarrassment which was felt by the tenants of that country; but the quarter from which the relief had been looked for was a perfectly natural one. It was looked for from Ireland itself. No doubt, the Church Fund was naturally the most proper and the most desirable source from which to provide the means of alleviating the difficulties under which Ireland was now suffering. But when they passed from the Irish Church Fund to the Consolidated Fund of England, then they, as English Members, had a new duty to discharge—namely, to consider how far they were entitled, in the name of their constituents, to touch the Consolidated Fund for the purpose contemplated by this measure. Now, he admitted at once that this country had never been backward in liberality and generosity in its treatment of Ireland under any calamitous visitation from which it had hitherto suffered. He need only remark upon the course taken in the case of the great Famine of 1847. At that time this country sent millions of money for the relief of the Irish necessities. But they had to consider—when they were called on now to make a sacrifice—whether the purposes to which the money was to be applied was a legitimate one, and whether the good to be effected was to be of a permanent character. If he understood the purpose properly, it was an illegitimate one. It was to enable the tenants to satisfy the claims of their landlords against them by discharging only a part of their indebtedness; and he had never heard of the Consolidated Fund ever having been applied in England to a purpose of that kind—to the purpose of enabling tenants to pay rent to their landlords. In this country, both the tenants and the landlords had suffered severely, and had suffered patiently, and had never raised a cry for commiseration and assistance. But there was a further objection to be raised against this measure. Not only was it illegitimate, but he believed it to be absolutely hurtful, and for this reason—that the person to the relief of whom this money was to be applied was to be transformed, sooner or later, from the position of a tenant to that of a proprietor of the soil. According to the whole tenour of recent legislation for Ireland, the landlords were not entitled to exist or continue to be the owners of the soil; but it was the occupiers who alone ought to be in possession. The very purpose of this measure was hurtful, and at variance with sound principle. All the more, therefore, he said, they ought not to vote out of the Consolidated Fund money for the purpose of promoting such provisions as were now before them. There was one purpose to which he was sure this country and this House would most willingly contribute. He was thoroughly persuaded that there was but one real alleviation to be found for the sufferings of Ireland under the present dilemma, and that was the diminution of the population which was quartered in parts unable to support it. A well-organized scheme of emigration, such as that which was well set forth in the works of Mr. Tuke, would be more conducive to the relief of Ireland than any measure of the kind now before the Committee, and it was a plan to which England and English Members and everyone certainly would willingly contribute. For such a purpose they would not be sparing in their contributions; but to the purpose of this Bill, and the object to which the clause they were now discussing devoted itself, he, for one, ventured to give his most unqualified disapproval.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government stated a fortnight ago, with respect to this measure, that it was entirely exceptional in its principle and character; at the same time honestly confessing that he did not know how otherwise to meet the present emergency. He (Mr. Newdegate) admitted that the object of the right hon. Gentleman was a right one. It was to relieve distress, while recognizing the rights of property; and that was why he (Mr. Newdegate) had not offered to the earlier stages of the Bill any active opposition. He had been much struck by an observation of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold). The hon. Member said that this House was in the habit of granting £16,000 a-year for the enfranchisement of copyhold. Well, £16,000 was not a very large sum, and it was expended in the purchase of property—copyhold property—with a view to its enfranchisement. But the principle of the Land Act, passed by Her Majesty's present Ministers, was very different, if not absolutely opposite; it was to make the whole property of

Ireland—he meant all that was left of landed property in Ireland—copyhold. He hoped that the attention of Constitutional lawyers, and those who understood the laws of property, would be directed to this matter; for, in his opinion, it represented a revolution in the Land Laws into which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had led the House. He (Mr. Newdegate) could not vote with an easy conscience for the appropriation of the Church Surplus Funds to secular uses. The right hon. Gentleman had promised in a former House of Commons the restoration of peace in Ireland as the sure effect of that House adopting the Act for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Protestant Church in Ireland. He now asked, where was the peace the right hon. Gentleman had so confidently promised; where was the proof of the Disestablishment Act having produced that effect? Perhaps one reason why the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had left the Government was because he could not answer that question, and did not see how the policy he represented could produce peace in Ireland. For his part, he had never thought that peace would follow from that measure. It was really a concession to those who were irreconcilable. This House would find that in Ireland there was an irreconcilable element, which was not pacified, but was simply fed by concessions. The disestablishment of the Prostestant Church was intended to satisfy this element; but, like other smaller but analogous concessions, it had only led to fresh demands and to renewed disturbances. He (Mr. Newdegate) admitted the difficulty with which the Government had to deal in the present circumstances of Ireland, and the necessity for some such measure as that before the House; but he disapproved of both sources from which the funds to meet the requirements were to be drawn, for he thoroughly deprecated the precedent of satisfying the demands of Ireland out of the taxation of the United Kingdom. In his opinion, relief ought to be provided to meet a temporary exigency on the principle of loan. Some years ago, when there was severe distress among one portion of the constituency which he (Mr. Newdegate) represented—that distress was occasioned by the abolition of the duties on the importation of silk manufactures, which the present Prime Minister carried in 1860—the right hon. Gentleman subscribed, and Her Majesty was induced to subscribe out of her private purse to a fund for the mitigation of that distress. If the right hon. Gentleman reviewed his policy with regard to Ireland, he must surely wish that a subscription could be raised that would be adequate to save him from establishing the principle, that in order to maintain the qualified rights of property which he had left in Ireland, and to relieve the distress prevailing there, he must invite the House to draw upon the taxation of the United Kingdom, and so to attempt to meet the difficulties, which his former legislative measures had produced, by gifts of public money. In his (Mr. Newdegate's) opinion, the whole exigency ought to be met, not by gift, but by loan.

VISCOUNT EMLYN said, he hoped the Committee would bear with him for a few moments whilst he said a word or two in support of the Amendment. No one in that House, he would venture to say, had a greater aversion to the principle of the Bill which was now before them than he had. He had voted, and he had every intention of voting, on every occasion against the principle of the measure, which he believed to be as mischievous as the principle of any Bill could possibly be. But the question before them appeared to him to be a very difficult one. It seemed to him that what they were asked to do was this—to admit the principle of allowing the Bill to go as far in the relief of those persons who came under the Bill as the Irish Church Fund would permit, and no further. Now, to his mind, the Bill was bad in itself; but if they were to give any relief at all, it was sheer madness to say that they should stop half-way. The Bill proposed that relief should be given to certain persons; that he took to be one of the principles of the Bill. Secondly, he took it to be a principle of the Bill that they should provide funds for giving that relief. If the principles of the measure were good, and if he believed that the measure would bring peace and tranquillity and quiet to Ireland, he should be ready to support it, whatever might be the cost; but he had not believed it, and had not, therefore, given any support to the measure, so far as its principle was concerned. But he was not willing, even now, to say that if the Bill was to come into operation they should go just halfway and then stop. That did not appear to him to be common sense. Though the measure was a bad one, if they were to adopt it at all they must carry it through. The responsibility rested, in the first place, with the Government; and, secondly, with those who put that Government into power. If a measure of this kind had been before the House, and there had been no charge to be imposed upon the taxpayer, he should have thought it an additional argument against the Bill; but it had never been doubted that under such a measure as this there would have to be a call on the taxpayer, and it seemed to him (Viscount Emlyn) they ought not to try to relieve the taxpayer from that for which he was practically himself responsible. The taxpayers and those who had returned the Government to power were, and ought to be, responsible for the acts of the Government. If the Government considered that this was a necessary measure, and the taxpayers were willing to maintain the Government in power and back up their action in this matter, let them pay the cost of it.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he had never heard any reasons given why there should be no charge put upon the Consolidated Fund to meet the expenditure under this Bill. He would venture to offer a few reasons why the charge should be put upon this Fund, and he would point out that assistance had been attempted to be given in this way. He proposed to state chronologically the cases whith had led to this state of things. [*Cries of* "Oh!" and "Divide!"] Well, his chronological table would be a very short one, and he trusted the Committee would bear with him while he made his statement. At any rate, hon. Members would not make his table shorter by exclamations of this kind. The reasons why he thought that the Consolidated Fund should be charged with the necessary expense for the settlement of this matter were these—Because the recommendations of the Devon Commission were not adopted, because the House of Lords rejected Lord Stanley's Bill in 1845, because the House of Lords rejected Lord Aberdeen's Bill in 1853 and the Tenants' Compensation Bill in 1854, because they frustrated two attempts in 1866 and 1867 to give relief to the Irish tenants, because they robbed the Bill of 1870 of most of its value, and because, finally, they rejected the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in 1880. The taxpayers of this country were spoken of in the House—certainly by hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway on that (the Conservative) side—with great commiseration; but he would tell those hon. Members that it was not solely their action, or that of their Friends in the House of Lords, which brought about this charge to the taxpayers of England. If the House of Lords had not rejected the Bills he had enumerated, if they had not thrown out all those necessary measures which had been proposed and proposed in vain for the evils of Ireland, neither this Bill nor the Bill of last year would have been necessary. This was the real question, and let the taxpayers of England, when they came to pay this money, charge it to the proper quarter. Let them not lay all this at the door of Her Majesty's Government, but let them attribute it to the late Government, to whom it was due. If it had not been for the action of hon. Members above the Gangway on the Conservative side of the House, and those who held similar opinions, Ireland would not have been in its present condition, and this question would not have been before the House. He declared that even if the Bill of 1870 had been allowed to go out in a proper shape this measure would not have been brought forward. Year after year they had refused redress to the Irish tenantry, and they had brought them to a state of poverty and a state of beggary, and now they had the assurance to tell the Liberal Government that it was they who were responsible. It was not the Liberal Government that were responsible—it was the illiberal Government, and it was only right that the taxpayers should know it. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), when he went, as he stated just now he would have to do, to explain to his constituents why these taxes were raised, would confess frankly that it was in consequence not of the action of the present Government, but of Governments which had preceded it, and of the Tory Party and the House of Lords.

MR. STORER said, he objected to this burden being placed on the shoulders of the British taxpayer. He could quite understand hon. Members opposite desiring that this measure should pass *sub silentio*, because the day, perhaps, was not very far distant when they would have to go before their constituents and answer the question, "Why have you imposed this Irish burden on the English taxpayer?" He was sure that the occupiers of small agricultural holdings, and that small shopkeepers in England who were now complaining in every direction of burdens which they could not bear, were those who would insist that their Representatives should give them an account of the way in which they voted upon this question. Speaking of the agricultural district with which he was well connected, he knew there were numbers of English agriculturists who were themselves in arrear of rent, and who, when this question had been explained to them, would look up with the greatest astonishment, and would not believe it possible that they could be called upon to pay taxes for the relief of the Irish tenants—called upon to relieve many who, although they had the power to pay, had not the will, but who had been influenced by unprincipled agitators, who had told them not to pay their just debts. These English ratepayers would know that the Government of this country had neglected to suppress the Rebellion in Ireland in the way they ought to have done, and they would hardly look with favour upon what the Government had done, when they remembered their own difficulties, amounting in many cases to insolvency, and when they remembered that so many English farmers had been paying their rent out of their capital, or, in many cases, had been living rent free, because they were absolutely unable to pay and the landlord would not take the land away from them. It was futile to say that they would be able to distinguish under this Bill between the cases where tenants had been able to pay and had refused and where tenants had really been unable to pay their rents. He knew an instance, and there were hundreds of similar cases, of a small farmer near Neenan who had paid his rent, and when his house was burned down in his absence, and his family barely escaped with their lives, a sum of £80 was consumed with the rest of his property. He would ask the Committee how many English tenants were in the condition of this Irish farmer—the condition, namely, of having paid their rents, and yet of having £80 locked up in a box? He should say very few indeed. And yet this was not by any means an exceptional case in Ireland, for they all knew that for the last two years the Irish farmers had had good seasons, while the English farmers had had terribly bad seasons. Why, they had absolutely been exporting potatoes from the West of Ireland—from that part of the country which was supposed to be in a state of beggary — to New York and the United States. He had it on the authority of a letter in *The Morning Post* that a commercial traveller who had recently visited the West of Ireland had there found the people to be in a state of great prosperity. He was travelling for some firm, and he said that—

> "He had never known the tenants in a condition of such great prosperity before—he had never known so much money to be spent amongst them in luxuries. It was only to be expected, if this measure of the Prime Minister became law, that trade in Ireland would become even brisker, although he doubted whether the British taxpayer would relish the idea of Irish trade becoming brisker at his expense."

This measure would be regarded as a premium upon dishonesty. It taught the Irish tenant not to pay his rent, for it would relieve the man who had not paid, while it would lead to the man who had discharged his liability to his landlord being looked upon as a fool. The man who had kept his money in his pocket, and had concealed all proof of the possession of money, would be looked upon as a lucky and a clever fellow, while the honest man would be considered as a fool. This was the danger of this Bill, and everyone knew it, and it was on this ground that he opposed the entire principle of the measure.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he quite appreciated the view that this was not a subject that required any lengthy discussion. It was a simple proposition that this House and the country understood, and he was only desirous of saying one word in consequence of the exceeding ingenious and able speech of the noble Viscount behind him (Viscount Emlyn). His noble Friend had pointed out that they could not stop half-way, and they could not allow a scheme of this description, brought forward on the responsibility of the Government, to break down because the Church Temporalities Fund was insufficient. But, supposing he (Mr. Stanhope) granted all that, the question he would like to ask his noble Friend was why the taxpayers of this country should make up the deficiency? There were plenty of other ways of making it up, as had been pointed out by the right hon. Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) on the second reading. He would not go into this subject now; but, besides these methods of dealing with the question, there were others, and the object of his Amendment really was this—to protest against opening the Consolidated Fund on the demands of the Irish agitators. If the Consolidated Fund were once touched it would be impossible to stop, and the taxpayers of the country would rue the day when they once allowed the Government to touch it.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he wished to make one observation, in order that the Committee and the country might really understand the vote he was going to give on this matter. He did not wonder that hon. Gentlemen opposite felt some qualms at giving an amount of money, probably £500,000, for the relief of Irish distress in the shape of rents which had not been paid, and could not be paid; but he begged to remind the Committee of this, that when the Irish Church was disestablished there was a charge of £70,000 a-year put upon the Consolidated Fund for the Regium Donum and the Maynooth Grant. The country was relieved, and the Consolidated Fund was relieved, of these charges, which were put upon the Irish Church Fund. Therefore, if the country had not gained by the relief afforded to the Consolidated Fund by putting this charge on a specially Irish Fund, they would not at this moment have been asked for this £500,000, which was much less than the amount which had been charged on the Irish Church Fund fo this £70,000 a-year. He believed the amount paid amounted to something like £1,300,000.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 243; Noes 173: Majority 70.

AYES.

Acland, C. T. D.
Acland, Sir T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, J. B.
Barnes, A.
Beaumont, W. B.
Bellingham, A. H.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brassey, H. A.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buxton, F. W.
Byrne, G. M.
Caine, W. S.
Callan, P.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Childers, rt. hn. H.C.E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colthurst, Col. D. La T.
Corbet, W. J.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtney, L. H.
Craig, W. Y.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, Sir D.
Daly, J.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, W.
De Ferrieres, Baron
Dickson, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzwilliam, hon. H. W.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gill, H. J.
Givan, J.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, A.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Gray, E. D.
Grenfell, W. H.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Healy, T. M.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Hibbert, J. T.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Holms, W.
Howard, E. S.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, C.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, rt. hon. W. M.
Jones-Parry, L.
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Leigh, hon. G. H. C.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.

Lymington, Viscount
Lyons, R. D.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
Macfarlane, D. H.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
M'Lagan, P.
Magniac, C.
Marjoribanks, E.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M.H.Story-
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Nelson, I.
Noel, E.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Major F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Kelly, J.
O'Shea, W. H.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Porter, A. M.
Power, J. O'C.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pugh, L. P.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reid, R. T.
Richard, H.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sexton, T.
Shaw, W.
Sheil, E.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Smith, E.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stanton, W. J.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Walter, J.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

NOES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Allsopp, C.
Anderson, G.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Baring, T. C.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Burnaby, General E. S.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaine, J.
Chaplin, H.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Coddington, W.
Cole, Viscount
Collins, T.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Digby, Col. hon. E. T.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. W.
Elliot, Sir G.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Maj.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzpatrick, hn. B.E.B.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Fort, R.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Galway, Viscount
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, E. W.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Hubbard, rt. hon. J. G.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Murray, C. J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
Noel, rt. hon. G. J.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Onslow, D.
Paget, R. H.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peek, Sir H.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Schreiber, C.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hon. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Taylor, rt. hon. Col. T. E.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tottenham, A. L.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W. E.
Whitley, E.

Wolff, Sir H. D.	TELLERS.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-	Crichton, Viscount
Wroughton, P.	Winn, R.
Yorke, J. R.	

DR. LYONS said, he should endeavour to be as brief as possible in laying before the Committee his views with regard to the disposal of the Irish Church Fund. In the first place, according to the proposals of the Government, it was intended to utilize the Fund, as far as it went, for the purposes of this Bill, on the principle of gift. There was, no doubt, much readiness and facility in dealing with money "at call" in that way; but it was a matter of great importance to all interested in the prosperity of Ireland to remember that this special Fund had a great number of claims upon it of one kind and another, and, therefore, he thought it worthy of the consideration of the Committee whether any possible means could be proposed for temporarily using the Fund, and in the end restoring it to the country. It would be admitted that in the Irish Church Temporalities Fund Ireland possessed resources for the establishment and maintenance of industrial, educational, and other institutions, which were very much needed, and it had been, up to the present time, used in a manner which he believed few would question, and had tended to the advancement of the interest of the country in the present and in the future. He thought it was desirable that the Fund should be retained for the purpose of maintaining the education and the industries of Ireland; and, in connection with this, he would mention the great subjects of fuel supply, the subject of fisheries, and the important subject of technical education as bearing on the promotion and establishment of manufactures throughout the country. He believed that nothing would be of such material consequence to the well-being of Ireland as the withdrawing of a certain portion of the population from their too exclusive devotion to the cultivation of the land. Then there was the subject of the labourers of Ireland, which, undoubtedly, deserved attention on the part of the Government, and which, at that moment, had become one of great anxiety, and, he would even say, if neglected, of peril to the State. The labourers in Ireland, although there was undoubtedly an increasing tendency to agitation amongst their ranks, had taken up and maintained an attitude of singularly temperate forbearance. Their position was one which, in the very trying period through which they were passing, ought to engage the serious attention of the State, particularly in view of the possibility of the harvest being below an average, the hopes concerning which had been seriously dashed by the excessive rains that had fallen during the last two or three weeks. There were indications, if these should prove well-founded, that a very serious condition of things might be expected in Ireland during the coming winter; and, undoubtedly, it might yet be found of material importance that such a fund as the Irish Church Fund should be available for works of a productive character as a means of giving employment to the large masses of the labouring population in periods of distress. Then, as bearing on this question, there was the very important subject of the re-afforesting of Ireland to be considered, one which would, undoubtedly, be taken up before long by statesmen having the interest of Ireland at heart, and with a full knowledge of her wants.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL rose to Order. He wished to ask whether the hon. Gentleman was in Order in going into all these subjects on the Amendment before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he understood that the hon. Gentleman was about to make a proposal with reference to the Irish Church Temporalities Fund, and that he referred to these subjects in support of his argument that the Fund in question should not ultimately be destroyed.

DR. LYONS said, he alluded to these matters on purpose to show what vital operations remained to be accomplished in Ireland for which no tangible funds existed, and to which the Irish Church Fund could most properly be applied, and he desired to show the great and pressing importance of using any possible means that could be pointed out in order to avoid finally parting with it. The main operations in question might be briefly summarized thus—(a) Harbours, piers, and fisheries; (b) mineral industries, fuel, coals, and turbaries; (c) re-afforesting of Ireland, reproductive in 10 to 15 years; (d) drainage and general reclamation of waste lands, and peasant proprietorship thereon; (e) loans for creation of labourers' cottages—£1,000,000 sterling; (f) technical education to promote industries other than in land; (g) education generally. In doing this, he did not challenge the right of Her Majesty's Government temporarily to utilize the Fund in question; but he did think that the question as to how the Fund could be utilized and, at the same time, ultimately saved for the purposes which he had pointed out was worthy of every consideration that could be given to it. About the great subject of emigration, which would, doubtless, be forcibly brought before the attention of the Committee by the hon. Gentlemen opposite, it was not necessary for him to say anything by way of anticipation. He would only observe that it was one of those problems which he thought might best be dealt with by the Irish Church Fund. The financial operation he proposed was to determine the means by which the Irish Church Fund might be temporarily utilized, but ultimately saved for the purposes he had mentioned. It was designed specially with regard both to payments from the Church Fund itself and those from the Consolidated Fund. He proposed that Irish Stock Notes should be issued for the amount expended, at a moderate rate of interest, on the same basis as the recent Indian Loans, the French Rentes, and the American system of refunding certificates. Now, if it could be shown that there was a good prospect that such a proposal would work in Ireland, he maintained that this project was worthy of the consideration of the Committee before the Irish Church Fund was finally parted with, and before a grant was made from the Consolidated Fund, against which latter proposal objection had been raised by hon. Gentlemen opposite and by others on that side of the House. With the permission of the Committee, he would call attention to the fact that a similar operation to that which he proposed was now being carried out in India, and upon the example furnished by what was being done there his own proposal was based. Attention was first drawn to the scheme by Mr. Hope in the year 1879 in regard to moneys required for Productive Public Works. In 1880 the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India addressed a letter of great historical importance to the Governor General of India, in which he said, after referring to the possibility of an effort being made with the view of raising a fund for Productive Works amongst the Native investors—

> "The experience of other countries, especially France, shows, however, that a very large amount of money may be obtained in small sums from the Natives of the country if facilities are afforded for their investment, and I request you will carefully consider whether any such scheme can be applied to the circumstances of India without being open to the objections pointed out by your Government."

In India the proposal was to raise money by Stock Notes issued for amounts ranging so low as Rupees 12½; but in Ireland he proposed that the notes should be issued for sums of not less than £5. Now, with regard to the probability of such an operation being carried out in Ireland, he begged to remind the Committee that two years ago he had had the honour to present a Petition to that House coming from the United Irish Banks, in which it was stated that they had on deposit a sum of money amounting to £30,000,000, the important fact being also stated that 60 per cent of this sum, or £18,000,000, was contributed in amounts of from £5 to £300, which lay at interest of not much more than 1 per cent on the average. Therefore, he thought, by the employment of judicious means and arrangements—following the example wisely set in India—it would be possible for the Government to raise in Ireland itself, a sufficient sum of money at a moderate rate of interest for the purpose now required, without drawing either permanently on the Irish Church Fund or to any considerable extent on the Consolidated Fund. On the whole, he felt confident that such an operation as he proposed could be carried out in Ireland with the greatest possible facility; and on that ground, and for the reasons he had stated, he ventured to lay it before the Committee. He trusted it was not too late to consider this Amendment, and he believed he had the authority of a large number of Members for saying that if there was any possible means of saving the Irish Church Fund for such purposes as he had called attention to, some such financial operation was worthy of being carried out. This was one of the occasions upon which it would be wise for the Government and the House to listen to the Irish Representatives.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 28, after the word "Fund," to insert the words "by way of loan."—(*Dr. Lyons.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE: If I am to understand the Motion of my hon. Friend according to its spirit rather than to its letter, I shall have a good deal of sympathy with the hon. Member, because I shall understand him to mean that the question is well worthy of consideration, whether, viewing the large amounts of deposits possessed by the people of Ireland and now lying in the banks at a minimum rate of interest, it would not be desirable that the Government should approach them as a borrower at a rate profitable to them and advantageous to the Government? In that way they would become what we have really been in a pecuniary but not in a moral sense—the debtors of the people of Ireland. So far I can travel with the hon. Member, but I am afraid no further, because, as I understand the Motion, if it were literally acted upon the effect of it would be the reverse of what the hon. Member maintains and supposes. The hon. Member seems to think it would be a very economical operation to pay a large interest upon these sums. It would not be worth while to borrow from the public at 4 per cent when the Commissioners of the Church Fund are ready to lend at 3½ per cent. In the same way for the Consolidated Fund we are not bound to go to Ireland and borrow at 4 per cent when we can borrow at 3¼ per cent here. It is manifest that we can operate on better terms than those sketched out by the hon. Member. It is rather the recommendation of a policy than the proposal of an Amendment in Committee, which is now before the Committee, and as far as that policy is concerned, I am united in purpose with my hon. Friend; but I think my hon. Friend will admit that this Amendment is hardly one which can be adopted.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, the object of the Amendment he proposed was to limit the amount to come from the British taxpayers to pay the debts of Irish tenants; and he was surprised that he had not been forestalled by some Liberal Member below the Gangway. In all the discussions the sum of £500,000 had been invariably mentioned, and to-night the Prime Minister had spoken of the sum of £500,000 as the sum likely to fall on the Consolidated Fund. Therefore, in fixing this sum, he was only fixing that mentioned by the Government. He did not see any justice in English taxpayers being called upon to pay the debts of Irish tenants at a time when they had paid their own debts, and agriculture was in such a condition as to be dangerous to landlords, tenants, and shopkeepers alike—and that at a time when the Irish people had been blessed with two good harvests, and the banks were full, the English taxpayers were called upon to depart from the principles of political economy. He thought the Committee ought to fix the sum which would be required, so that the people should not discover some morning that, instead of £500,000, the amount was to be £2,000,000 or £3,000,000. The present proposal was the more unjust, because, while the English people were paying the arrears of rent in Ireland, the saleable tenant right was left to the Irish tenants. He did not think the Prime Minister was entirely satisfied with this part of the Bill, because, in introducing the second reading, he said that for the Legislature to interfere at all with the arrears of rent in Ireland was an extraordinary measure, of which the logical difficulties could not be denied, and which it was impossible to justify on general principles, either Constitutional or political. The chief argument of the right hon. Gentleman seemed to be that because the House of Commons had interfered in regard to arrears of rent at all, they were bound not to stop there, but to continue such interference until it was effectual. But it seemed to him to be a gambler's plea. Were they not to stop short until they had satisfied the desires of the people, and, if so, when was our interference to be deemed effectual? He could not look on this Bill, as it now stood, but as an encouragement to outrage and intimidation, and a mere plea for their continuance. The cupidity of the Irish people had been aroused and fired by the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; it was kept up by the Land Act of 1870; the appetite for plunder had been fed by the Act of last year, and he looked with considerable apprehension on the Irish people being allowed to dip their hands into the pockets of the English taxpayers. It was on behalf of those taxpayers that he moved his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 29, after the word "Parliament," to insert the words "the charge on the Consolidated Fund, however, shall not exceed the sum of five hundred thousand pounds."—(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE: I think the Motion of the hon. Member has arisen out of a technical misunderstanding. He supposes that under the present Bill it is in our power to make issues from the Consolidated Fund. But that is not so; and it is our complicated system of finance—which is, however, perfectly understood by those who are practised in its complications—which has misled the hon. Member. If this were a Bill under which issues from the Consolidated Fund were authorized, I should be glad to assent to some such Motion as this. But not 1*s.* can be issued from that Fund under this Bill. Nothing can be issued until a Bill has been passed by the House of Commons to enable the Government to raise money for the purposes of the Bill; and when we come to that measure, which will probably be in two or three weeks, then will be the time for the hon. Member to propose a limit, based on the estimate which has been given to the House of £500,000 as the possible draft. When I have mentioned that sum I have spoken of it as a probable grant from the Consolidated Fund. I do not expect the amount required to be £500,000, and I have stated more than once that we asked for that sum upon that principle of extreme caution which, I think, ought always to be observed in these matters. The sound principle of finance is to estimate your means moderately and your charge abundantly. I believe we have acted upon that principle in our estimate of the Church Surplus; but when we come to the other side of the account, and estimate the probable draft, then we take it as the sum which we consider has been estimated very largely. That is a sound principle of dealing with the Representatives of the people, so far as it can be done, in order to let them know the worst; but you must take care, as far as human prudence can take care, not to present an account in too favourable a form. Therefore, after what I have said about the fact that no issues can be made, I hope the Amendment will be withdrawn, because the time for it will be when another measure comes on.

MR. W. H. SMITH joined in the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman. There was no doubt this Bill did not give the power to draw a single farthing from the Consolidated Fund, nor any public authority to advance a single farthing on the security of the Church Fund. The Public Works Loan Bill, which would follow this Bill, would set out the way in which the Government proposed to raise the money, and there would be an opportunity of proposing to limit the charge.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, that, after this explanation, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Definition of landlord) *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Limit of time).

MR. BRODRICK said, he had an Amendment which he hoped the Government would accept. He thought all parties were agreed on this one point with regard to the Bill—that it should be put into operation as soon as it could. There was no tenant in Ireland who could not make up his mind in a few days after this Bill passed whether he desired to take advantage of it, and there was no landlord who could not, after his first interview with his agent, make up his mind whether he intended to take advantage of the Bill. What was there in the clause now put before the Committee? A proposal that the tenant should be given the whole time from now, the 17th of July, to the end of February—that was seven and a-half months—to make up their minds whether they would take advantage of this very simple power. During that time another gale of rent would be actually due, and there would, therefore, be a whole year's rent due since the time provided for in the Bill, and the Land Commissioners could give power to extend that time in certain cases. He did not wish to suggest that the intention of this provision was to bring the charge into the new financial year, in which there, perhaps, might be a new Chancellor of the Exchequer and a new Ministry. If that should be so, this was one of those aggravated measures of finance which would lay on the Successors of the present Government a charge which should be legitimately borne by them; and, whatever the case was, he ventured to suggest that the time for taking stock of the incidence of this Bill, as it affected the taxation, was the present financial year. If it were indicated that every tenant should make application before the last day of October, he should see no difficulty. He was quite open to argument on the subject, and was ready to withdraw his Amendment, if he could be assured that the tenant would not be placed at a disadvantage by being called upon to state before October whether he intended to take advantage of the bonus to be placed in his hands. As to the extension of time, the way in which this power had been used by the Land Commission in certain cases was such as to give no desire to see a repetition of the power. It would be more advantageous that Parliament should fix a definite time for application, and he saw no reason why that should not be in two or three months from the present time; and he begged the Government, merely on the ground that they had hardly accepted a single Amendment from that side of the House, and had apparently taken very little stock of the arguments advanced, to endeavour to admit this simple point, which was of inestimable importance to the country—namely, to get the question out of hand as soon as possible by means of his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 37, to leave out from the word "after," to end of Clause, and insert the words "the thirty-first day of October one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he hoped the Government would consent to this Amendment. It seemed to him on every ground most desirable that operations under the Bill should be wound up in the present year, and that could be easily done by taking the end of October and the end of December, instead of the dates proposed in the Bill, for which no reasons had been given. He had some curiosity to see what could be said in defence of this proposal to extend the Bill until next year.

Mr. PARNELL said, that the limit for application under the Arrears Section of the Bill of last year was February, and, as a matter of fact, in working that section it was found that a very small proportion indeed of the tenants knew anything in the world about the section being in existence before the period limited for applications had expired. If that arrangement was repeated by adopting this Amendment, the clause would be defeated. In large parts of Ireland it would require some time for tenants to become acquainted with this provision, and if the Committee wanted to have the people in remote parts of Ireland benefited by the Act, the time in the Bill was very fair, and there was no reason why it should be restricted.

Mr. HEALY said, it appeared to him that the Tory Party were like the Old Guard—they never knew when they were beaten; and, to use a very familiar illustration, they were like the Irish Members fighting the Coercion Bill. But what would be considered Obstruction by Irish Members was a pardonable offence when committed by right hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway. Those Gentlemen were fighting every point of this Bill, regardless of the consideration whether there was any probability of their being successful. They seemed as determined now to cut down every chance for the tenants as they were in the height of their power. They had learnt nothing, and they had forgotten nothing. As they appeared upon every occasion to cut down every chance open to the tenant of rehabilitating himself, they must expect very little mercy in regard to legislative proposals emanating from them. They had put forward this Amendment simply to limit the chance of the tenant benefiting by this Bill.

Mr. BRODRICK asked whether the hon. Member was in Order in imputing motives to other Members?

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member would be out of Order in imputing motives to individual Members; but I understood he was speaking of general policy.

MR. HEALY said, he was charmed with the delicacy of the hon. Member, and thought if there was a little more of that fair play when questions of this kind were being dealt with, he should be inclined to think that the Tory Party was, of all others, a Party of Gentlemen. What he said was absolutely true—those hon. Gentlemen were fighting for their own ends; and when the Government proposed to give those unfortunate, downtrodden tenants a few months more in which to lift up their heads, those hon. Gentlemen grudged the miserable tenants the smallest chance of rehabilitating themselves.

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government have thought very carefully beforehand about the dates named in this Bill, and some of the considerations they have entertained have not occurred to the hon. Gentleman who proposes this Amendment. The hon. Member gives a very short term indeed, and I think he forgets that the term includes such period of vacation as lawyers will take all the world over, even in Ireland, at a time when legal business has to be pressed very diligently forward. The County Court Judges will just then be having their vacation, and all the officers and clerks attached to the Courts, and everybody connected with the Legal Profession in Ireland will be away, and would feel wronged if their interval was cut down. Then, I think, the hon. Gentleman underrates the difficulties connected with these vacations. There will be a great deal of negotiation to be gone through before the tenant will make an application under the necessary terms, because that involves payment of the rent for a year, or the satisfaction of the landlord, and the landlord may be satisfied either by payment, or by total or partial remission, or by a promise of payment at a future time. All this involves negotiation, which cannot but require time, and the two or two and a-half months will be further broken into by the vacation. On the other hand, the Government think the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) have insisted a little too strongly on the arguments against the proposal of the hon. Member opposite, because there is a very great difference between this Bill and the probable operation of this Bill and the Arrears Clause of the Land Act. In the first place, as the hon. Member for the City of Cork has said, that clause was not known of by the tenants in Ireland. It was buried in an enormous Bill of very great length, and very many provisions infinitely more important to the tenants than that clause. On the other hand, this Bill has not only been fully discussed in this House, but we are told that it has excited very great expectations among the tenants in Ireland. We may be sure the operation of the Bill will not be a matter that can be accomplished in a fortnight; and there is another consideration, that in the case of the Land Act the machinery had to be set up, and when it was set up it worked as new machinery is apt to work. But, in the case of this Bill, the machinery for the purposes of the application of the tenant will be working already. The Government could not accede to the Amendment, but at the same time they were willing to allow that, with Ireland prepared for the Bill as it was, the necessary operations for taking advantage of it might be got through within the period of two months, and they were, therefore, prepared to name the last day of December as the first day of the Bill. The later date mentioned beyond which applications should not be made had been referred to, and it had been suggested that the date should be altered to December, but to that Her Majesty's Government could not accede. They could not agree to it, because, in their opinion, the object of this second date was to list a few odd cases which were always left out under circumstances of hardship. Where such a course as this was not taken, the result, on the passing of measures like the present, was always the same. An appeal was made to Parliament on the score of justice—Parliament was asked to grant a continuation of the measure in the form of an amending Bill to bring within the operations of the Act cases which ought to come within them, and which it had been intended should come within them. Under this provision of the Bill it would be left to the discretion of the Commissioners to deal with these cases. The period of six months did not appear to the Government too long to clear off these cases in such a manner that there would be no ground for an appeal to Parliament for a continuance of the Act.

Mr. GIBSON said, the contention of the Government had been, that promptitude was essential—that this was a Bill which, if it were passed at all, should be passed at once; that nothing should stand in the way of speedy investigation, and that everything possible should be done to hurry up the cases. In spite of this, the Government had most elaborate means in Clause 11 for keeping the country in hot water for nearly a year. He ventured to think that the last day of December for the final settlement of everything would be amply sufficient. Having given the date of December, the Government did not mean it to end there, but there was to be a further period of four months given. As a matter of fact, every tenant who was careless in the matter, to whom it was inconvenient to apply at once, and who did not take the trouble to apply before the end of December, would, under this section, be allowed to come in before the second date. There was no suggestion that anything exceptional was to be required, or that anything was to be proved to show that the tenant had been prevented from applying before December. There was to be no special leave given; on the contrary, permission might possibly be obtained on the merest application. This provision would have the effect of preventing Ireland from settling down for a considerable time. Practically, on the second date, the last day of April, or rather on the following morning, the 1st of May, a year and a-half's rent would be accrued due "from the last gale day of the year expiring as aforesaid;" therefore, the Government were practically, he would not say foredooming, the Act to failure, but securing that Ireland should not settle down for a long time.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, that on the principle that "half a loaf was better than no bread," he was disposed to accept what was offered—what was, practically, the first little concession made to the Opposition side of the House above the Gangway during the present stage of this Bill. But it was not solely for the purpose of saying this that he had risen. He wished to draw attention to a word that had fallen—whether inadvertently or not he did not know—from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. The right hon. Gentleman had told the Committee that it was necessary not to curtail the time as proposed by this Amendment, because it was necessary for the tenants and the landlords to have a certain amount of time for preliminary arrangements before the Bill could be put into operation. The right hon. Gentleman had pointed out what those arrangements were—he had said that arrangements would have to be made for the payment of two years' rent or the payment of a part of it, and then he had said what he (Viscount Folkestone) considered fully justified them in their opposition to this Bill—namely, "Perhaps the arrangement might be a promise to pay at some future time." This foreshadowed in the future a further question of arrears; and, no doubt, right hon. Gentlemen would deal with it as they had dealt with the present question—by making payment out of the Consolidated Fund.

Mr. PARNELL said, he wished to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to the manner in which all the Government concessions had been met by the Opposition. Every concession had been made by them the subject of a division; and it appeared to him that their policy was to reject every concession that was made — in so far as dividing against a concession was a rejection of it—in order to leave room for the insertion of similar, though much more important, Amendments in "another place." It was extremely dangerous for the Government to attempt to limit the time, as they were doing. If the time originally fixed on was right, why should they alter it? The only object of offering concessions was that they should be accepted; but hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench had not accepted them, and, therefore, it would be far better for the right hon. Gentleman now and in the future to adhere to the Bill as originally drafted. If they limited the time for making the application to the last day in December, they would find that to a large extent the Bill would be rendered useless by the neglect of most of the tenants to apply in time. He failed to see how the Bill could be put in operation in sufficient time to enable the poorest tenants to have their claims considered. The poorest tenants would have nothing which would tempt the solicitors to offer them their services. The operation of substantiating claims might be one that would not entail very large expenditure in costs; but unless the poor tenants had their claims taken up for them by associations of some sort, who would pay the costs, he did not see how they would be able to get their claims filed in time. He would, therefore, urge on Her Majesty's Government the desirability of adhering to the original terms of the Bill, and of not accepting the compromise offered. If the Government gave up these two months, depend upon it they would have to give up the other two months when the Bill came back again.

Mr. BRODRICK said, at present they were not dealing with the condition of the Bill when it came back from "another place." Not being in such intimate relations with noble Lords in "another place" as the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) seemed to be, he (Mr. Brodrick) did not pretend to know what would be the condition of the Bill when it came back to them from the other House of Parliament. After what had fallen from the Government he did not propose to press his Amendment to a division. He would leave the Government to put in the measure what dates they thought right, merely pointing out that those he proposed seemed to him to be the ones that would cover the necessities of the case, bearing in mind, as he did, that the whole argument of the hon. Member for the City of Cork was founded on the fact that very few tenants knew anything about this section last year, and were unlikely to take advantage of it. The hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) and his Friends had done the best they could to prevent the tenants from taking advantage of the Bill by speaking against it everywhere they could.

Mr. GORST said, that, according to the Attorney General for Ireland, the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, of which notice had been taken, had been let fall unintentionally.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): Quite inadvertently, I said.

Mr. GIVAN said, as to the observations of the noble Viscount (Viscount Folkestone) with regard to the Amendment the Government proposed to accept in relation to the time fixed by the Bill, it was contended "half a loaf was better than no bread;" but the noble Viscount seemed to forget that, under this measure, the landlords were getting three-quarters of the loaf.

Mr. GORST said, that, no doubt, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had said, the observation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was inadvertent, and, perhaps, it would have been better, from the point of view of the Government, if no such observation had been let fall; but, perhaps, it was better when such an observation was let fall that some notice should be taken of it. The Government said that under this Bill the tenant should be enabled to start fairly —start free from liability and incumbrance, and remain on his holding. But it was quite clear, from what the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) had said, no such a result would be attained, and that the tenant would be left with all his arrears on his head. The arrears of the previous period might, it was true, have been paid out of the Consolidated Fund; but the tenant would still be incumbered with the whole of the rent of 1881, besides the rent which had subsequently accrued due. If the meaning of the word "satisfied" was as stated by the Government, and it was only necessary for a tenant to promise to pay his rent for 1881 to entitle him to the benefits of this Bill, what became of all the undertakings of the Government at an earlier period of these debates? The observation of the right hon. Gentleman might have been accidental; but he (Mr. Gorst) thought that they were sometimes bits of truth that were inadvertently let drop, and these bits of truth should be taken notice of.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was not a lawyer, and could not enter into an argument as to the technical meaning of a certain word; but did the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Gorst) really think what he said—namely, that the word "satisfied" could be taken in the sense he had indicated?

Mr. GORST said, it was most important that the Committee should understand the legal aspect of this question. There were a great many of the legal luminaries of the Government opposite, and would any of them venture to get up and tell the Committee that if a tenant gave a promissory note for rent, which was accepted by the landlord in satisfaction and discharge of the rent, that was not a legal satisfaction for the rent?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): No; not until it is paid.

MR. HEALY said, they had heard the secret of the desire of the landlords to limit the period in the Bill from a right hon. Gentleman above the Gangway, who said that the landlords would apply for the benefit of the Bill. He desired that the landlords, so far as they were desirous of applying for the benefits of the Bill, should do so; but the tenants were many of them very uneducated men, and would not know all the ins-and-outs of the matter so well as the landlords. The Committee must know, by the way the landlords had cheated the tenants out of the benefits of the Act of 1870, and how they had attempted to cheat them out of the benefits of the Act of last year, that every advantage it was possible to take of the tenants would be taken by the landlords. Whenever a Coercion Bill was advertised, all its pains and penalties were advertised on every church door and on every police barrack. Would the Government undertake to advertise all the benefits of this Bill on every church door and on the door of every police barrack in Ireland? If the measure was to be cut down, as proposed, would the Government, on the other hand, take care that posters signed "John Poyntz, Earl Spencer," would be put outside the police barracks and churches? He (Mr. Healy) challenged the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to say whether he would do this. Posters were to be put up when tenants were likely to get six months' hard labour, to tell them that they could not attend public meetings, and could not ask for a reduction of rent, but not to tell them of the benefits of an ameliorating measure.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure that the Amendment be withdrawn?

Hon. MEMBERS: No.

MR. BRODRICK said, that if hon. Members would not allow the Amendment to be withdrawn, he would ask the Governmeut whether they did not intend to move to amend his Amendment?

Amendment *negatived.*

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would move to omit the word "February," and substitute the word "December."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 37, to leave out the word "February," in order to insert the word "December." —(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question put, "That the word 'February' remain part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 42; Noes 152: Majority 110.—(Div. List, No. 273.)

MR. TREVELYAN proposed, in page 5, line 38, to leave out "three," in order to insert "two."

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. TREVELYAN proposed, in line 39, to leave out "June," and insert "April."

Amendment *agreed eo.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

MOTION.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to establish a Fishery Board for Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND, and Mr. ROBERT DUFF.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 240.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Two of the o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 18*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Ancient Monuments (197); Turnpike Acts Continuance * (198).

Second Reading — Bills of Exchange (183); Consolidated Fund (No. 4) *.

Committee—Report—Public Offices Site (184).

Third Reading—Entail (Scotland) * (195); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * (181); Corn Returns (No. 2) * (187), and *passed*,

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he rose to move for leave to introduce a Bill for the better protection of Ancient Monuments. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships that Bills dealing with the same subject had previously been brought before Parliament. This year the Bill which he held in his hands was introduced into the House of Commons; but on account of the state of Business in that House, it had been thought better to withdraw it, and that it should be introduced into their Lordships' House. The difference between this and the previous measures was, that in this there was no compulsory power of interference with any ancient monuments. Owners might, if they liked, put their ancient monuments under the public guardianship of the Commissioners of Works, or the latter body might acquire the property by voluntary purchase.

Bill for the better protection of Ancient Monuments—*Presented* (The LORD CHANCELLOR); read 1ª. (No. 197.)

BILLS OF EXCHANGE BILL.—(No. 183.)

(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD BRAMWELL, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the Bill had passed the House of Commons, where it had been carefully considered by a Committee, consisting of eminent merchants, bankers, and lawyers, presided over by the Solicitor General, and its object was to codify the laws of England and Scotland on the subject of bills of exchange. At first the Bill applied to England only; but, on the application of persons representing Scotch interests, it was extended to Scotland, and a number of Scotch Members were put upon the Committee. The Bill, to a certain extent, endeavoured to assimilate the law of England and Scotland on the subject of bills of exchange, and the object of those who framed it was not to alter, but to codify the existing laws. He did not for a moment pretend that the measure was complete and perfect; indeed, he should have Amendments to propose to it when they got into Committee; and if it passed and became a Code he did not suppose it was one which would supersede the lawyers and their law books. It would still be necessary to have recourse to the lawyers and the law books to interpret or apply the Bill to cases as they arose from time to time. The object of those who framed the Bill, as he said, was to make a Code of the existing law, and to alter it as little as possible; but it was impossible, in framing that Code, that there should not be some alterations in the laws which they were endeavouring to embody into that Code, because principles, each of which was right in itself, being carried to extremes, resulted sometimes in what appeared to be positively repugnant. He would give them an illustration of the alterations in the Bill. By the law of England, Christmas Day and Good Friday were Common Law holidays, and bills of exchange, which otherwise would fall due on either of those days, by the Common Law of the land were payable on the day before. There were also certain statutory holidays, and bills of exchange which became due on those were payable the day after. Well, in Scotland, Christmas Day and Good Friday were not Common Law holidays, but statutory. The question had, therefore, arisen, what was to be done? It was impossible to leave the law so that a bill of exchange would fall due on one day in Scotland and on another day in England; therefore, an arrangement was come to between those who had charge of the Bill, and those who represented Scotch interests, that the same law should be applicable to both sides of the Tweed; and that, in regard both to Christmas Day and Good Friday, bills of exchange which became due on either of those days should be payable in England and Scotland on the day before. He mentioned this to show the necessity there sometimes was, when they were codifying laws, to make some slight alterations in them. He would only add, in conclusion, that he had not taken the Bill from those who had prepared it on trust, but had thought it his duty to go through it himself; and having done this, he could recommend it to their Lordships as worthy of being read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the fact that the Bill had been examined by the noble and learned Lord would go a long way towards assuring their Lordships of its worth. At the same time, the subject was one of the utmost possible importance. The Bill codified, as his noble and learned Friend had said, the whole of the Common and Statute Law on the subject, and it affected a very large part of the most important transactions of the mercantile world. It was desirable, therefore, that those of their Lordships who were conversant with the subject should carefully consider the details of the Bill, and for that reason he (the Lord Chancellor) hoped the next stage would be put off till a reasonable day. To his mind, it was doubtful whether a Bill of this magnitude and importance on such a subject should be passed through Parliament in a single Session without being maturely considered by all classes whose transactions were affected. He had no doubt that the Bill was very carefully considered by the Select Committee of the House of Commons; but he did not know whether in the House itself it had been publicly discussed. He observed that the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) was not in his place, and urged that it would not be convenient to proceed in his absence.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he proposed to fix the Committee stage for that day week.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, it was doubtful whether the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) would be in his place by that day week.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he would suggest that the day should not be fixed until later on in the week.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON asked the noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell) to fix the Committee for that day week; and then, if the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) was not in his place, it could be further postponed.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he would adopt that course.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE BILL.—(No. 184.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee."—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL, in moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, said, it would be unwise to hurry the Bill through without due consideration. He was by no means ready to concede that the proposed scheme would be the most economical one; and he thought its promoters, at all events, ought not to shrink from establishing its merits in that and other respects. There was no doubt that the existing War Office involved the greatest inconvenience; but it was by no means certain that by carrying this Bill without subjecting it to examination by a Select Committee the authorities and officials of the War Office would be released a day sooner from the hardships they now endured. Some other plan to be adopted in another Session might provide for the construction of a new War Office sooner and better than this measure would do. The noble Lord concluded by moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out from ("That") to the end of the Motion, for the purpose of inserting ("the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.")—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

LORD WAVENEY said, he considered this Bill was one of the most paradoxical ever presented to Parliament. The Bill was to enable the Government to purchase land for public buildings; but they had no plan of the buildings before them, and they ought to know something of what was intended to be done. It was a subject which should be considered by a Select Committee of that House and a Joint Committee of both Houses. It might be said that, this being in the nature of a measure to impose taxation and incur expenditure, their Lordships were precluded from dealing with it. He was aware, therefore, that there might be technical difficulties in the way of referring it to a Select Committee of that House; but the question had other important aspects besides its pecuniary one, which their Lordships were well entitled to take into consideration and give a judgment upon. They had at that end of Westminster a mass of the finest public buildings in Europe, which had arisen with the free consent and by the liberality of the British people. Those buildings were such as would bear comparison with the public buildings of any city in the world. They required no dictatorship in regard to the architectural adornment of that city; but what they did require and what they were entitled to before they expended the money levied from the taxpayers was that there should be scientific knowledge, accurately and well applied for the purposes to which that money was to be devoted; and he saw no proof of any such care and attention having been given in this case. He was prepared, at the risk of some possible informality, to go to a division on that question if the Motion were pressed.

LORD LAMINGTON said, he fully agreed that this was a subject which should be considered by a Select Committee, for a more unsatisfactory plan for public buildings had never been presented to Parliament. The proposed erections would block up the path, and prevent the carrying out of improvements. But after all the observations made upon the Bill, and bad as the scheme was, he was not prepared to send the Bill to a Select Committee, as they might have no new War Office at all, and one was urgently required. He, therefore, could not vote for the Amendment.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, the scheme did require further examination. It had long been contemplated to open an exit from the Mall to Charing Cross, and if this were considered too costly at the present moment, it might be done in better times. But on the proposed plan, a block of buildings, described as official residences, was to be placed on the line of the avenue, so as to make this improvement impossible hereafter. As these residences could be otherwise provided for, he trusted that this part of the plan was not positively decided upon.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, he thought it rather late in the Session to remove the Bill to a Select Committee. The object of the noble Lord who wished to send the Bill to a Select Committee seemed to be to get rid of it altogether. He confessed, however, that he was not strongly in favour of the Bill. He thought considerations of economy should not be so strongly paramount as they were in the present scheme, and he did not think that they ought to ignore architectural considerations. At the same time, he feared that if they now sent the Bill to a Select Committee, with a view of considering the plan of the noble Earl (the Earl of Redesdale) for the adoption of the George Street site, it would only lead to the indefinite delay of the construction of new Offices, which were so urgently required. As to the architectural question, he thought there would be great difficulty in fitting in the War Office with the Admiralty. At all events, if the Bill passed, he hoped their Lordships would have some time given them for discussing the plans. He thought it impossible to have a frontage possessing good architectural symmetry. However, knowing, as he did, the state of the War Office, he would not take upon himself the responsibility of voting for an Amendment which had for its object the upsetting of the whole scheme.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that everyone seemed to be in favour of his plan; but he might remind their Lordships that if they passed this Bill it was completely gone. For his own part, he believed that the site at Spring Gardens would be by no means an effective one, being deprived of all frontage to Charing Cross, and certainly it would not be nearly so convenient as that at Great George Street, which was the proper place in which to erect the new public buildings, while the present Admiralty, with some alterations, might be devoted to some of the minor offices; and although he did not consider the present Admiralty was now of great beauty as an architectural elevation, there was nothing discreditable in it. The screen in front, which was originally very beautiful, was now almost entirely destroyed. Formerly there was only one entrance in it; but William IV., when Duke of Clarence, went to reside there, and, to increase the carriage accommodation, had two entrances cut in the screen, and also some of the pillars removed from the front. If they adopted the Parliament Street site they need remove no public buildings, and as both the War Office and the Admiralty could go on together, they would be both connected with each other, which would be a great public convenience. As it was, they would have to pull down the Ship Tavern and the buildings right up to Drummond's Bank. The plan proposed was a miserable one in every way, and as public opinion was being so strongly pronounced against it he hoped it would not be proceeded with.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT said, he should support the Bill as it stood.

LORD TRURO said, he considered that the question had been virtually settled by the second reading of the measure, and contended that, looking at the absolute necessity there was for the immediate construction of a new War Office, it would be highly inexpedient to send the Bill to a Select Committee, and thus cause indefinite delay for the purpose of considering another scheme. Those who were connected with the War Office and the Admiralty had expressed their opinion in the most emphatic manner that, for doing away with the inconveniences they now suffered from, no better site could be chosen than that which the Government proposed to purchase. As he understood, no definite conclusion had been arrived at, either to what he might call the character of the building or the architecture. It had been the habit of late years for architects and builders to resort to a stone which they thought was more economical, but which was by no means so well suited to the atmosphere of this country as the old Portland stone, of which all our fine buildings were constructed.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that this question had been discussed over and over again, without any agreement being come to. If the matter was once more referred to a Select Committee, there would simply be a repetition of the old confusion. He did not altogether approve of the Spring Garden site; but he reminded their Lordships that it was far better to adopt some site on which the Government could agree at once rather than waste further time. It was of great importance, in the opinion of military men, that the War Office should be in immediate conjunction with the Horse Guards, as it was now proposed to accomplish. He regretted that for the purpose of the Admiralty and the War Office the Government had not proposed to purchase the whole block of buildings from the Admiralty Office to Charing Cross. As to the houses between Great George Street and Charles Street, he thought they ought to have been pulled down years ago. That site could be appropriated to minor offices. The public would not endure that in Parliament Street there should be the deformity occasioned by the present houses between Charles Street and Great George Street. Necessarily, the adoption of the George Street site would lead to the preparation and adoption of plans that would cost an enormous sum of money, and then the Treasury would be sure to interfere. The difficulty which he found when in Office, and when proposing to obtain this site, was with the Treasury, which naturally objected to pay, not hundreds of thousands, but millions—£2,000,000 for the site. As to the question of architecture, he thought it would not be impossible to find an architect who, as in the case of the barracks at Hyde Park, would combine public utility with a graceful exterior.

LORD SUDELEY: My Lords, I hope you will not assent to the proposal of the noble Lord to refer this Bill to a Select Committee. The noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook), who has just spoken, has advanced such strong reasons why this should not be so, that I can have very little to add to his statement. No doubt, under ordinary circumstances, and earlier in the Session, it would have been a proposal to which little objection could have been taken. But the circumstances under which the Bill comes before the House are exceptional. We are now towards the end of July, and it is clear, from the discussion which has just taken place, that if it were to go before a Select Committee, the whole question of sites would be re-opened, and there would be little chance of getting the Bill through this Session—especially if it were sent back altered to the other House. Let us glance for a moment at the history of this matter. I find it stated before a Committee, as far back as the year 1854, that the building of a new War Office was of "paramount importance. The noble Earl the Chairman of Committees (the Earl of Redesdale) has stated to-night that the decision which this Bill carries with it is a hasty one.

Surely, my Lords, if the question has been under consideration for nearly 30 years, this step cannot be looked upon as an ill-considered or hasty one. During that time we have had Select Committee after Select Committee, plan upon plan, suggestion after suggestion, and nearly every First Commissioner of Works has had his own particular view of the question. Yet, still, we have the enormous inconvenience, which has been so often alluded to, of the War Office and the Admiralty being scattered over a number of different houses—a state of things which the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook), in his evidence, rightly described as "a scandal to the country." In order to point out how difficult it is for a Select Committee to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion amidst various conflicting interests and opinions, it is only necessary to refer again to the last Committee which sat on this subject in 1877, and which, after carefully deliberating for more than two months, and having several plans before them, could only arrive at the obvious conclusion that the Government should lose no time in bringing forward "some plan." My Lords, I think no stronger argument is needed against the proposal for a Select Committee. But it must be remembered also that this Bill is not one which pledges the House to any definite plan, elevation, or architectural design. It is merely one to enable certain lands and houses to be purchased. Before anything can be done towards erecting the building, the whole matter must again come before Parliament. I will now deal briefly with the points raised by the noble Lord (Lord Stratheden and Campbell). First of all, he objects to what he considers the very improper proceeding of not allowing this Bill to go before a Select Committee in this House, as it has already done in the other House, for the protection of individual rights. It is quite clear from this that the noble Lord is not aware that this is a Hybrid Bill, and has, in accordance with the Standing Orders of this House, been open to be petitioned against up till last Friday by any persons who might consider that by it their rights would be infringed—in which case the Bill must have gone to a Select Committee. But what has happened? Not a single person has presented a Petition, and the Bill, in the natural order of things, has gone before the Committee presided over by the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees, and passed through that ordeal without objection. I hope your Lordships will agree that this completely answers the objection as to individual rights. The noble Lord objects again to-night, as he did on the second reading, to the pulling down of many of the houses in Spring Gardens of old historic association. Doubtless, it is a matter of considerable regret to us all; but it is quite clear that when any great improvements of this sort are carried out, they must interfere with the existence of such buildings, and I fear it will be the same in the present case. My Lords, in connection with this it is a curious thing that the principal opposition advanced in the other House to the Bill was not that these houses were to come down, but that a number of others —Drummond's Bank, the Sun Fire Office, the Union Bank, and other private offices —were not included in the proposed purchase. I think we may safely leave these two sets of opponents to meet each other's objections. The third objection is that the Council of Architects disapprove of the Bill, because they say it will prevent a broad avenue ever being made to open up Charing Cross to the Mall. It is perfectly true, as the noble Earl (the Earl of Longford) opposite said, there is on the plan a block of buildings, intended as the residence of the First Lord of the Admiralty, which would apparently prevent such an avenue being made; but, as I have pointed out, it is not proposed to commence these buildings for some time; and, therefore, if considered desirable, it would be quite possible to make an avenue at any time during the next 10 years, before the completion of these offices. As it would now involve an outlay of £150,000, it is not thought advisable to take up the question. The road by Drummond's Bank will be widened by 60 feet, so as to allow of proper access to the new Admiralty; and the small road by the Metropolitan Board of Works will also be widened to 40 feet, so that there may be ample convenience for ordinary traffic. Thus the objections of the noble Lord can in every way be thoroughly disposed of. The idea of having this office in Spring Gardens is not a new one. Mr. Ayrton reminds me that when First Commissioner in 1872, he proposed a scheme for erecting a new War Office and Admiralty; and, though I am informed it differed in many important respects from that now before Parliament, it was certainly on the Spring Gardens site. As regards the erection, in the first instance, of the Admiralty, I wish to correct an error I fell into the other night as to what is proposed on this subject. I find the First Commissioner has, in a measure, reconsidered the matter, and proposes to first erect the block nearly facing the Park——one-half for the Admiralty, and one-half for the War Office—so that the Admiralty need not be disturbed till half their buildings are erected, and, in that way, no inconvenience will arise. The question has been thoroughly inquired into. We are approaching the end of the Session, and, as I have already said, it is of the greatest possible importance that this Bill should not be delayed. Cases have constantly occurred during the last 30 years in which, owing to the delay in purchasing sites, the value has very considerably increased, which of itself must be considered of grave moment; and I trust that in the public interest your Lordships will allow the Bill to be considered in a Committee of the Whole House.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, that, by the adoption of the scheme, the Admiralty would have to be erected first, so that the War Office—the condition of which had been so much deplored—would have to wait for a considerable time for any increased accommodation.

The Marquess of SALISBURY suggested that—inasmuch as it had been admitted that if it had been earlier in the Session it might have been a proper course to have sent the Bill to a Committee—when the question came before their Lordships next Session in a different shape, the Government ought to consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to examine all the inconveniences that had been represented to their Lordships.

On Question, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Bill *reported* without Amendment; and to be read 3^a on *Friday* next.

Lord Sudeley

NAVY—SHIPBUILDING POLICY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Viscount SIDMOUTH, who had the following Notice on the Paper:—

"To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty the number of ships of war of which it is intended to commence the construction during the present year, the thickness of armour in each case, the number and weight of guns, breech and muzzle loading, and the date at which it may be expected each ship will be completed; the number of torpedo boats, and estimated speed of each; and to move for Returns of the number and armament of ships of war in the navies of Foreign Powers, number and weight of guns carried by them, with the number of torpedo boats at the present time, and the estimated naval forces that are expected to be at the disposal of each Power at the expiration of three years from the present date,"

said, that since he had taken his seat that afternoon the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook) had sent him a note, with the terms of which he felt it impossible not to comply. The noble Earl had stated that any reference to the Navies of Foreign Powers would, perhaps, be impolitic, and had requested that such should not be made, and to this request he (Viscount Sidmouth) felt bound to accede. Although precluded from going into the subject and the condition of the Navies of Foreign Powers, he might be allowed to say that he had gone through all the documents which had come within his reach most carefully, amongst others through the exhaustive book published by a Colleague of the noble Earl at the Admiralty, Sir Thomas Brassey; and every line he had read, and all the statistics he had perused, confirmed him in his belief that the numerical strength, and, in some instances, the condition of our Navy was not such as became a maritime country like England. He did not wish to lay the smallest blame on the noble Earl, because, no doubt, he was restricted in his operations by the Treasury; but all he could say was, that if the noble Earl, with all the information which he and his Colleagues must possess, could look on the Navy, numerically speaking, and, in some respects, as regarded construction of ships, as sufficient for the safety of this country, he (Viscount Sidmouth) was perfectly astonished. He was sure, were the noble Earl and his Colleagues in his place, they would not regard the condition of the Navy as satisfactory. Let them look at what was occurring in the Mediterranean—whether it was a measure of police or a naval demonstration—he did not know what to call it, that had resulted in the blowing up of an ancient city. We had had to send every available ship to overcome a sixth-rate Power in the hands of a rebel; while we had got just three ships at home for the protection of the Channel. Supposing a great war were to break out, and we had to defend our commerce, we had only one iron-clad in America, one in Australia, and another in China, and at present only three ships, and those not of the first class, to protect the Channel. Now, he would ask any of their Lordships, whether they were acquainted with naval affairs or not, whether the country could possibly be in a safe state under such conditions? He considered it his positive duty to state these things, and he should reserve to himself the right of bringing this subject before the country, either this or next Session, in some different form, because he was satisfied, on the opinion of the highest naval authorities of the country, that the Navy of England was not now too large for the force of united Powers that might be brought against it, and a few years hence there was reason to believe that it would not only be not superior, but absolutely inferior, to the Navy of a certain Power. The *Inflexible* was our strongest ship; but other countries would soon possess vessels superior to the *Inflexible*. It should be borne in mind that our merchant ships would require protection in time of war, and, without a very powerful Fleet and a sufficient supply of torpedoes, our Mercantile Marine could not be properly protected. The *Inflexible* had taken six or eight years to build, and it was well known that no iron-clad could be completed in these days in less than three or four years. Having regard to that fact, he could not refrain from observing that our staff of Dockyard workmen was less in number by some thousands than the staff of more than one foreign country. The Navy, he contended, was not in a state to inspire confidence, and the subject to which he had drawn attention ought, consequently, to command serious consideration.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Returns of the number and armament of ships of war in the navies of Foreign Powers, number and weight of guns carried by them, with the number of torpedo boats at the present time, and the estimated naval forces that are expected to be at the disposal of each Power at the expiration of three years from the present date.—(*The Viscount Sidmouth.*)

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he would be ready at any time to give an explanation as to the shipbuilding policy of the Government; but he had certainly written to the noble Viscount a few days ago suggesting that the Motion of which he had given Notice might advantageously be withdrawn, because it referred not only to the shipbuilding policy of the Admiralty of this country, but also to the number of war ships in the Navies of other countries. The noble Viscount, he thought, had exercised a wise discretion in refraining from raising a discussion about Foreign Navies, such discussions having always been deprecated by those who had filled the office he (the Earl of Northbrook) had now the honour to fill. He altogether disputed the statement of the noble Viscount that our Navy was insufficient for the protection of the country in case of attack. The noble Viscount had omitted to take into consideration the Reserve Squadron in the Channel and the ships in the Dockyards, which were ready to be brought forward with the utmost despatch; and he could assure the House that there was no adequate foundation for the alarming statements made by the noble Viscount with regard to the present condition of the Navy. The noble Viscount had observed in the course of his remarks that the number of years in which an iron-clad could be completed was about five; and, therefore, if it were the case, as the noble Viscount contended, that this country was in a position of great peril, it was quite clear that the present Board of Admiralty could not be responsible for such a state of things. For the existing number of armour-plated ships of the newer types recently launched and completing the late Government were obviously responsible; and, therefore, if the noble Viscount should desire at a future time again to bring the subject forward, he hoped that he would give Notice of his intention to the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith), so that some of that right hon. Gentleman's friends might be present in the House to answer the noble Viscount's attacks. He could not himself be expected to explain the reason which had governed the shipbuilding policy of the Board of Admiralty preceding that over which he had the honour to preside.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, the noble Earl had the advantage of him, having precluded him from referring to the Navies of Foreign Powers. It was utterly impossible for him to make out his case under the circumstances. He did not complain of the noble Earl's administration; but unless in the future the noble Earl placed the Navy in the condition the country desired it to be placed in, the country would not be safe. All the statements he (Viscount Sidmouth) had made had been based on positive information and semi-official documents which came into his possession. So far from being incorrect, his statements, so far as they had gone, were positively true.

LORD DUNSANY said, the opinion expressed in a pamphlet written by an Admiral of the Fleet—Sir Thomas Symonds—and confirmed by a Lord of the Admiralty—Sir Thomas Brassey—was that, at the present rate of building in the two countries, the Fleet of France would by the year 1885 be superior to that of England. Since 1877 the tonnage of the French Fleet had been increased by 29,000 tons, while the British Fleet had in the same period been increased by 21,000 only. The Naval Force of 1885 would depend upon the number of ships begun in 1882, and, computed upon that basis, the French Navy of 1885 would be equal to our own. Seeing the noble Earl the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in the place usually occupied by the Foreign Secretary, he would put to him a question in regard to the coast defences at Dover. He would not ask him this question as Foreign Secretary, but in the capacity in which he probably had greater freedom and less responsibility, of Lord Warden. The French were now making two great harbours near Calais and Boulogne respectively; and he should like to know from the noble Earl whether he was still of opinion that we ought to make some corresponding defences on this side of the Channel? It was understood that the Cinque Ports used to provide ships for the Navy; but who would take charge of them if now provided he did not know. It was, however, a matter of supreme importance, there being those two great harbours, with deep water, constructed within sight of our shores, that there should be some corresponding provision made for our men-of-war on this side of the Channel.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble and gallant Lord has made an appeal to me, and he has been good enough to distinguish between my capacity as Foreign Secretary and Lord Warden. As Foreign Secretary it is impossible to answer a Question without Notice; but, speaking not as Foreign Secretary, but as Lord Warden, I may say that, whether under this or the preceding Government, I have never left them at peace upon this question. I entirely agree not only with the noble and gallant Lord, but with the opinions which have been expressed by both branches of the Service, as to the importance of developing the harbour at Dover, and the great advantage of so doing from a military, naval, and commercial point of view. I am glad to say that this day the Harbour Board, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, has been promoting a Bill in "another place" with the object of making the preliminary arrangements for improvements to Dover Harbour.

LORD ELPHINSTONE said, it was very desirable that those who took an interest in naval matters outside the Admiralty should know something of the strength of the Navies of Foreign Powers; and, therefore, the Returns asked for should be given, so that they might consider and discuss them.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY— THE SPECIAL GRANT.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON rose to ask the Lord Privy Seal, When the grant of money to the Royal Irish Constabulary proposed in the Estimates will be paid to them; what course the Government propose to take with regard to the Constabulary Bill; and to call attention to the delay which has taken place in dealing with the question? In doing so, he must complain of the wholly unnecessary delay which had taken place in regard to the question. He did not wish to embarrass the Government; but the subject was one of the greatest possible importance. In the beginning of the year it was generally felt that some compensation should be made to members of the Constabulary Forces for the extra services which they had performed. It was a long time before an item on that account was inserted on the Votes, and when he asked a Question about it he was told that the matter was before the Treasury. Five weeks later, upon asking again, he was told that in a few days the scheme would be brought forward again, and now it was still unsettled. The fact was that the sums of money which were proposed to be paid to the Constabulary had been expended out of pocket by the men in the extra charges to which they had been put by the severe duties which they had performed in the last few years. In several instances the well-earned savings of the men during many years' service had been totally eaten up by those extra expenses, and there was a considerable doubt felt by the men whether they would ever get the compensation at all. Then the officers were to receive nothing at all, which was an additional grievance. Whether the Bill had actually been laid on the Table or not he could not ascertain; but he could not find it on the printed list, which was supposed to contain all the Bills presented. He thought it was a very serious thing that such a great delay should take place. He also complained that one of the senior posts had been taken away from the Constabulary to which officers had hitherto been entitled. He contended that there ought to be some Member in the House who was well acquainted with all Irish affairs, and could give answers to such Questions. The Lord Privy Seal did not post himself up in Irish questions, and then, if his answers were complained of, the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) rose and administered a castigation to the unfortunate offender. Within the last few days a third Cabinet Minister had found himself unable to act with his Colleagues, and had resigned; and he suggested that that was a good opportunity, as the Office of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was vacant, to appoint some of those noble Lords who still were faithful to the Liberal Party, and who knew something about Ireland, to the post. The matter of which he complained was no light one. He knew that the Questions which he asked were questions which were asked in every Constabulary barrack room in Ireland. The Government must remember they were dealing with a highly-educated and intelligent class of men, and men who were assailed, unfortunately, on many sides by the newspapers which were not friends of law and order. Only that morning he saw a paper which almost exulted over the fact that so many delays had taken place in deciding what was to be done with the Irish Constabulary Vote, because it thought that they might get tired and disgusted with the Service in which they had spent their lives. That was a consummation none of them would like to see; and, under those circumstances, it was neither wise nor right to keep such a body of men on the tenter hooks simply because the Government had not found time to apply itself in earnest to a subject which was grave and pressing. That was one of the cases in which it behoved Her Majesty's Government at the present time to be wise, and also to be wise in time.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he was somewhat astonished at the violent outburst of wrath on the part of the noble Viscount, and which should have fallen upon the head of his noble Friend who represented the Treasury (Lord Thurlow), and not upon himself. He must remind the noble Lord that the question was one of time, and the Treasury were not able to concentrate their whole attention on the subject as the noble Lord was. But he (Lord Carlingford) entirely denied the justice of the statement that he was not prepared to and did not take sufficient pains to be able to answer daily Questions, provided he had reasonable Notice of them. At the present time the noble Viscount had asked him a Question about promotion in the Royal Irish Constabulary which he could not answer, simply because he had not the slightest Notice of it. If Notice had been given of that he would have been able to answer it. With respect to the matter of the Constabulary allowances and pensions, upon which there had, no doubt, been more delay than he had expected, he was happy to state that the Treasury had now agreed to the recommendations of the Irish Government, and had given their sanction to the scheme proposed. It was now merely a question of bringing in a short Constabulary Bill, which was necessary for one part of the arrangement, and which was now being prepared and would be brought in at once. The money, of course, could not be paid until the Vote had been taken, and that would be done by a Supplementary Estimate in a short time. The matter had lately been brought to a conclusion, and, he believed, a satisfactory one.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, the noble Lord might be satisfied with the plan he proposed, but the Irish Constabulary would not, after the hopes that had been held out to them, and the length of time they had been compelled to wait for the promised recognition of their services.

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 18*th July*, 1882.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.] — PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Second Reading* — Dover Harbour; Ionian Bank, *debate adjourned*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Agricultural Holdings Act (1875) Amendment * [242].

First Reading—Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment * [243].

Select Committee—Agricultural Tenants' Compensation) (Nos. 1 and 2) [26 and 80], *nominated;* Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) * [189], *nominated*.

Committee—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [213]—R.P. [*Seventh Night*].

Committee — Report — Third Reading — Medical Act (1858) Amendment * [237], and *passed*.

Third Reading—Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Finchley, &c.) * [219], and *passed*.

Withdrawn—Ancient Monuments * [207].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

BELFAST HARBOUR BILL [*Lords*].

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered."

MR. BIGGAR moved, as an Amendment—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient to grant such extensive powers to any Corporation elected on so restricted a Franchise."

He said that his main objection to the Bill had reference to the franchise under which the Harbour Commissioners held their position. That franchise was one of a most restrictive nature, and resulted in the fact that the ratepayers had no opportunity of having their voice heard; and the consequence of such a state of things was that there was great dissatisfaction on the part of the ratepayers with regard to the conduct of the affairs of the harbour. It was no part of his duty, and he did not intend, to criticize adversely the personal character or the conduct of the Commissioners in their capacity as Commissioners during the past; but, at the same time, the House would be well aware that there was always a tendency on the part of a public Board, which was not amenable to the public opinion of the ratepayers, to act in a high-handed, and, in some respects, an arbitrary manner. He would give an illustration of what took place recently, to show that the Commissioners were not entirely free from giving cause of complaint in their former doings in reference to the interests of the harbour. The Chairman of the Board of Commissioners was a very large shipbuilder, a substantial gentleman in the borough of Belfast, and partner in a large firm of shipowners, who got, from time to time, allotments of land from the Commissioners for the extension of their works. He did not intend to allege that this firm of shipbuilders had not been benefactors to the borough of Belfast, that they had not given a large amount of employment to the people, and that they had not given a fair price for the ground they had taken from the Commissioners. In point of fact, he did not know what price they had given, and he did not imagine that the ratepayers of the borough knew anything about the terms on which the land had been obtained. The fact, however, remained that the gentleman who filled the capacity of Chairman to the Harbour Commissioners was also, at the same time, the principal member of the trading firm which had large relations with the Board over which he presided, and a direct interest in obtaining concessions from that Board. It was alleged that another shipbuilding firm, which also did a large amount of business in Belfast, had not been able to obtain similar concessions. The firm in question had obtained a piece of ground from the Harbour Commissioners for the purpose of their business; but they were only able to obtain it as tenants from year to year, without having an opportunity of making a permanent lodgment in any particular place. Nevertheless, they had consented, under the circumstances of the case, to take the land they held as yearly tenants, in the hope, and in the reasonable expectation, that they would be continued as tenants from year to year for a long term of years. On the faith of that expectation they had gone to the expense of fitting up extensive shipbuilding yards, and had entered into large contracts for the building of ships in that locality. He did not allege that this new firm had come at all in conflict with the old firm; but, at the same time, their business had been steadily increasing, their demand for labour had largely increased, and, of course, their prosperity had made the business of the old firm more or less unprofitable. The result was that the new firm had been warned that in less than three years they must leave their present premises, notices having been given and powers asked for in the Bill now before the House to take the ground for the purpose of making new docks within the borough of Belfast, on the identical spot on which the works of this shipbuilding firm now stood. This fact raised more or less a doubt as to the *bona fides* of the old firm of which the principal partner was the Chairman of the Board of Commissioners. What he was prepared to allege was that there was no proper control over the expenditure of the Harbour Board, and that they were now proposing under this Bill to lay out in improvements and alterations a large sum of money which was not required to be expended at all. Part of their proposed works was, no doubt, desirable and needful, seeing that they proposed to extend and increase the channel in the Harbour of Belfast, and to make large and substantial embankments—improvements which would entitle them to the thanks of the ratepayers. But, on the other hand, they proposed to make a deep water quay some 700 yards in length, for the purpose of accommodating large ocean-going ships. This, he thought, was entirely superfluous, seeing that no ocean-going ships ever sailed from the port of Belfast. The experiment was tried some years ago of making Belfast one of the Transatlantic places of call; but it was found so much out of the way and unsuitable for the purpose that the project had been entirely given up. The Port of Larne, 20 miles from Belfast, was found to be much more suitable, both in regard to the Clyde and the Mersey, and it had been made a regular port of call for some years, not only with perfect satisfaction to all persons concerned, but with mutual advantage. A line of railway ran from Belfast to the quay at Larne, by means of which passengers and goods could be put on board at any state of the tide, and Larne was altogether a more suitable place for business of that kind than the Harbour of Belfast could ever be rendered. Vessels calling at Larne had only to go four or five miles out of their direct course, whereas it required a detour of 25 miles from their direct route if it were made necessary that they should call at Belfast. Consequently, Belfast was by no means so convenient a port of call for ocean-going steamers as the Harbour of Larne. The Harbour Commissioners also proposed by the present Bill to increase very much the floating dock accommodation and the dock accommodation generally. The cost of constructing a deep water quay was estimated by the Commissioners at £157,000, and of the floating dock accommodation at £196,000, and these were works which, he contended, were not required in the most remote degree, the present dock accommodation being ample for all of the requirements the port was likely to have for many years to come. The Harbour Commissioners also proposed to make a dry dock for the accommodation of large vessels which might require to be repaired in connection with the shipbuilding trade of Belfast. He did not argue that these large docks—or these large dry docks — might not be required for the purposes of the port; but what he did allege was that the place selected for their construction was one that was much more likely to be convenient to the firm of which the Chairman of the Harbour Commissioners was the head than to anybody else; and, indeed, that it was one which would be exceedingly inconvenient for any other firm which might desire to commence business at Belfast. Therefore, in point of fact, although he admitted that the Bill would not put money directly into the pocket of the Chairman of the Harbour Board, it consulted his convenience in all the improvements that were proposed to be made, and he would indirectly derive substantial benefit from it. It might be said that these were matters which might more properly be argued before a Private Bill Committee; but the unfortunate position of affairs was that if the ratepayers of Belfast had attempted to go before the Committee, they would have incurred a very large expense, and would have had no *locus standi* in the end to be heard in this particular case. The Town Council of Belfast were heard in their capacity as the Town Council, and the Water Commissioners were also heard, with a view to the introduction of safeguards in reference to the peculiar trusts for which they were trustees; but, in the present instance, the interests of the general body of the ratepayers were very much neglected. As a remedy for this state of things, those on whose behalf he spoke were of opinion that it was desirable that better means should exist in Belfast for the purpose of bringing a more extended public opinion to bear upon these matters, and that, therefore, the franchise should be very much enlarged. The present franchise was one of a peculiar nature, in regard to the Harbour of Belfast. It provided, in the first instance, that the Harbour Board should be elected, and then that the owners of shipping sailing from the port should have a voice in the election. The result of that regulation was that something like 150 persons had votes as the owners of shipping in the port, and the only other franchise was that possessed by the ratepayers, and which required the payment of the police rate on a tax of £4 per annum. That was a very peculiar franchise, for this reason—that it was one of a very fluctuating nature. The maximum rate for police purposes in Belfast was 2*s.* in the pound, and the consequence was that no ratepayer could vote in the election of the Harbour Commissioners unless he was rated at £40 per annum. At the present moment the local authorities were not charging the full maximum police rate; and the result was, in order to possess the franchise, it was necessary that a ratepayer should be rated at something like £50 a-year. It would, therefore, be seen that the franchise, which conferred a vote for the appointment of Harbour Commissioners, was most restricted. Indeed, the total electoral body only numbered about 700 ratepayers and 150 shipowners, or 850 in all, and that, too, out of a population of 210,000, between 6,000 and 7,000 of whom had votes for the election of the Town Council. The Harbour Commissioners had already incurred a debt of £745,000. They now proposed to borrow a sum of £900,000 more, and a very considerable portion of this amount was to be expended in the construction of dry docks and other unproductive works. The tolls that were leviable would not exceed the cost of keeping the docks in order and paying proper persons to look after them. It therefore seemed to him, considering the fact that the Harbour Commissioners only nominally represented the ratepayers, it was inexpedient to grant such extensive powers to any Corporation elected on so restricted a franchise. Clause 51 of the Bill provided that the Commissioners should, after 10 years from the passing of the Act, commence to appropriate out of the harbour revenue such a sum as would be sufficient to pay interest and form a sinking fund for the repayment of the principal within 60 years afterwards. But, seeing that the expenditure was extravagant, that it would be practically unproductive, and that the Harbour Commissioners did not really represent the ratepayers of Belfast, but only a very small portion of them, he asked the House to accept the Amendment, which he now begged to move.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient to grant such extensive powers to any Corporation elected on so restricted a Franchise,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. BAXTER said, that, as Chairman of the Select Committee which had inquired into the Bill, he did not propose to occupy the time of the House for more than a moment. The Committee went carefully into all the considerations connected with the Bill. The new docks and the proposed deepening of the harbour were fully inquired into, and, without the slightest hesitation, the Committee unanimously passed the Preamble of the Bill. There was a question as to certain rights which engaged the attention of the Committee, and in regard to which the Committee made important alterations, which were not in accordance with the views of the promoters of the Bill. He did not propose, however, to detain the House by entering into a justification of the course which the Committee pursued. Nor did he think this was a proper time for discussing the question of the franchise. No such question was brought before the Committee at all; and he might add that the provisions of the Bill had received the unanimous approval of all the public bodies of Belfast.

MR. EWART said, the proposals contained in the Bill had been fully brought before the town of Belfast. Notices were duly given before the application was made for the Bill. They attracted a great deal of attention, and received the approval of the town. No ratepayers' Petition had been presented against the proposed works. The Belfast Chamber of Commerce were consulted about it, and they came, he believed, to an unanimous conclusion in favour of the Bill. One of the principal reasons for the improvements which it was proposed to carry out was that, owing to a change in the dimensions of sea-going ships, it had been found necessary to deepen the deep water channel and the deep water quay, and to carry out various other works mentioned in the Bill, all of which had the entire approbation of the town. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) spoke of the disapprobation of the ratepayers; but he thought the House would agree with him that their dissatisfaction with the proposed works must have been very slight, seeing that they had not embodied it in a Petition. He admitted that meetings had been held in regard to the franchise, at which it was urged, no doubt on all sides, that owing to the lowering of the rating by the Town Council the suffrage for the election of the Harbour Board was higher than it had been, and everyone felt that an alteration in that respect should be made. At a meeting held on the subject of the franchise early in the year, a deputation was appointed to wait upon the Harbour Board. The Harbour Board received the deputation in the most cordial manner; and a resolution was subsequently come to by the Board, on the 21st of February, to the effect that, having regard to the local opinion and the advice the Commissioners had received, it was not desirable to take any steps in the present Harbour Bill to insert clauses for the alteration of the franchise, but that a Bill should be introduced into Parliament for that purpose early next Session. He believed that that resolution met with the approval of those who had raised the question of the suffrage, and a Bill would be brought in next Session dealing with that question. He did not think it was necessary that he should enter into the several points which had been raised by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) in regard to the dry docks and the channel. There was one point, however, which he ought to refer to—namely, the charge which had been made against the Chairman of the Harbour Board. The Chairman of the Board was a gentleman of great eminence, and the principal proprietor of the shipbuilding firm which turned out the "White Star" Line of vessels. Mr. Harland, as well as being Chairman of the Harbour Board, was lessee of land under the Harbour Commissioners; but Mr. Harland only obtained possession of the land in consequence of being the highest and best bidder for it by tender; and he (Mr. Ewart) was satisfied that any charge of double dealing or unfairness against the Commissioners would, in consequence, be deprecated by that House. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) made another charge in connection with another firm of shipbuilders who had set their minds upon a piece of ground on the town side of the river, which was intended by the Bill to be utilized as a deep water quay. Now, the real fact was that the firm in question took that ground with the full knowledge that they would probably be required to remove from it. When these improvements were made there would be abundant space reserved for shipbuilding purposes; and any gentlemen who established themselves upon the new site would probably be in a position to remain very long in occupation of it. The ground reserved for shipbuilding purposes was exceedingly commodious, but on the other side of the river. He did not think there was any other point it was desirable he should mention, and he would not further occupy the time of the House.

Mr. NELSON said, that there was no assumption on his part when he said this—that he believed he knew as much of the feeling of Belfast as the hon. Member who had just addressed the House; and it was a sufficient answer, in the view of the people of Belfast, to say to the hon. Member—"You are a member of that Board." They understood each other in Belfast considerably better than any hon. Member in that House could enable the House to understand their movements. It would be neither instructive nor edifying to make the House acquainted with the gyrations—with the Creton labyrinth movements which characterized the rather famous people of that active town. And they all knew—for it was almost known to the Three Kingdoms—that the people of Belfast were particularly active when the weather was warm, and that not even the cooling breezes introduced by the generous patriotism of the Harbour Board could cool or modify the zeal of that people. They were going on on the same cruise of fanatical inactivity as in time past; and until that House did something effective to put an end to the successful manœuvres of adventurers, they would never do much, either for the prosperity or the morality of Ireland. It was easy to assume patriotism. It was very easy to talk of giving employment to the multitude; but there was a more terrible reality behind all this talk. They were moving in the direction of hissing at each others' charities. If he were obliged to go into the question and give a history, those persons would not rejoice who had urged him on to do it. He had heard the statement of the hon. Member who had just sat down—that if the people of Belfast were hostile to the Bill they would have moved in some direction. Why, in February last a Motion was carried, in this very same Harbour Board, that in the very next Bill they would bring forward they would reduce the franchise to £10. Had they done that? The hon. Member above the Gangway (Mr. Ewart) spoke as if nothing was sought but the prosperity of Belfast, the progress of its power, and the success of its trade. He would not be tempted even into touching its sores. Out of a population of more than 200,000, there were only some 600 or 700 who possessed a £40 franchise and were able to vote in the election of Harbour Commissioners; and many of those were prepared for the day of voting. A franchise of such a description spoke for itself. He would press the subject no further at that moment than simply to say to the Board—"Carry out your own measure. Give effect to your own promise in February last that you would reduce the franchise in Belfast for the election of the Harbour Board to £10, and we will allow you to get this £900,000." No doubt it was a big sum for a poor country like Ireland, and it was asked for at a time when every man professed to pose as the defender of the pockets of the multitude. He had heard in that House lately a great deal of talk about the English or British taxpayers; and he hoped it would be borne in mind that if the people of Ireland had, as he trusted they soon would have, the liberty and the power of collecting and applying their own taxes, £900,000 would not be given to the Belfast Harbour Commissioners. If the Harbour Board only carried out their own pledge in February last to reduce the franchise to £10, so as to embrace a reasonable number of the population of 200,000, he would say to them—"Go on and get the ocean steamers as soon as you can." He would rejoice at any time in the prosperity of Belfast; but he did not rejoice in the fanaticism and Party spirit and tyranny by which the best emotions of the people were poisoned, and by which the people themselves were kept in a state of constant hostility to one another.

Mr. GRAY said, he was of opinion that if the House were disposed to give a dispassionate consideration to the question, they would deem it requisite to have some stronger arguments in support of the action of the Belfast Commissioners than those which had been put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of the Select Committee (Mr. Baxter), and the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Ewart). The right hon. Chairman of the Committee contented himself with saying that the questions raised with so much ability by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had not been brought before the Committee. His hon. Friend the Member for Cavan had explained why they had not been brought before the Committee. The Town Council were represented before the Committee; and, being represented, those of the ratepayers who took a different view were not permitted to be represented. It was totally impossible for those who dissented from the gigantic scheme brought forward by the Harbour Commissioners to have their views laid before the Committee. It was impossible, owing to the Standing Orders of the House, to bring such questions before the Select Committee; and it was, therefore, only natural that the Committee should have passed the Bill without giving them any consideration. Therefore, if there was any weight to be attached to the arguments of the hon. Member for Cavan, those arguments were not to be met by the assertion that the Select Committee did not hear them, because, not having been able to hear them, they had been unable to take them into consideration. This reform in regard to the franchise was loudly asked for, and the Harbour Board recognized the necessity for its introduction at some future period—they said next year. What was it that the Harbour Board said? They said—"Give us all the powers we want, give us this £900,000, which will enable us to incur all this expenditure—much of which is alleged to be extravagant and unnecessary, and some of it improper—give us all these powers and enable us to make our contracts, and then, next year, when there is nothing to decide, we will introduce this new franchise." That was a proposal which did not recommend itself to the hard common sense of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). They ought to have the new franchise first, so that they might enable the decision as to the expenditure to be arrived at by those who ought to decide the question, rather than give to a self-condemned body the entire power of committing the public to the whole of the expenditure. Was the House in the habit of adopting such a course as that in connection with its own affairs? If a Reform Bill or an extension of the franchise was acknowledged to be desirable did it proceed with the important work of legislation, or leave it to its successors to carry out? When once an important change was decided upon the work of important legislation was left, so that the new constituencies should have an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it. The hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Ewart) proposed a course that was exactly the reverse, and urged upon the House now to sanction the expenditure involved in the passing of the Bill, leaving the new franchise to come into operation afterwards. Some of the improvements proposed by the Bill might be desirable; but it was alleged that a large portion of the contemplated expenditure was unnecessary, and was likely to be unproductive. Indeed, it was said that some of it would be incurred from corrupt motives, and that gentlemen who were on the Harbour Board and the individual firms with which they were connected would derive substantial benefit from the change, while other firms would, on the contrary, be injured by it. It was also acknowledged by the Harbour Board themselves that they required reform. They were not a representative body in the true sense of the word, and, therefore, they should not be intrusted with this large expenditure. If the expenditure were incurred it involved a proposal to levy a tax upon the whole of Ulster. ["No, no!"] Certainly, some persons must pay the interest of this loan. It would be paid by the harbour dues, and who was it who paid harbour dues? The consumers of the produce brought into the port. It was, therefore, proposed that a constituency of 750 ratepayers of Belfast, plus 150 traders directly interested in the matter, should levy a tax indirectly upon the whole of the consumers of the Province of Ulster, by means of a Board which acknowledged itself not to be representative, but to require substantial reform. In view of the fact that the ratepayers of Belfast had been unable to represent their case before the Select Committee, that they were shut out, and could have no *locus standi*, he thought there should be some arguments in support of the specific proposals contained in the Bill before the House was induced to accept it, and that a mere assertion on behalf of the Select Committee that they had carefully considered its provisions should be regarded as of little value, Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, that the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), in moving his Amendment, was entirely within his right; but the effect of the Amendment, if carried, would be to defeat the Bill. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. Nelson), and the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) all admitted that there were points in the Bill which were of great importance, and which would carry out considerable improvements in the port of Belfast. The Bill had already been before a Select Committee as a Private Bill, and the Committee had inquired into the subject with the greatest care. He thought it was the duty of the House to support the decision of that Committee, and not to re-open the consideration of the merits of the Bill, especially when the opposition was directed not so much against the merits of the Bill as to the fact that there was a very high franchise connected with the voters under the Bill. He could only point out that under the Standing Orders of the House it would have been impossible, in this Bill, to alter that franchise. He agreed with hon. Members opposite that a franchise of £40 was absurdly high. But under Standing Order No. 3, no proposal affecting the rights or privileges of the people of any borough could be introduced to the House without a great many preliminary notices and advertisements showing that such privileges and rights were about to be affected. Although the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was quite in Order at the present moment in moving his Amendment, yet, if he succeeded in obtaining an affirmative to his proposition, it was his (Mr. Lyon Playfair's) duty to point out that the Resolution he submitted was inconsistent with the Standing Orders, and could not be adopted without defeating the Bill. Therefore, the issue before the House was a false issue. They could not alter the franchise of the ratepayers of Belfast by the present Bill without proper notices, which had not in this case been given. In order to accomplish that object it would be necessary to take measures in another Bill. The only matter before the House was whether they ought to support the decision of the Committee, who had carefully looked into the whole question, especially when, even on the hon. Member's own showing, the Bill contained many provisions which would necessarily tend to promote the welfare of the town and people of Belfast. He hoped, therefore, that the House would support the Bill and refuse to accept the Amendment.

Mr. SEXTON said, he was glad to hear the Chairman of Committees admit that his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had acted within his right. It was quite clear that his hon. Friend could not have taken any other course in regard to this important Bill than the one which he had taken. Reference had been made to the ratepayers of Belfast, and the Chairman of the Select Committee (Mr. Baxter) stated that the Bill had been sufficiently and amply inquired into. But the ratepayers of Belfast had no *locus standi* before the Committee. They had been practically dumb, so far as the proceedings in that House were concerned; and, therefore, it did not lie in the mouth of the right hon. Gentleman to say that the ratepayers of Belfast had done something which they had not done. In fact, the ratepayers had done everything which it was open for them to do. They held a public meeting, at which they vigorously protested against the continuance of the Belfast Harbour Commission. In consequence of that meeting the Harbour Board took a delusive action. They admitted that the existing franchise was not satisfactory, and they held out a hope, which might hereafter prove illusory, that the franchise might be lowered. He might mention, in view of the past action of the Harbour Board, that it had unhappily maintained its expenditure at a higher level than its income; and in view of the corruption almost necessarily incident to the administration of large sums of money by a close body of this description, it was desirable to take fair security before granting these gentlemen further powers. Suppose this Bill were now passed, what security would they have that a Bill to reform the franchise would be introduced next year, or, if a Bill were introduced, what security had they that the reform proposed would be adequate to the need? He was opposed to the principle of passing a Bill of this kind, leaving it to the discretion of a small body to say what proposals hereafter should be made. The Chairman of Ways and Means said that the utility of the proposed works was not called in question. He (Mr. Sexton) was informed that not only was one of the proposals contained in the Bill of questionable utility or urgency—namely, the proposal to construct a dry dock, but he was also told that the project for the construction of a dry dock could wait. It was an enormous sum of money—£900,000—the expenditure of which they were asked to intrust to a body of 15 gentlemen, the greater part, if not all of them, having a personal commercial interest in the expenditure of the money, and elected by 750 ratepayers out of a population of more than 200,000. These were circumstances which should induce the House to proceed with caution, especially when they considered, as his hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had justly pointed out, that the borrowing of this sum of £900,000 would occasion a long-continued charge upon the industry and enterprize of Ulster. He thought it was a very vicious principle to allow a body so constituted to administer so very large a sum of money. If there was anything which could possibly approach the definition of corruption in a public matter, it was the proposal to pass this Bill without any clauses in it, or in any accompanying Bill, giving the population of Belfast and of Ulster adequate security for the proper administration of the money. If his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) proceeded to a division, he should feel it his duty to support him.

MR. MULHOLLAND said, that what the hon. Member stated was quite correct—namely, that there was some dissatisfaction in Belfast as to the state of the franchise; but there was no dissatisfaction in that borough in regard to the details of this Bill. It was quite true that the ratepayers of Belfast could not appear before the Select Committee in opposition to the provisions of the Bill; but if they had not been satisfied with them, they had a right to petition, and they could have done so. He had never heard the slightest objection made against the proposals of the Bill by any persons competent to form an opinion upon them; and surely the merchants and shipowners of Belfast must be better judges of what was for their advantage than the hon. Members who had spoken against the Bill. He was not alluding to the hon. Member who brought forward the Amendment, because he had opportunities of forming an opinion, but to some other Members who had only spoken from hearsay. It was quite true that the franchise was a restricted one; but it must be remembered that the Harbour Board had no power of imposing rates on the ratepayers. Their income arose from dues, and was paid by the trade of Belfast, conducted under their auspices. Although the expenditure appeared at this moment to be large, the trade and commerce of the town were rapidly overtaking it; and the prosperity of the town of Belfast was very much due to the action and judgment of the Harbour Board. Anyone who could remember the Port of Belfast, as he did, 40 years ago, when vessels could only approach at high water, and there was only a small depth of water up to the quay, and when there were no floating docks, would be astonished at the progress which had since been made. He thought that fact showed that the Administration under which the progress had been made had not been an unwise one. He believed the present proposals were fully warranted by the prospects of the town. They were all supported by those who were interested in the mercantile and shipping prosperity of the town, who were represented in the town by the Harbour Commissioners. Without an exception the local authorities of the town were in favour of the Bill; and after the speech they had had from the right hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter), who acted as Chairman of the Committee, and who had full opportunity of forming a judgment as to the details of the Bill, he hoped the House would not reverse the decision arrived at by the Select Committee.

MR. DALY said, that the Bill proposed no alteration of the franchise in regard to those who were to bear the burden of the expenditure. The hon. Member who had just sat down made rather a curious distinction in regard to the Harbour Board. The hon. Member said they had no power to impose rates. He was surprised to hear that statement, seeing that the 42nd, 43rd, and 44th sections of the Bill gave them power to alter the rates on goods, the rates as to timber, &c., and the graving dock rates. He confessed that the distinction between having power by direct tax to levy so much in the pound, and the power of putting a tax on goods, was to him a distinction without a difference. On the one hand the people would be perfectly aware, when a tax was imposed by the Town Council of so much in the pound, what they had to pay; but under this Bill the proportion of taxation which the people would have to bear would be considerably increased, without their being aware of the exact amount of the increase. He had always understood that the policy of that House was to require that the persons who had to bear the burden should have the right of choosing the persons who were to impose it. It was the duty of the House to say to the promoters of the Bill—"You acknowledge that 750 ratepayers and 150 shipowners electing a Board of 15 persons are not a fair representation of the people of Belfast. You come to us for extraordinary powers to impose taxation on the people of Belfast, and before we grant you the powers you ask, which mean the placing of an additional burden on the consumers of produce, we require you to make the franchise a fair and a proper one." He considered that a more evil principle could not be introduced by the House of Commons than the principle of imposing a burden on people who had no right to protest against it. The ratepayers had had no opportunity of protesting against it in this case. They had no *locus standi* to appear against the Bill; and, nevertheless, it was provided by the last clause in the Bill that—

> "All the costs, charges, and expenses preliminary to and of, and incident to the preparing, applying for, obtaining, and passing of this Act, or otherwise in relation thereto, shall be paid by the Commissioners out of the Harbour Revenues, or out of money to be borrowed under the powers of this Act."

He would put himself in the position, not even of a trader of Belfast, but of a trader of the town of which Belfast was a portion; and he would ask how it was possible, however much he felt aggrieved, that he could take action against a powerful Corporation such as the promoters of this Bill, when, if he were defeated, all the costs were to be paid out of his own pocket? What he wished to call attention to was this—that it was unfair to the people of Belfast, that it was unfair, as had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), to the people of Ulster, that the House should allow a body, who were the nominees of a small portion of the inhabitants only, to impose a burden of nearly £1,000,000 upon the people of Belfast and of Ulster.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he had known Belfast for 35 years, and he knew it was the one town in Ireland which had thriven and made advance almost equal to that of an American city, and that its progress was almost entirely due to the sensible and spirited manner in which its docks and harbours had been managed. And now hon. Gentlemen who represented—what should he say?—a number of decaying towns—[Mr. Daly: No, no!]—were anxious to retard its further progress. The reason the commerce of these decaying towns was in a declining state was the perpetual introduction of debates of this kind, which had nothing to do with the practical development of the resources of the country. He trusted the House of Commons would not assist hon. Members opposite in their desire to have a share in the handling of the money required for the further development of Belfast. He hoped the House would not assist them in throwing their blighting influence over it.

Mr. HEALY said, it was astonishing that the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) could not rise to address himself to any subject before the House, either small or great, without importing into the discussion some of his own venom. The hon. Member talked of decaying towns and declining prosperity, evidently seeing, in advance, that his own departure from the House was rapidly approaching, and knowing that his time there was very short. Probably it was for that very reason the hon. Member availed himself of the opportunity of directing all his malice against hon. Members in that quarter of the House with the full knowledge that the next General Election would send him to a place where he would not be so distinguished. That House had been engaged for many weeks in discussing the course of procedure in regard to the Public Business of the House; but it would appear to him, from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter), that the manner in which the Private Business of the House was conducted rendered it equally necessary that there should be some reform in the course of procedure. It appeared to him that the way in which Select Committees upstairs did their work in regard to Private Bills made it absolutely necessary that the conclusions they arrived at should be canvassed in the House itself. The right hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter) told the House that the Committee did not consider it necessary to go into the question of the franchise; but they were willing that 15 gentlemen, nominated by 900 persons out of 250,000 people, should have the handling of no less a sum than £900,000. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) held up Belfast as a model of progress to all the other towns in Ireland. The Port of Dublin would bear favourable comparison with that of Belfast; and the Port of Cork and others had increased at a far higher ratio. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), with the peculiar acquaintance with Ireland he so often displayed, and which he (Mr. Healy) believed to have been obtained through the City of Manchester, came down to the House and told the Irish Members that if they had the management of Belfast it would fall into decay like every other Irish town. Now, as this was particularly an Irish question, and could not affect the general interests of the nation, he would ask the English Government to leave the matter in the hands of the Irish Members, even including the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). He would ask the House if it was fair that a number of English Gentlemen should interfere with the Irish Members in the decision of a question which was peculiarly an Irish and a local one? It was not sufficient for the right hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter) to tell them that the proposals contained in the Bill had been decided by a Select Committee upstairs. That Committee knew nothing about the matter, because the persons who were really interested in the question were never heard before them at all; and as to Petitions, the people of Ireland were much better employed than in sending Petitions to that House, where they were never regarded or considered. All that was done with public Petitions was to put them into a bag, and what was done with Petitions affecting Private Bills he was not in a position to say. The presentation of Petitions in that House was simply a farce, and it was the knowledge of that fact which prevented the people of Ireland from sending up Petitions. He asked the House to consider the Bill on its merits. Was it desirable to give a close Corporation of 15 persons the power of handling £900,000, when they were only elected by 900 persons out of a population of 250,000?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he knew very little of the Bill, and nothing whatever of the people of Belfast; but the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was a very strong one—that the House should consider on which side the majority of Irish Members would vote, and should vote with that majority. As far as he could make out, there was an undoubted majority of Irish Members against the Bill. That being so, without troubling himself as to its merits, he, as an English Member, knowing very little about the Bill itself, should vote with the majority of the Irish Members in favour of the Amendment.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he could not but feel that the principle enunciated by his hon. Friend below the Gangway, if adopted at all, should be carried a little further. The hon. Member for Northampton accepted the Irish Members as authorities on this subject; but why should not both he and they defer in turn to the superior knowledge of the Members representing and connected with Belfast. It appeared to him absolutely clear that those who represented the interests of Belfast in that House were strongly in favour of the Bill. Under these circumstances, and considering, also, that the Bill had been fully considered by a Committee upstairs, he should certainly support the Bill.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that if the recommendation of the President of the Board of Trade were carried out, and everybody refrained from going into the Lobby except those who were interested in the question, the defects of the close Corporation of Belfast would find very few supporters indeed. This Bill did not deal really with the interests of the 15 members of the Harbour Commission, but with the interests of Belfast, of Ulster, and the whole of Ireland; and it was the Representatives of Ulster and the whole of Ireland who should be called upon to deal with the question. He thought the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had placed before the House a conclusive reason why they should vote in favour of the Amendment. The Bill was opposed by the majority of the Irish Members, and there should be no other reason required to induce the House to reject the Bill.

Dr. LYONS said, he should certainly, as an Irish Member, support the Bill, and he regretted that two entirely different issues were sought to be mixed up in the debate which had been raised. He believed that the state of the franchise in regard to the elections to the Board in question, as to the municipal representation of Belfast, required urgent reform; but he entirely failed to see what that had to do with the question mainly involved in the Bill before them. It was impossible to bring a question of industrial or municipal representation before a Committee simply appointed to inquire into the merits of a Private Bill like this. He regretted very much that the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), in the observations he had made, should have thought fit to attack other Irish cities, such as Dublin, Cork, and Limerick; and he could only say, in answer to the charge of the hon. Member, that there were many respects in which the cities in Ireland referred to had made continued advance during the last 40 years. He trusted that, instead of endeavouring to create unwisely an ill-feeling against the ancient cities of Ireland, that—politics apart—Irishmen would at all times be ready to support the local interests of all parts of the country without mixing up other questions with them. No one was a stronger advocate for the extension of the franchise in Ireland—industrial, municipal, and Parliamentary—than he was himself; but it would only have the effect of bringing about an opposition to the extension of every form of the franchise if they endeavoured indirectly, by a side-wind, to interfere with it in dealing with the great commercial operations of a town such as Belfast, the admirable management of which hitherto had been a source of pride to all Irishmen, and certainly to himself.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, that, as a Member for an Ulster constituency and a native of Belfast, and as one who had been all his life connected with that constituency, he wished to say a few words in reference to the Bill. The Harbour Board was a body of which everybody connected with the community of Belfast was proud. It was a body which had discharged its duty in a manner which had been the admiration of all persons acquainted with it. The improvement of the port under the auspices of the Harbour Board was one of those things which had been pleasant to contemplate in the existing state of Irish affairs. The present Bill had been introduced into the House of Lords, and in the first instance it was opposed by the Corporation of Belfast on account of certain matters in which the interests of the Corporation were concerned. A clause was introduced into the Bill to guard those interests, and the Corporation of Belfast were satisfied. The Bill had now received the approval of every public body and every public interest connected with the borough of Belfast. It had passed Committees both of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, and it had now reached its last stage before passing a third reading and receiving the Royal Assent. The only objection to it was, he understood, that the franchise of the electors of the Harbour Board was unsatisfactory. The answer to that was, that this Bill did not deal with that question at all. It would be out of Order to deal with it in this Bill. The Harbour Board, in the month of February last, passed a resolution binding themselves to introduce, on the earliest opportunity, a Bill for the lowering of the franchise. The Harbour Board were bound by that resolution; but it was not a matter which could in any way affect the merits of the present application. This was not an application to put any public money into the hands of the Harbour Commissioners. It would only enable them to borrow money, and it was not the attack upon the public purse which it had been represented to be by hon. Members opposite. It was a Bill which would have the effect of helping and furthering the development of the trade of Belfast. It would be, therefore, an unusual and unheard-of thing, if the Bill were now rejected. In regard to what had been stated in reference to the Committee and local interests, it might possibly be suggested that the opposition to the Bill had been stimulated to a certain extent by a feeling against other local interests which might come before the House at a later portion of the day.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 193; Noes 26: Majority 167.—(Div. List, No. 274.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered;* to be read the third time.

DOVER HARBOUR BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. FRESHFIELD, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he felt the House would not tolerate him in addressing them at any great length on the subject of this Bill, nor should he excuse himself if he wasted a moment of the time of the House in any unnecessary observations. He felt it, however, somewhat difficult to determine exactly to what amount of statement he should confine himself. The only Petition against this Bill had been withdrawn, and the hon. and learned Member for Southwark (Mr. Cohen) had waived his opposition. The hon. and learned Gentleman's Colleague (Mr. Thorold Rogers), however, had put a Motion on the Paper stating some objection to the Bill. One of the grounds of his opposition had been supported by the authorities of the House, who had directed the withdrawal of the clause which proposed to transfer the Harbour Works at Dover to the Harbour Board. As to the other objection which he (Mr. Thorold Rogers) raised—namely, that to the constitution of the Harbour Board—he (Mr. Freshfield) believed the hon. Member had been satisfied that the Board to which the Harbour was transferred in 1865 was a Board constituted by Act of Parliament, especially with a view to receive the charge of the Harbour Works, and it was acting in that capacity already. But the hon. Member's reference to the lateness of the period at which this Bill was brought forward seemed to require some notice. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) also had a Notice of opposition on the Paper. That hon. and gallant Gentleman was a severe critic upon measures of this sort. He (Mr. Freshfield) did not quite understand his objections; but he feared that he should not be able to remove them. He did not, however, think that his hon. and gallant Friend would divide the House upon the subject on the second reading. Upon the whole, he thought it would be his duty to offer a short statement upon the measure and its history. Perhaps he might content himself with stating that the scheme contained in the Bill was practically identical with the design contemplated in the Bill brought forward by the Harbour Board in 1874, and the Government in 1875. But the House might expect a little further information from him upon the proceedings which had taken place on this subject. Now, the first measures to which he need refer took place in 1836 and 1839, when, firstly, a Select Committee, and, secondly, a Royal Commission, were appointed to take evidence on the general question of harbours of refuge on the South Coast. These authorities recommended a harbour in the neighbourhood of Dover. In 1843 a Select Committee of this House was appointed "to inquire into the subject of shipwrecks." The proceedings of that Committee were important, because the Duke of Wellington, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, gave evidence on the subject. To that evidence he should like to refer, but considerations of time did not permit it; and he would, therefore, only give a single answer of His Grace to the question put to him, whether it was not expedient to construct a harbour of refuge between Portsmouth and the Downs. His Grace's answer was—"I think it is so desirable, as to be, in fact, absolutely necessary." In 1844 Sir Robert Peel, as First Lord of the Treasury, followed up the proceedings of that Committee, and, by a Treasury Minute, recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission to enable, as he stated, Her Majesty's Government to form a final and satisfactory judgment, and to inquire into the most eligible site for a harbour of refuge in the Channel. Firstly, where it should be easy of access; secondly, where it should form a station for armed vessels for the purpose of offence and defence; and, thirdly, be capable of its own defence. The Report of that Commission, dated the 7th of August, 1844, gave preference to Dover as the place which, "with a harbour of refuge, would establish a military and naval station." Sir Robert Peel, who never did things by halves, referred that Report to the Departments, with a view to the preparation of designs and plans. The question was accordingly submitted to officers of both Services, and to civil engineers, including Mr. James Walker and Mr. Rennie. They recommended the formation of a harbour at Dover, which should inclose about 520 acres of water, and they recommended that the eastern pier, now known as the Admiralty Pier, should be commenced forthwith. Accordingly, in 1847, the Admiralty Pier was commenced. In the years 1861 and 1865 two Acts of Parliament were passed in reference to the general subject, the one abolishing the passing tolls, and the other vesting the Dover Harbour with others in the Board of Trade. The Admiralty Pier took many years to construct; but as it progressed it was found to be of great advantage in facilitating the postal and other communications with the Continent. Being, however, a single arm running south, it was only partially effective for the purposes proposed, the shipping using it being open to winds from the east and from the west. Before the year 1873 the Admiralty Pier was substantially completed, and a correspondence then ensued between the Government and the Harbour Board, which resulted in the Government determining to complete the eastern pier with the breakwater, and thus to form an inclosed harbour, and a Vote was taken in that House for a grant of £10,000 on account of preliminary expenditure. In the year 1874, the Harbour Board brought in a Bill for completing the harbour on this principle. By the arrangement then made, the Government was to provide a considerable proportion of the funds necessary for the works, and the Harbour Board took power in the Bill to levy tolls and dues. At this time the Government of Mr. Gladstone had been superseded by the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, and when the Bill of the Harbour Board had passed certain stages, the Government requested them to withdraw their Bill on an understanding that they themselves would take up the scheme. The Harbour Board had, of course, no other object in view but the construction of the Pier, and on payment of their expenses by the Government they withdrew their Bill. In the following year, 1875, in pursuance of this understanding, the Government introduced a Bill for the purpose of undertaking the works which were substantially identical with those proposed in the Bill of the Harbour Board. This Bill, on being read a second time, was referred to a Select Committee, who were specially instructed to report on the advantages that the proposed harbour would afford to the defences of the country, and for the purpose of refuge and Channel communication. The Committee was very ably and influentially composed, numerous witnesses were examined under it, among the rest the Duke of Cambridge, Colonel Nugent, Colonel Collinson, Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, Sir John Hawkshaw, and Mr. W. H. Smith, then First Lord of the Admiralty. That Committee made its Report on the 1st June, 1875. He would like much to read the Report, but it would take too much time. He would content himself with saying that the Report was entirely in favour of the scheme originally proposed by the Harbour Board, and subsequently taken up by the Government for the completion of the harbour at Dover, both on strategical and on general grounds. The Government having received the Report, however, did not proceed with the Bill; and in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords Questions were put to the Government as to their intentions in regard to it. In the House of Commons, in answer to a Question put by him (Mr. Freshfield) on the 13th July 1875, the Government stated, through the present Lord Norton (then Sir Charles Adderley), President of the Board of Trade, that, in consequence of the works they had in hand, the Government were unable to proceed with the Bill that Session, and a like answer was given by the Duke of Richmond to Lord Granville in the House of Lords. Subsequently, Questions were put to the Government by himself to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote), the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, which were answered in a similar strain; and the result was that, in consequence of the expenditure of the country in foreign wars and other complications, no further proceedings were taken during the Government of Lord Beaconsfield. In 1880 the present Government, as the House knew, came into Office; but, as was well known to the House, its time had been so exclusively occupied by Irish affairs that no attention could be given to such a subject as a harbour at Dover. Towards the latter end of last year, however, it was understood that the works at Portland, which had been carried on for many years by convicts to the number of some 2,000, had nearly come to a close, and it would be necessary to find employment for these convicts. In that state of things the Harbour Board and the Corporation of Dover put themselves in communication with the Government, who appointed a Committee to consider the subject. The proposal, on the part of Dover, to employ these convicts on the harbour works was considered with others, and within the last few weeks it was understood that the Government were favourable to this appropriation of convict labour. During the interval since the withdrawal of the Government Bill, works had been in progress at Calais for the completion of a deep-water harbour there. The two Railway Companies—the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, and the South-Eastern Railway Company—who had been opponents of the original scheme, had, in consequence of these works, and on other grounds, come to the conclusion to build and employ larger vessels, and within the last few weeks these two Railway Companies had come to an understanding with the Harbour Board. The matter, therefore, at the present time, stood thus. The Dover Harbour Board had power to raise £500,000. The Railway Companies had agreed to find £150,000 each towards the construction of the harbour. The cost of the harbour was estimated at about the sum of £800,000. The funds, therefore, were forthcoming without any assistance from the Government, and it was in that state of circumstances that this Bill was brought in, all parties considering that no further time should be lost in completing the scheme. The deep-water harbour at Calais was expected to be completed in about two years. It was felt that there ought not to be any delay in carrying out the corresponding works at Dover. It was felt —and he hoped the House would feel— that the opportunity had now come for completing a scheme which had been under consideration for so many years, and which the changes in the circumstances had rendered so increasingly urgent. The harbour contemplated under the Government of the present Prime Minister, and subsequently taken up by the Government of the late Lord Beaconsfield, and recommended by so many authorities after so many inquiries, could now be undertaken without drawing the purse-strings of the country. He could not believe that the House would offer any opposition to the proposal. He had said that the opposition of the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) was not withdrawn; but he could not help hoping that he would not persevere with it after the explanation he (Mr. Freshfield) had given of the circumstances under which this Bill was now brought forward; and with regard to his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour), though he was firm and uncompromising in any position which he took up, he did not think that he would be disposed to divide the House against the Bill. With those few observations he begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Freshfield.*)

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR, in moving the Amendment of which he had given Notice, said, in 1875 this Bill was brought forward, having been mooted in the House of Commons in 1873. The Government, in that year, moved a grant of £10,000, which was passed in the hours of 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning. On the Report, his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) moved its rejection, and, on the division, it was only carried by a majority of 1. If the facts had been fully known, the vote given by himself would have been in opposition and the grant refused. That narrow majority, however, deterred the Government of that day from proceeding with the measure. The Government that succeeded thought it necessary to proceed with the measure, and in 1875 the House of

Commons, on his Motion, came to a Resolution to refer the Bill to a Hybrid Committee. The hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Freshfield) had, in a brief form, narrated the circumstances connected with the proposal to construct this harbour. His hon. Friend had said that various inquiries had been held in reference to the Dover Harbour; and he (General Sir George Balfour), in a draft Report which he drew up for the Committee in 1875, detailed the inquiries which had been held on the subject. He enumerated no less than nine or ten inquiries within the last 50 years as to whether there should be a harbour in the neighbourhood of Dover; and the 1875 Committee practically rejected the Bill for this Dover Harbour, by criticizing and indicating such serious defects in the plan and estimate as to render the proposal useless. Whilst admitting with his hon. Friend that it was of great importance that a harbour should be constructed somewhere between Portsmouth and the Downs, he denied that Dover was the best spot. He agreed with many high authorities that Dungeness would be a better site for a harbour, because at this point there was a fine bay and a much more extended area. He doubted very much whether such a harbour as was contemplated could be constructed for the sum of money suggested. Indeed, he believed that five times the sum and five times the area would be wholly insufficient for forming a harbour fit for the general and extended use needed.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is not desirable to proceed with this Private Harbour Bill until Government have made known their final decision,—about the formation in Dover Bay of the long contemplated Public, Military, and Naval Harbour,—as to their intentions about granting, in aid of the proposed private work, money grants, loans, subsidies, and tolls,—the use of convict labour, materials, lands, shores, and the use of the Admiralty Pier; also, to what inquiry the proposed work will be subjected, as to the sufficiency of the named capital and works to form and complete a private harbour which will fulfil the conditions set forth in the Petition of the promoters of this undertaking,"—(*General Sir George Balfour,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

General Sir George Balfour

MAJOR DICKSON said, if the hon. and gallant Gentleman had opposed the Bill on account of the grant of public money he could have understood his opposition; but, as it was, he was at a loss to understand why the hon. and gallant Gentleman wished to prevent Dover having a harbour which the people thought was necessary for the prosperity of their town. He could assure the House that a large majority—indeed, the whole of the inhabitants of Dover—were anxious to have this harbour constructed; and they hailed with pleasure the fact that now, for the first time, the Harbour Board and the two Railway Companies were unanimous in their desire and determination to carry the work out if possible. He therefore hoped the House of Commons would not stand between Dover and the object desired simply because a Gentleman from Scotland thought proper to state that the harbour could not be constructed for the sum of money which was mentioned in the Bill. His hon. and gallant Friend belonged to a Profession more suited to destroy than to build up; and while he had said the sum of money mentioned in the Bill was totally inadequate for the purpose proposed, he had not backed his opinion by one single argument. He (Major Dickson) might inform the House that the promoters of the Bill were advised by many most able members of the Engineering Profession that it was perfectly practicable to construct a harbour such as was contemplated for the sum mentioned. He trusted the House would assent to the second reading of the Bill.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he had on the Paper the following Amendment:—

> "That, considering the large amount of public money (£734,388) expended on Dover Harbour between the years 1848 and 1875, and that a Private Bill, entitled the Dover Harbour Bill, has been brought very late in the Session into this House, which Bill proposes to vest the Admiralty Pier at Dover in the Harbour Board of that port, it is inexpedient to proceed with this Bill at so late a period of the Session, especially considering the constitution of the Harbour Board."

When he looked through the Bill he found it contained a proposition that the Admiralty Pier, on which he believed something like £1,000,000 of public money had been spent, should be handed over to the Dover Harbour

Board; and that was originally the ground on which he objected to the Bill. He had been informed privately, and also publicly, by the hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Freshfield), who introduced the Bill, that this proposition had been withdrawn; but he submitted it was a considerable wrong to independent Members of the House that private arrangements should be made between the promoters of Bills and public bodies as to the withdrawal of portions of Bills. If hon. Members took the trouble to go through Bills, it was but reasonable that Notice should be put on the Paper if any particular portions of the Bill were withdrawn. He admitted that he thought the withdrawal of the clause in this Bill respecting the Admiralty Pier had removed his objection; but when he looked more minutely into the Bill he found his objection was not entirely removed. He found that Dover Harbour had been the subject of 20 or more Acts which had been carried through that House as Public Acts. These Acts dated as far back as the Reign of George IV.; and now this ancient harbour was to be handed over to three private Companies—the Harbour Board, the South-Eastern Railway Company, and the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company.

Mr. FRESHFIELD said, the harbour was managed by the Harbour Board under powers conferred by Act of Parliament.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, he did not suppose the two Railway Companies would engage in the undertaking without having some consideration for the money they laid out and some control over the harbour. His contention was that it was not to the public interest that a public harbour should be handed over to two Railway Companies and a Harbour Board. He regarded the present Bill with some alarm, for he knew that at the head of one of the Railway Companies was the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin), and they never knew what would become of anything the hon. Baronet took in hand. His hon. Friend was engaged in a project very close to Dover for the purpose of connecting England with France.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN rose to Order. The Channel Tunnel had nothing whatever to do with the Dover Harbour.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, he only desired to point out that as the Dover Harbour was very near to the site of the Channel Tunnel the management of the two undertakings would be in the same hands. The Railway Companies would never allow a great portion of their funds to be embarked in the harbour unless they had some control over the harbour, and that was a matter of very grave concern. Very large and comprehensive powers were to be put in the hands of persons whose actions in future required to be watched. Only one word more. It was perfectly true the Harbour Board was a reformed Board; but it was in no proper sense a representative body. It was simply a body of nominees. It was a less representative body than the Harbour Board of Belfast, the constitution of which they had just had under consideration. It was a great deal to ask the House that such large powers as were now proposed should be handed over to the Harbour Board and the Railway Companies who were promoting the Bill. He did not think it wise that the House should surrender an ancient harbour to private Companies; and, therefore, if his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir George Balfour) went to a division, he should certainly vote with him.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN said, this question had nothing to do with the Channel Tunnel, of which the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) had spoken. This proposal was in the nature of a public improvement. As an old promoter of public works, he was bound to admit that most proposals like the present were attacked in the manner adopted by the hon. Member for Southwark. This was a proposal to do that which Parliament had, over and over again, sanctioned in one way and another; it was one which ought to have been made by the Government long ago. Private interests had again been introduced; in short, some hon. Gentlemen could not see that great military advantages could not be given as a matter of private profit, but must have the assistance of the Government. What were the facts? On the other side of the Channel there were works going on between Cherbourg and Dunkirk inclusive, amounting to 3,000 or 4,000 acres, and at Calais and at Boulogne increased deep-water harbour and dock space of more than 1,000 acres in area was being provided. The French Government had voted since 1879 no less than £6,900,000 for the improvement and extension of the harbours opposite Dover, and it was for the English people to consider whether we should give any answer to that enormous extension of French harbours —good for peace and war—which was now taking place. What was the only answer that was being given to the French works? The only answer at present was the construction of a small deep-water space by friends of his at Folkestone. It was now proposed at Dover, with the consent of the Board of Trade and of the Government, and with the co-operation of every interest, to inclose 600 acres of deep-water space, which would be something like an answer to what had been done at Calais and Boulogne. Surely, the proposal was not one which should be ridiculed, and he hoped the House would take that view of the matter. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) had admitted that the best place for a stone harbour was Dungeness; but surely it was not a question of one harbour, when there were 12 on the other side of the Channel? Big ships were now the order of the day; big ships required deep water, and England could not keep her commerce unless she enlarged her harbours. This was a step in the right direction, and he hoped the House would give to it its sanction.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he did not think that the arguments just addressed to them were conclusive. He was inclined to think they did something to prejudice the case rather than otherwise. He could not help thinking that both the support of this proposal and the opposition to it had been based on some misconception. The hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) had put forward the proposal on the ground of patriotism, and the hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Freshfield) had pointed out that this would be a great military harbour, which would form a sort of answer to the considerable preparations of the same kind being made at Calais and Boulogne. If the harbour was to be regarded in that light it would be totally inadequate. It would be nonsense to suppose that the proposed harbour, which would only give us 600 acres of secured space in which very few of our great ships of war could lay with convenience, would be a set-off to what was being done by France. He did not think that the issue before the House was the construction of a military harbour at Dover. That was a matter upon which the Government would, some day or other, have to come to a decision. Neither was it a question of the construction of a harbour of refuge; at all events, that was not the main point which the House had to consider. It was a question whether the people of Dover should be precluded by the fact that the Government might possibly, some time or another, have further proposals to make, from doing that which they considered absolutely necessary in order to secure the commercial prosperity of the port. This was a commercial harbour, an ordinary private commercial undertaking; and the question was, whether there were such flagrant objections to the Bill as should prevent it being considered by a Committee upstairs? He must say that the position of the Dover people had been rather a hard one. For a considerable number of years they had dwelt over this proposal, and had waited for the decision of the Government and the House of Commons upon the question of a larger scheme. Having had so much patience, they had some sort of claim on the House that now they should not be further interfered with. The opposition of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) was not applicable to this proposal. It was quite true that in the Bill, as originally introduced, there were some clauses which vested the Admiralty Pier in the Harbour Board. There was certain justification for that in the fact that such a proposal had been made to the House by two successive Governments. Certainly, a proposition of that kind to hand over a piece of public property to what, after all, was a private trust, was a question which could not be decided by a Private Bill; for it must come forward in a Public Act, and it must involve a great question of public policy. The Board of Trade immediately communicated with the promoters of the Bill, and told them that the Government would be obliged to oppose the Bill if the proposals respecting the Admiralty Pier were proceeded with. The Board of Trade had received a written assurance from the promoters that all the clauses dealing with that matter would be dropped. The Government must also object to the proposal, although it was a permissive one, to allow the Harbour Board to have the use of convict labour. If convict labour was to be employed at Dover, it must be employed under the control of the Government, and not under that of a private Company. The clause dealing with convict labour would also be dropped, and, under the circumstances, the Bill would be one of an exclusively private nature, and he thought the House would do well to allow it to go to a Committee upstairs. He did not think it likely that any works would be proceeded with until the Government had been able to come to a decision upon the general question of the employment of convict labour. A Departmental Committee had been appointed to consider this matter, altogether, however, apart from the construction of a harbour of refuge or a great military harbour. It had been found necessary to find employment for convicts, and it was very probable that the Committee would recommend that the convicts should be employed in the construction of a harbour somewhere. Whether this would be at Dover he was not able to say; but, of course, when the Report of the Committee was settled, the Government would have to give a decision upon the whole matter. His hon. and gallant Friend (General Sir George Balfour) had spoken of the insufficiency of the estimates, and of other matters of detail. When his hon. Friend the Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) said the Harbour Board was not a representative body, it was quite as representative as other modern Harbour Trusts. It was fully representative for the protection of all commercial interests; the interests of the Government in connection with the military defence of the country were represented by the Board of Admiralty, and all other interests of the harbour were represented by the Railway Companies. Having explained these matters, he hoped the House would now agree to the second reading of the Bill.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the Bill was of great importance, not only to Dover, but to the whole of the country; and he had been much surprised to hear the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who said that, although the Government had already laid out nearly £1,000,000 at Dover in order to make a Government harbour of Dover, they were now going to allow a private Company to make a private harbour, and to inclose a certain amount of it, some 600 acres, which would not be sufficient for a harbour of refuge, for the general purposes of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had also stated that it might be presently necessary to make another harbour for the country, and that Dover might be selected. He wanted to know in what position the present trustees of Dover Harbour would be if another harbour were made and the accommodation at Dover were increased? The right hon. Gentleman knew very well that there was no harbour of refuge for military purposes between Sheerness and Portsmouth. There were, no doubt, the Downs; but there was no harbour for military purposes between Sheerness and Portsmouth, and there ought to be a harbour not only for such purposes, but for the protection of our merchant shipping. He was one of those who had no great faith in the Government carrying out the necessary works properly. Let them look at the work which had been done at Alderney and Jersey, and see now grudgingly the money had been voted for works there, and how the only result had been the formation of inconvenient, insufficient, and ill-constructed harbours. Here they had a grand opportunity for making something that should be worthy of the country. It was evident from all that had been said that the harbour should be made for men of war. The hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) stated that that was one of the great purposes for which the harbour was intended; but they were now told by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade that at present the Government could not decide whether this was to be a sufficient harbour, or whether they might not have to increase it hereafter. He asked the House to look at page 5 of the Bill, from which it would appear that the Government were going to allow their own pier to be included within the harbour.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he had already stated that all clauses interfering in any way with the Government property would be withdrawn, or so amended as to prevent such interference.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the House, in that case, would have a right to ask how the harbour was to be constructed, because, unless the existing pier was to be carried out to the eastward for some 500 or 600 yards, as proposed in the Bill, he failed to see how a secure harbour was to be constructed. He should like to have some information as to what was going to be done. He presumed the right hon. Gentleman, as President of the Board of Trade, knew, and he had been in hopes when the right hon. Gentleman got up he would have stated what the intentions of the Government were. He was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers), sitting by the side of the President of the Board of Trade, would not for one moment deny that Dover was an important strategic place, which it was necessary to defend at all hazards. He was, however, glad for one thing that a harbour was to be made, because he ventured to hope now that we should be able to secure decent vessels for the passage between Dover and Calais, and Dover and Belgium, so that people who suffered so much at present from the employment of small boats might hereafter be protected from that suffering. He was not satisfied, however, with the answer which had been given by the President of the Board of Trade; and he asked the Government to explain more fully their intentions in regard to the future construction of a harbour at Dover or elsewhere.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he was perfectly certain that when the Bill went before a Committee it would be found altogether impossible to carry out the scheme for a harbour in the manner proposed by the Bill, and for the extended purposes set forth in the Petition on which leave was given to deposit this Bill at this late period of the Session. He was, therefore, willing to allow it to go before a Committee, in order that they might decide as to the sufficiency of the proposal as to its area and cost. He would, therefore, withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time and *committed.*

IONIAN BANK BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he did not rise to oppose the second reading of the Bill; but there was one point in regard to the measure upon which he should like to have the opinion of the Government. This was, strictly speaking, an Ionian bank. Of that there was no doubt whatever, and there could be no objection to the provisions of its Charter so long as it carried on the business of banking; but hitherto these Charters had been renewed from time to time in order to give the Government an opportunity of reconsidering the terms on which they were granted. It was quite true, as he had said, that this was an Ionian bank; but it was also true that banks of this character did business in England as well as elsewhere, and if their Charters were indefinitely renewed a principle would be introduced which would be very prejudicial to the public interests. He did not intend to oppose the second reading; but he asked for some undertaking that the Charters of these banks should be subject to the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government, so that they might be considered from time to time if the necessity arose. His reason for making this request was that the Charter of the Greek Bank had been renewed for a period of 25 years.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler), who had charge of the Bill, was not in his place to explain the Bill, and therefore it might be better to postpone the consideration of it until Thursday, when the questions which had been raised by the hon. Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) could be answered. The Government were quite alive to the importance of the point which had been raised by the hon. Baronet.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND wished to call the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to the fact that this very bank was included in the Bill brought in in 1879—the Chartered Colonial Banks Bill. That Bill, one of the objects of which was to allow Charters to be continued permanently, was withdrawn. If this Bill was to be allowed to pass, he should like to know the grounds for the change of opinion since 1879, seeing that this was one of the scheduled banks in the Bill of that year. He desired to know whether there were any special circumstances which distinguished this bank from the others in the Schedule?

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE—THE IRISH MAILS.

MR. LEAMY asked the Postmaster General, What prospect there is of the completion of arrangements for the acceleration of the Mails between London and Dublin?

MR. GRAY asked the Postmaster General, Whether, in view of the great importance of the subject, he will postpone any final decision on the proposed new contract for the conveyance of the mails between England and Ireland until after an opportunity is given for discussing the question on the Post Office Vote, or otherwise?

MR. FAWCETT: I am very anxious that the public should have the advantage, with the least possible delay, of any improvement that may be found practicable in the Mail Service to Ireland. If, however, the hon. Member and Irish Members generally desire that the decision should be postponed in reference to the contract for the conveyance of the mails until after the Post Office Votes have been taken, I shall have no objection to accede to their wishes on the subject.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—OUGHTERARD UNION—REFUSAL OF RELIEF TO THE FAMILY OF A "SUSPECT."

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the Guardians of the Oughterard Union, County Galway, have refused relief to the family of Mr. Michael Flynn, who has been confined in Kilmainham for the last seven months; whether it is the fact that the family are destitute, and in need of relief; and, if the Local Government Board will therefore compel the Guardians to administer it?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the case, Sir, that the Guardians of Oughterard Union have declined to give relief to the family of Mr. Michael Flynn. The relieving officer of the district has made two special visits to this family, the last visit being on the 11th instant, and has reported that they are in no way destitute, or in want of any assistance from the Guardians. The Local Government Board have no power to interfere in any individual case for the purpose of ordering relief.

STATE OF IRELAND—POLICE PROTECTION IN GALWAY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the district of Cappard, Peter's Dell, county Galway, on the property of a landlord named James Galbraith, there are at present, and have been for some time past, a police barrack occupied by ten men, and four huts containing a further force of twenty men; whether the said Mr. Galbraith is a gentleman who has been in the habit of obliging his tenantry to labour for him at a wage of eightpence a day; whether he applied for this extraordinary force of extra police in consequence of the refusal of his tenants to so labour for him unless upon increase of wages; whether the district in question is comparatively quiet, the most serious outrage committed there being the burning of some turf; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to continue the force of thirty men in occupation, and to charge any part of the cost of the force upon the poor occupiers of the district?

MR. TREVELYAN: There are eight men—five of whom are soldiers—in a hut at Cappard for the protection of Mr. Galbraith. There are six men in another hut in the vicinity for the protection of other persons; and there is a third hut on another part of the property containing five men, which has been erected for the purpose of putting down crime and outrage. Mr. Galbraith has not been in the habit of obliging his tenants to work for him for 8*d.* a-day. Since October last he has paid them 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day, and prior to that he paid 1*s.* a-day. He applied for police protection in consequence of his having refused terms dictated to him by his tenants relative to the payment of their rents. Up to a very recent period he had been subjected to a system of "Boycotting." The sub-district has been comparatively quiet since May; but in the few months previous there had been a large number of outrages. There is no present intention of withdrawing any of the men from the district, and the question of charging any portion of the costs on the locality has not yet been decided upon.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE COUNTY COURT JUDGE OF CLARE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the case of Mrs. Margaret O'Grady, tenant to Major General T. C. Crowe, who applied, on the 27th ultimo, to Mr. Charles Kelly, Q.C., the county court judge of Clare, to have a fair rent fixed, the tenant's valuer estimated the fair rent at £55 10*s.*, the landlord's valuer, Mr. William Studdert, J.P., estimated the fair rent at £65 18*s.*, and the county court judge fixed the fair rent at £70, or nearly five pounds in excess of the sum estimated by the landlord's valuator; and, whether the Government will take any notice of the conduct of the judge?

Mr. TREVELYAN: This is a serious question, Sir. I have got a letter from Mr. Kelly, and his explanation appears to me thorough and complete. Mr. Kelly says—

> "The following are in substance the facts of the case to which your letter alludes. The valuers of both landlord and tenant valued the land in its present deteriorated condition. It clearly appeared in evidence that the land had been considerably reduced in value by the illegal conduct of the tenants, who by cutting turf down to the gravel had rendered from 12 to 15 acres utterly unfit for cultivation, contrary to law and the custom of the country. It was doubtful whether the tenant had any right to cut turf; but whether he had or not, he certainly was not at liberty to cut away or destroy the mould under the turf. The valuers submitted that if the turf had been fairly and properly cut the land would have been worth considerably more than their valuations. I am of opinion that, according to the true construction of the Land Act, the rent ought not to be reduced if the reduction in value is owing to the default of the tenant, and on that principle I accordingly left the rent where it stood."

I hope the hon. Member for Sligo will excuse me if I now read a sentence or two, not with special reference to him, but in consequence of the number of Questions put to me lately by hon. Members in different parts of the House with regard to the decisions of officers sitting judicially to administer the Land Act. Mr. Kelly says—

> "I think it prejudicial to the administration of justice and an undue interference with the independence of Judges that a Member of Parliament should be permitted by asking a Question to insinuate that a Judge is deserving of censure. Such a question cannot properly be inquired into by Question and Answer in the House of Commons. If a party feels aggrieved by any decision a remedy is provided for him by appeal to a higher Court, where the merits of the case can be fully investigated."

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether William Russell is still detained in custody at Kilkenny on the charge of intimidation, under warrant of the Lord Lieutenant, although the state of his native district is orderly and peaceful, and though all the other suspects from Tipperary have been released; whether Arthur Moloney, arrested on the 3rd of January last, is still detained in custody; whether he is the only suspect from the county of Kildare who has not been set at liberty; whether, considering that he is only charged with inciting to intimidation, and that his district is quite peaceful, there exists any special reason in the case for his continued detention; whether Patrick Neilan, of Gurtermone, county Sligo, and James M'Donagh, of Geevah, county Sligo, have now been several months in prison on suspicion of inciting to intimidation; whether the other suspects from that county have been released, and their families are in need of their help for harvest work; and, whether, in compliance with the assurances given by the First Lord of the Treasury upon the 2nd of May, the Government will now release them?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the Lord Lieutenant was still continuing his inquiries with reference to William Russell. As to the prisoner Neilan, he had been released; and M'Donagh he could not decide to release at present.

POST OFFICE—THE LETTER CARRIERS.

Mr. SUMMERS asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is now in a position to state what decision has been arrived at with reference to the Memorials of the letter-carriers?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I am glad to be able to state, in reply to the Question of my hon. Friend, that a decision has now been arrived at on the subject of letter-carriers' wages. Without troubling the House with details, I may state generally that the effect of that decision will be, as regards the majority of the letter-carriers employed in London, to raise their scale at the maximum by 2*s.* a-week, and to substitute an annual increment for a triennial one. In the country the scales will be reduced from 27 in number to seven, and these are in every case higher than those which they supersede. The system of good conduct stripes, carrying with them a special allowance of 1*s.*, 2*s.*, and 3*s.* a-week, will be extended to the country, and in this matter the country and the suburbs of London will be placed on the same footing as London proper is now. In the case of the auxiliaries in London, whose time is only partially occupied by their official duties, their pay for the early morning delivery will be raised from 10*d.* to 1*s.* a-morning, and after they have served five years as auxiliaries, it is my intention, provided they fulfil the conditions prescribed by the Civil Service Commissioners and are considered eligible in other respects, to promote them to the establishment as opportunity offers. The revision will also affect the wages of lobby-porters, porters, stampers, and labourers, whose work, so far as regards hours of employment, is determined by that of the letter-carriers.

MR. SUMMERS: At what date will the new scheme come into operation?

MR. FAWCETT: From the time when the decision was arrived at—that is, from the end of last week.

EGYPT—PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS —POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Porte has accepted the invitation of the Conference to send troops to Egypt as mandatory of Europe; and, if not, whether Her Majesty's Government has definitely arranged with any, and which, of the Powers to co-operate with the British forces in any further Military operations in that country?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the Porte has not yet replied to the invitation of the Conference. The matter referred to in the latter portion of the hon. Member's Question has, of course, received the attention of Her Majesty's Government and of the Powers; but I am unable to make any statement upon the subject.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he can now state what steps were taken by Sir Beauchamp Seymour on the 11th of June to protect British life and property at Alexandria; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have approved his proceedings in not carrying out the instructions addressed to him on the 15th of May directing him to land force, if required, "to support Khedive and protect British subjects and Europeans?"

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the hon. Member in his Question imputes to Sir Beauchamp Seymour a failure in duty in not carrying out the instructions he had received. Her Majesty's Government have entirely approved of the conduct of Sir Beauchamp Seymour on the 11th of June in every particular; and if the hon. Member wishes to call in question the conduct either of the Admiral or of the Government, I would submit to the House that it ought to be done by direct Motion, and not by such a Question as he has now put.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he would call the conduct of the Government in question by a direct Motion, and would conclude with a Motion on this occasion. They had had enough of the reticence, concealment, and arrogance of the Government. He did not for a moment say that the Government had intentionally deceived the House; but he did say that the House had been deceived by the information the Government had given on several occasions, and if there was one proof more than another of the manner in which——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is out of Order in imputing intentional deceit on the part of the Government.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman had mistaken him. He did not intend to attribute intentional deceit to the Government. He specially guarded himself against that, and what he said was that the Government had unintentionally deceived the House by the information they had given. He would ask the House to reflect upon what was done yesterday. Twice the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had informed them that Germany approved the conduct of the Government in bombarding Alexandria, and that Austria and Germany had declared that their conduct was legitimate. The Question was asked a second time, and the hon. Baronet said he had nothing to correct in his former answer. But yesterday his hon. Friend came forward and said he was not justified in saying that Germany had assented. He did not assert that his hon. Friend had intentionally deceived the House, but that the House was deceived. They had had nothing but misleading information—not intentional deception—ever since the question of Egypt came before the country. He would prove it. On the 11th of May he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) asked what steps had been taken to protect life and property in Alexandria, and the hon. Baronet said—

> "It is impossible for me to make any statement at present on the question of policy."

The hon. Baronet then went on to say—

> "I have already stated . . . . that the protection of both life and property was the most pressing matter in connection with the present state of things in Egypt, and that it had engaged the immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government, and that no delay in regard to it had been caused by the French Government, although communications had taken place."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxix. 460.]

On the 15th of May he again asked what steps had been taken, and he was informed that—

> "The English and French Fleets have gone to Suda Bay on their way to Alexandria."—[*Ibid.* 670.]

That was the day on which the instructions to which his Question referred were given to Sir Beauchamp Seymour. And here he might say at once that he never had any intention of attacking Sir Beauchamp Seymour. ["Oh, oh!"] The Secretary to the Admiralty, who cried "Oh!" had better learn to be as courteous in his answers as the right hon. Gentleman who was sitting next to him (Mr. Fawcett). On the 22nd of May the Under Secretary stated that he could make no further declarations on the subject, as he had already stated that Her Majesty's Government entertained the belief that the measures they proposed would be satisfactory to the Porte. It was almost impossible for him to go on with all the instances of information given by the Under Secretary which had, unintentionally on his part, misled the House; but he would call attention to a particular statement, not made in that House, but "elsewhere." On the 1st of June the Marquess of Salisbury stated on good authority that he had heard there were 6,000 soldiers in Alexandria, who for four days were erecting formidable earthworks, and that the English and French Governments would not allow the Fleets to stop them. On the very same day the Under Secretary told the House that England and France were now in absolute accord as to the steps to be taken in certain eventualities, and that the two Governments felt confident that the course agreed upon would meet with the assent of the other Great Powers and of the Porte. The Under Secretary then went on to say—

> "With regard to the statements which were made in Parliament as to the 'perfect accord' which existed between the Governments of England and France, I may repeat that these statements at the time were perfectly true. Circumstances, however, subsequently occurred, as shown in the Papers about to be laid on the Table, which, although they in no way changed the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, may have an influence in other quarters."—[*Ibid.* 1786.]

Again, on the 2nd of June, the right hon. Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) asked the hon. Baronet whether any communication had been made to the Egyptian Government on the subject of the earthworks, to which Question the hon. Baronet replied—

> "No, Sir, not at present. It is desirable that I should state in advance that I do not think it would be proper for me to answer any Questions that might be addressed to me next week on the subject of these earthworks, because there might be matters passing in respect of them on which it would be undesirable to speak. I can only say that the matter has not escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Government."—[*Ibid.* 1938.]

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked if the hon. Gentleman would kindly read the reply which he made a few days later, and in which he gave the whole of the facts with regard to the earthworks?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he would be happy to do so if the hon.

Baronet would give him the date of the reply to which he referred.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that he could not give the date, as he was unprepared for this discussion.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government was not altogether free from this habit of misinforming the House on these subjects. On the 1st of June he had placed upon the Notice Paper a Question addressed to the right hon. Gentleman as to the truth of the rumour that Indian troops were about to be brought to Suez with the view of protecting British interests, and to that Question the right hon. Gentleman gave the following answer:—

> "Perhaps I may take this opportunity of taking notice of the Question of the hon. Member (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), who asks me whether there is any truth in the rumour that Indian troops are about to be brought to Suez, with the view of protecting British interests, and asserting the Sovereignty of the Sultan in Egypt? I could not undertake to answer a prospective Question as to particular measures to be adopted in a great political contingency of this kind; but under the circumstances, and as the case as to the Indian troops is peculiar, I may say that no plan of that kind has been adopted, nor is it at present contemplated."—[*Ibid.* 1783-4.]

[MR. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman had different tones in his cheering, which might be interpreted in different ways. He contended that his answer was misleading to the House, because it inferred either that the Government was ignorant of the existence of the earthworks at Alexandria, or else that they did not contemplate using the Indian troops in Egypt. On the 11th of June the massacre at Alexandria took place, and he had frequently sought to obtain information as to what steps had been taken for the purpose of protecting life and property at that place, but had never obtained anything that approached a satisfactory answer to his Questions on the subject. When he had again pressed for information on the matter, the Secretary to the Admiralty, new in his Office, rode off on the plea that he had been passing imputations upon Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour—a plea that was utterly groundless. On the 12th of June, in reply to a Question, the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke) said—

> "Sir Beauchamp Seymour has power to land seamen and marines if he thinks it advisable to do so."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxx. 822.]

On the 13th of June the hon. Baronet said—

> "The present state of anarchy will not be allowed to continue. I cannot go into any details of the measures which will be adopted."

On the 14th of June the hon. Baronet said that—

> "He had only to inform the hon. Member that the Government had the most perfect confidence in the tact, discretion, and courage of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had power to land seamen and marines to any extent he pleased from the Fleet under his command."

He should like to know what other instructions Sir Beauchamp Seymour had at that time. The Under Secretary went on to say—

> "There were four ships cruising off the coast, three of which were able to go into the harbour of Alexandria whenever they pleased. Sir Beauchamp Seymour was in possession now of a very large force. There was also a large French force, and a considerable force belonging to the other Powers, who would be sure to land troops and Marines if we did so for the protection of their subjects. The Government were content to leave the question whether a force should be landed or not to Sir Beauchamp Seymour. The hon. Member for Portsmouth had spoken of our relations with the Porte as though we were in quarrel with the Porte at the present moment. All he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) could say was that our relations with the Porte were friendly in the extreme; and the language which had been used by the Sultan himself personally to Lord Dufferin showed an absolute agreement with this country in regard to the steps to be taken in Egypt."—[*Ibid.* 1134-5.]

On the following day the hon. Baronet said that—

> "The total European population of Egypt was, of course, very large indeed. There were 30,000 Greeks, 15,000 French, 15,000 Italians, 4,000 British (including Maltese), and 4,000 Austrian and German subjects."

Later he said that—

> "Up to the present Sir Edward Malet had not called upon British subjects to leave the country, nor had any other foreign Consuls called upon their fellow subjects to do so."—[*Ibid.* 1257-8.]

Later again, he says—

> "The meeting which took place between the European Consuls was a meeting between the Representatives of Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, France, and England. There were present at that meeting the Khedive, Dervish

Pasha, and the whole of his suite from Constantinople, and Arabi Pasha also. The object of that meeting was to receive an answer to a demand that had been made on Dervish Pasha by the Representatives of the Powers in regard to steps which should be satisfactory to the Great Powers to insure the safety of Europeans in Egypt. Dervish Pasha stated that Arabi had informed him that he would implicitly obey the orders given by the Khedive. The Khedive immediately issued orders for restoring the public tranquillity. These are the words to which I alluded yesterday—'Dervish Pasha said that under the urgent circumstances of the case he would assume joint responsibility with Arabi Pasha for the execution of the orders of the Khedive.' The European Consuls then said that the danger to the security of Europeans took precedence over all other questions for the moment, and that the political situation did not enter into the discussion. They also said to the Khedive and the Imperial Commissioners that they thought the discussion that had taken place with regard to the Europeans had nothing to do with the objects of Dervish Pasha's mission in Egypt."—[*Ibid.* 1259-60.]

On the same date the hon. Baronet said—

> "He had already stated that there was a large force of men-of-war at Alexandria, and that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had a large force, which he was empowered to land. No doubt, instructions had been given to some of the foreign admirals to a like effect. It was also probable that seamen and marines would also be landed. . . . . Five ships, the *Minotaur*, the *Achilles*, the *Agincourt*, the *Northumberland*, and the *Sultan*, left Gibraltar for Malta at 7 o'clock that morning under Sir Beauchamp Seymour's orders."—[*Ibid.* 1277.]

The fact was, that the House was referred to the Greek Kalends for information on the subject. The production of the Papers had been postponed week after week, and the Government would neither let the House know what had happened in the past nor what was being done in the present, and Heaven only knew what would happen in the future. On the 16th of June the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said—

> "Sufficient vessels are chartered and at the disposal of Sir Beauchamp Seymour to provide for the removal of all British subjects who wish to leave."—[*Ibid.* 1410.]

On the same day, as to the earthworks, he said—

> "The construction of earthworks appears to have begun at daylight on the 29th ultimo. On the 4th of June the Admiral reported by telegraph that two guns had been mounted that morning. Very brief telegraphic communications on the subject of the earthworks were received between those dates."—[*Ibid.* 1412.]

The same day the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) asked of the Prime Minister—

> "Whether a sufficient force was now ready to land, so as to insure that protection, which was naturally looked for, considering our paramount interests in Egypt?"—[*Ibid.* 1420.]

[*Cries of "Oh!" and interruption.*] He wished to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair to the conduct of some of the new Baronets opposite. On the same day the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in one of those equivocal statements with which he was accustomed to delight the House, said—

> "As to whether a sufficient force was ready to land for the purpose of protecting British life and property, I do not think it would be expedient, considering the risks that are run . . . . by the prevalence of unauthorized rumours . . . . to enter in any manner into that subject."—[*Ibid.* 1420-21.]

[*Laughter.*] The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that the bombardment of Alexandria and the slaughter of British subjects were matters for laughter. On the 19th, he had asked the hon. Baronet—

> "What steps had been taken . . . last Sunday (the 11th) for the protection of British life and property at Alexandria; and, whether Her Majesty's Government nourished the belief that the repetition of such steps would be sufficient to preserve British interests in that City in case of the renewal of hostilities?"

To which he replied—

> "Sir, the despatch of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, which will answer the first part of the Question, is on its way home. With regard to the second, instructions have been sent, which, we believe, will meet the exigencies of the case."—[*Ibid.* 1606.]

On the 20th he repeated the Question as to the steps taken on the 11th, to which the Secretary to the Admiralty replied—

> "Sir, the hon. Member yesterday addressed this identical Question to my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I have nothing to add to the answer then given by my hon. Friend."—[*Ibid.* 1758.]

Thus, on the 20th, the Secretary to the Admiralty refused to give any further reply to Questions on the subject. It was impossible to get any information on the question, although he was informed that Sir Beauchamp Seymour did not land troops because he had been forbidden to do so by the Government. [Sir JOHN HAY: There were none to land.] Undoubtedly that was true; but the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had stated that there was a large force under the Admiral to land. It was difficult to reconcile these statements. If it was necessary for the credit of this country that there should be hostilities in Egypt, he was sure on that side of the House no difficulty would be thrown in the way of Her Majesty's Government; but the House had a right to know what was about to be done. How was it that, after bombarding Alexandria, we had left it to be looted and burnt? Did we intend to allow Arabi to consolidate his forces, and to treat Cairo and the rest of Egypt as he had done Alexandria? The Government appeared to be leaving everything to the Conference, which did not appear to be able to come to any conclusion—a Conference which was sitting when the massacre took place, which was sitting when the bombardment took place, which was sitting when Alexandria was sacked and burnt, and which was now sitting while Arabi, perhaps, was preparing to devastate the rest of Egypt. He had asked whether Her Majesty's Government had approved the conduct of Sir Beauchamp Seymour in not carrying out their original orders, and to that Question he could get no answer. In putting the Question, he did not intend to cast the slightest imputation upon Sir Beauchamp Seymour; but he wished to know who was answerable for the loss of life and property that had occurred at Alexandria? He (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) repudiated the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Read the words of the Question.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: The hon. Gentleman interpreted the words in such a way as to avoid answering straightforwardly.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I objected to answer the Question, because it imputed to Sir Beauchamp Seymour a failure of duty in not carrying out his instructions. The words are whether the Government "approve of his conduct in not carrying out his instructions."

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, that perhaps the hon. Gentleman would say where, in his Question, the words "failure of duty" occurred. Sir Beauchamp Seymour appeared to be approved in not carrying out his instructions of the 15th of May, which were that, if necessary, he was to land forces to protect the Khedive and British life and property. He did not land forces for that purpose. He asked whether his non-compliance with these instructions—which were the only instructions laid before the House—was approved by the Government? He wished to ask the Government to tell them what position they were in. Were they drifting into war? Were troops being made ready in order to go to Egypt? Were the transports taken up? Were the Indian troops ordered to Egypt? Were they on the verge of war without the Vote or the approbation of that House? If the Government thought it necessary to go to war, no doubt they would be supported; but he did not think it fair that during week after week and month after month information should be withheld until they found themselves launched into hostilities incurring great expense. The country was in great anxiety, and really did not know what the chances of tomorrow were. They might find themselves embarked in a war, perhaps not only with Egypt, but also with some other Power, who had not considered the bombardment of Alexandria legitimate. He begged to move the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: I have listened to the hon. Gentleman for a considerable time, and I really must say that I am quite at a loss to understand the purpose or utility of such a speech as that just delivered. I cannot see what his object is. It appears to me that he rambled on from point to point in order to lay before the House an immense number of quotations, with what end I do not know. He has proved no point—he has not even stated any. He has accused the Government largely, and my hon. Friend near me in particular, of having misled him by the answers given to Questions; but he has not shown in what way he has been misled. He rose in answer to the challenge, or apparent challenge, of my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty; but he has not met the challenge in the slightest degree. The challenge of my hon. Friend was, in fact, that if the hon. Gentleman wished to impugn the conduct of the Admiral he should do it by a direct Motion; but he has made no direct Motion of that kind, nor, indeed, any one upon which any issue can possibly be raised. He has occupied a good deal of the time of the House, as if he thought that commodity of so little value that the more it was thrown away the better, but he has made no direct Motion, nor raised any direct issue upon the subject, which would serve to collect the scattered members of his speech into a whole. One thing he has said, and upon that, which appears to be the only intelligible portion of the hon. Gentleman's remarks, I shall say one word. He says that Sir Beauchamp Seymour has not carried into effect the instructions given to him on the 15th of May; and, founding himself on that allegation of his own, if I understand him correctly, he insinuates that there have been counter-instructions conveyed by the Government. He makes the insinuation on no other basis than a mere allegation of his own, that Sir Beauchamp Seymour did not carry into effect his instructions. That is a most wanton and wilful assertion of dishonourable conduct against Her Majesty's Government for which he has not the smallest shadow of ground. Those who, without the smallest shadow of ground, make these wanton and wilful assertions come within a measurable distance of the act of calumny. There is a distinction. I am sure that the hon. Gentleman would not wilfully calumniate anyone; but this rash statement is, at any rate, in some degree culpable. But I do not admit that Sir Beauchamp Seymour did not carry into effect the instructions given on the 15th of May. He was directed to land a force if required to support the Khedive. They were not absolute, but conditional instructions. [Sir John Hay: He had no force to land.] Will the right hon. and gallant Gentleman suffer me to pursue one line of thought before I come to another? Sir Beauchamp Seymour has not said he had no forces to land. That is the opinion of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman; but Sir Beauchamp Seymour has not stated that; and he does not found his justification, and we do not found our justification, upon it. Sir Beauchamp Seymour did not land the force which he had at his command. I say that in defiance of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman; because Admiral Seymour did not deem it necessary, politic, or expedient; and in that judgment he has been approved by the Government, who make themselves responsible for the action of Sir Beauchamp Seymour. If the hon. Gentleman the Member for Portsmouth has any knowledge of secret counter-instructions, in contradiction to public instructions, let him produce them, and we will deal with them. He has produced nothing of the kind, and he has founded himself, in the insinuation he has made, upon an allegation that Sir Beauchamp Seymour did not carry his instructions into effect —in reference to which the hon. Gentleman is wholly mistaken. Sir Beauchamp Seymour's offence appears to be that, instead of taking the hon. Gentleman's opinion, with which probably he was not acquainted, he formed his own judgment and acted upon it.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman asks what are the grounds upon which my hon. Friend has put his Question and made the observation he has made, and he charges my hon. Friend with putting a Question which expresses something within measurable distance of a calumny.

Mr. GLADSTONE: That observation of mine referred, not to the Question, but to the speech of the hon. Gentleman.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Well, the hon. Gentleman puts a Question and receives an answer, which appears to him and to many others to be far from satisfactory; and he then makes observations and suggests, as the one reason for the nature of the answer which he received, not that secret instructions were given to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, but that it may very well be, and that it probably is, the case, that Sir Beauchamp Seymour has received instructions since those given on the 15th of May, which justify him in the action he took, or in his abstinence from action, on the occasion of the bombardment, or of the proceedings of the 11th of June; and that we have not yet got from the Government that information which will enable us to say whether any such instructions were given or not. Well, then, it is rather hard that my hon. Friend should be charged with something coming within measurable distance of calumny when he wishes to know whether that is or is not the case. There may be nothing at all worthy of blame in the communications made by the Government from time to time to Sir Beauchamp Seymour; but one must be, at any rate, struck with this fact—that on a critical occasion like this steps were not taken such as would appear to many persons to be necessary for the purpose of endeavouring to protect life and property. We say that, as far as we are permitted to know of the communications that have been made between the Government and the Admiral, his instructions of a previous date would not only have authorized, but rather have suggested to him that he ought to have taken steps of a different character from those which were taken, and my hon. Friend asks whether he abstained from taking those steps on his own authority, or in consequence of subsequent instructions received? I cannot conceive of a more legitimate question to put under such anxious circumstances, and I must say it appears to me but natural that he should have made some observations on the want of fulness in the answer received. One or two things must be borne in mind. In the first place, very grave events have taken place at Alexandria, involving questions of the honour of Great Britain, involving questions of the interests of Great Britain, and involving questions as to the protection of the lives and property of British subjects. These events are patent to all the world. They have taken place in view of English men-of-war, sent there, as we understood, for the express purpose of protecting these interests. The whole mission, as far as we can understand, was one of self-defence, and we want to know—and naturally everybody wants to know—how it is that the mission so sent ended so unsatisfactorily with respect to the protection of life and property as it has done? Yet we have no Papers on this matter. We are told that we cannot have the Papers which will explain the whole case until the latest date. We are told that Papers are presented up to the end of May, and that there will be other Papers given which will bring us to the beginning of the Conference; but these will, as regards this matter, hardly bring us within measurable distance of understanding it. And, therefore, we feel that we have a right to know from the Government what the real state of the case is. My hon. Friend has observed—and it has occurred to many of us—that it is really rather remarkable that the Government upon this occasion do not propose to bring forward any Vote or ask for any sum of money, which would naturally lead to their explaining the nature of the proposal they have in contemplation. They tell us, on the imperfect Papers laid before us, that if we have anything to censure in their conduct, we have a right to bring forward a Vote of Censure. We have that right, of course; but we know that we cannot get the Papers which will give us information down to the time of which we are speaking. And we are entitled, therefore, I think, to ask, without raising any question as to a Vote of Censure, for full explanation of the course which has been pursued, and is now being pursued, and of the conduct, not only of our own ships, but also of those of the other Powers with whom we have always been told we were in entire accord. Of course, I do not feel that moving the adjournment of the House at Question time is the best way of obtaining the information; yet I should like to know what other ways are open to us? For my part, I think my hon. Friend has put a very natural Question, and that he has not justly earned the censure which has been applied to him by the Prime Minister. I remember there was a very remarkable answer given even yesterday by the Prime Minister in reply to the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms). He said—

> "Our distinct judgment is this—that preparations adequate to cope with that army would most certainly not have been allowable under the instrument which is called the 'Self-denying' Protocol."

If that is so, it raises and confirms the view of my hon. Friend that there was something to cause instructions to be given, or something which stood in the way of landing the troops for the purpose of preventing those evils which we see have taken place, and which, we believe, might have been prevented. But all that is matter on which we have the most imperfect information—information which is only given in answer to Questions—and I cannot but think the House will feel that my hon. Friend was within his right in putting the Question and in moving the adjournment.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I rise to explain, and not to comment on what has been said by the right hon. Gentleman. I must explain what I said myself, for there was a little confusion in the Question put by the hon. Member for Greenwich yesterday which I did not actually clear up. The hon. Member spoke of the "Self-denying" Protocol, and so I recognized it; but, in truth, he ought to have referred to the understanding established with reference to sole action which was a totally different matter. I never should have said a word to the hon. Gentleman had I understood the Question. I never heard him put it. I understood him and his Friends near him most distinctly to recognize the accusation which I considered was implied. But, Sir, as regards that Question, the right hon. Baronet has put it in a perfectly clear form, and I can say in answer that there are no instructions whatever, subsequently to the 15th of May, which in any manner bear on this subject. There is nothing in the answer given by me yesterday which has the slightest connection with it.

Mr. GORST said, he thought independent Members had great reason to complain of the manner in which they were treated by Her Majesty's Government. When the adjournment of the House was some time ago moved by his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), the Prime Minister was extremely severe upon him because he had not shaped his accusation against the Government in the form of a definite Motion; and the Secretary to the Admiralty, following the lead of the right hon. Gentleman, challenged his hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) to bring forward a Motion if he wished to censure the Government or the Admiralty. He (Mr. Gorst) always followed as far he could the advice of the Prime Minister, and accordingly he gave Notice of a definite Motion yesterday. But when a Notice was given of a definite Motion the Government treated independent Members with contempt. He appealed to hon. Members below the Gangway, to those who had been independent Members, whether, in trying to do their duty to their constituents, it was not an awkward dilemma, to say the least, to have either to incur the mockery or the contempt of Her Majesty's Government? At the present moment he desired to remind the Prime Minister and his Colleagues what the charge against Her Majesty's Government was. The act of the bombardment of Alexandria had horrified the whole civilized world, and the Government had studiously taken away from the House all power of discussing that event. They had, however, had dark hints and dark deliverances from the Prime Minister and his Colleagues. It was intimated the other day, in the course of an irregular debate, that the bombardment of Alexandria was a revenge for the massacre—a sentiment which he confessed filled him with horror. Yesterday there was an interesting conversation, in which the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) and the Prime Minister vied with one another in their admiration of the moral law; but it seemed to him that a little explanation was required before that profound veneration for the moral law could be reconciled with the act by which so many hundreds of our fellow-creatures were put to death. The whole civilized world, he thought he might say, had charged upon Her Majesty's Government that they were to blame for that massacre, because they did not provide their Admiral with a sufficient force to land and check the scenes of horror which were certain to follow. So far, the accusation against the Government had not been properly heard in that House; but their defence had been sketched out in the answer to the Question of his hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms). He understood the Prime Minister to say that the Government could not have been reasonably expected to foresee that consequences such as those which did ensue would ensue from the bombardment. He should like to remind the Prime Minister of a statement which appeared in *The Standard* of July 7, four or five days before the bombardment occurred. It was as follows:—

> "The Arab population of the town are more excited than I have yet seen them, and it is only the attitude of the troops which preserves order."

He thought that statement ought to have attracted some attention from Her Majesty's Government, because, as far as he was able to observe, the Correspondent of *The Standard* was usually much better informed of the state of affairs than Her Majesty's Government, and certainly far better than Members of that House. The Correspondent continued—

> "In the event of a formal notice being given of intended action being taken, there is little doubt that, in accordance with Arabi's previous declaration to myself, the troops will be withdrawn from their work of keeping order in the streets, and the city will then become the scene of riot and plunder."

That was the statement made by the Correspondent of a newspaper, on the authority of Arabi himself. How would the Government reconcile that public declaration of what would happen in the event of a bombardment with their own assertion that they could not be expected to have foreseen that such disastrous consequences would follow? There was another point which would be cleared up if the House were allowed to debate this matter—namely, whether the Admiral had sufficient forces to land for the protection of the lives and property of the people of Alexandria. On this matter the Government would be on the horns of a dilemma, for if the Admiral had not sufficient forces, the Government were to blame, and their conduct was tainted with all the cruelty of a man who destroyed game which he could not possibly retrieve. If, on the other hand, the Admiral had sufficient forces to land, by whose order was he prevented from landing them? Was it by the Government at home, or by the imprudent Protocol which they had signed and agreed to beforehand? The position of those who desired to challenge the conduct of the Government was extremely embarrassing, because if they acted as his hon. Friend near him and an hon. Friend opposite had done, and moved the adjournment of the House for the purpose of calling the attention of the Government to these dreadful events, they were met with the mockery of the Prime Minister, who said—"If you have an opinion of this kind, why don't you formulate it in the shape of a Resolution, and take the sense of the House?" If, entrapped by that advice of the Prime Minister, any Member of the House was so foolish as to formulate a Motion on the subject, the Prime Minister said—"Oh, you are only a private Member; we cannot give you a day for such a discussion," and the right hon Gentleman sat down in indifference, and would not allow the sense of the House to be taken. He (Mr. Gorst) believed that if the Prime Minister dared take the sense of the House as to whether the Government were to blame for the terrible pillage and destruction of Alexandria, he believed that even in that House, in which they professed to have so enormous a majority, and in which they possessed, no doubt, a strong and solid phalanx of Friends, they could, if not defeated, only save themselves from a Vote of Censure by a very narrow majority.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he was sorry the Prime Minister had left, as he desired to say one word of apology to him and to the House for interrupting the right hon. Gentleman during his speech, but not at all to withdraw what he had said at the time. He thought it was but fair to the gallant Admiral, who had done his work so admirably with the means at his disposal, to state that which he himself knew, and which he felt sure his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for East Derbyshire (Admiral Egerton) would confirm—namely, that the force at the disposal of Sir Beauchamp Seymour was totally insufficient to enable him to land any forces to protect life and property in the City of Alexandria on the 15th of May. He had at that time seven ships, from which he could not have landed more than 700 men. The measure of what he could have done then was to be seen from the force which he landed after the engagement. The men he landed after the bombardment for the purpose of extinguishing the fire numbered under 900, and by landing these he disabled his ships from further action. After that there arrived the *Tamar*, with 1,000 Marines, and troops also came from Limasol, in Cyprus, making a force altogether of 5,800 men. If it was necessary at this moment, when Arabi's Army had withdrawn to some considerable distance from the town, to land 5,800 men for the maintenance of order and the protection of the Khedive, how was it possible that when Arabi was in the town the Admiral could be expected to land 700 men on the 11th of June to be there and then sacrificed to the fury of the mob? As had been pointed out, the Government threw the blame on the Admiral, by asserting that he had instructions to land men for the defence of life and property, when he had only now received a sufficient number of men to perform that duty. It was only fair and just to the gallant officer, who had carried out so accurately and so well the orders of the Government, that the House should know that he had not at his disposal those men whom the Government said he had, and that he had not one tithe of the number necessary to perform the duty he was ordered to perform. He hoped the House would forgive him for defending a gallant officer whose conduct was brought in question. ["No, no!" *and* "Yes, yes!"] The Admiral had received instructions which he had not the means to carry out. It was only right it should be shown what number of men seven ships would be able to land, and the House could judge whether the number was sufficient to perform the duty which it was suggested was to be performed by the gallant Admiral. There was one other point to which he would refer. A month ago, the Secretary to the Admiralty had told them, what he had ventured to challenge, that the ships sent to Alexandria would be able to enter the harbour. Why did they not enter the harbour? Because they drew too much water. Why did they engage the forts at a distance of 3,000 or 4,000 yards, so that their shells fell occasionally into the town? Why did not the Admiralty send light-draught iron-clads in addition to the *Penelope*, so that they might have attacked these forts from the inner harbour, and not have fired the town? He supposed the Government did not think they were going to make war. They sent vague instructions to the Admiral, and did not give him men to perform the duty they said he ought to have performed; and they did not send him the kind of ships that were necessary. With the means at his disposal, he had performed all that the country could expect of him; but the Government were to blame for not putting proper means at his disposal, and they were still more to blame for throwing dust in the eyes of the country, and saying that the gallant Admiral had sufficient forces at his disposal, an assertion that the course of events had disproved.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he was sorry to take up any part of the time of the House. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) had made two statements which ought to be immediately corrected. One was a small matter with reference to himself. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman stated that he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had asserted that the ships at Alexandria could enter the harbour. If any fault were to be found with him, it should have been that he declined to give any information as to the draught of the ships. He never said that they could all enter the harbour of Alexandria; and he should be sorry that it should be thought he had given wrong information. But there was a more important matter. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman waxed indignant in defence of the character of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, suggesting that he had been held up to the world as being to blame because he did not carry out his instructions on the 11th of June. The fact was that no such feeling had ever entered into the minds of the Government. He had repeatedly said in the House—and he had said so that day in answer to a Question—that the Government approved the conduct of the Admiral in every particular. If any blame was to be laid upon anyone for what had happened on the 11th of June, it was upon Her Majesty's Government. Blame had been laid upon the Admiral that day, not by him, but by the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I give to the hon. Gentleman's statement a most emphatic contradiction.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that no denial, however emphatic, could get over the *litera scripta*; the hon. Gentleman stated that Sir Beauchamp Seymour did not carry out the instructions addressed to him. He would again say, as he had said before, on more occasions than one, that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had throughout the whole of these transactions received the full approval of the Government.

Admiral EGERTON said, the Question of the hon. Gentleman who moved the adjournment of the House suggested an imputation upon the Admiral, and he was very glad to hear the hon. Gentleman's repudiation of any such intention. He believed the Admiral had done everything he could, and would do so in the future. With regard to one of the observations of his right hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir John Hay), he thought they might admit that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had not a sufficient force with him on the 4th June. It was impossible for the commander of any man-of-war, or any number of men-of-war, under any circumstances, lying before a own with a great number of inhabitants and containing a great many narrow and tortuous streets, to have a sufficient number of men to land in the face of a very formidable force of at least 10 or 20 times that which he would have under his command. The mention of the fact that a large force had gone from Limasol, in Cyprus, attracted the attention of hon. Gentlemen opposite. For himself, he still looked upon Cyprus as imparting more of weakness than strength; and, after all, as a matter of fact, the number of troops that came from Limasol only touched there and never landed.

MR. BOURKE said, there were two remarks of the hon. Member for Portsmouth that had not been noticed by the Prime Minister, and it would be convenient if the Under Secretary would clear up the points before the debate closed. His hon. Friend said that the Under Secretary had in one answer told the House that the English and French Governments were prepared for any eventualities that might take place at Alexandria.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I never said in Alexandria.

MR. BOURKE: Then the Prime Minister said so.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No; it was an answer of mine to which the right hon. Gentleman refers; but he has added the words, "in Alexandria." My hon. Friend was speaking about intervention in Egypt, and what I said had nothing to do with Alexandria.

MR. BOURKE: Alexandria, surely, is in Egypt.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: My right hon. Friend has added the words "at Alexandria." The question upon which the hon. Gentleman was speaking in that portion of his speech had reference to general intervention to prevent anarchy in Egypt, with regard to which he was quoting my declaration at that time.

MR. BOURKE said, the point of his hon. Friend's observation was that we had been informed that the English and the French Governments were prepared for any eventuality, and were in perfect accord with respect to the steps to be taken in any eventuality.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Not in any eventuality.

MR. BOURKE said, that, under those circumstances, it was a very extraordinary thing that the French Fleet had not taken part in the operations which the English Fleet had engaged in. That was the point, and he hoped it would be cleared up. The other point that had not been noticed was that the Porte was said by the Government to be in perfect accord with Her Majesty's Government as to the events which had taken place in Alexandria.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir.

MR. BOURKE: I certainly understood my hon. Friend to make the observation.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; I did not say that.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: The words were these—

> "Our relations with the Porte were friendly in the extreme; and the language which had been used by the Sultan himself personally to Lord Dufferin showed an absolute agreement with this country in regard to the steps to be taken in Egypt."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxx. 1135.]

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What is the date of that?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: June 14th.

MR. BOURKE said, that was some time before the bombardment.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Mr. Speaker, perhaps it is better that I should reply to the two Questions put to me by my right hon. Friend, although my right hon. Friend on neither occasion appears very accurately to have followed what fell from the hon. Member for Portsmouth, who correctly quoted my words. With regard to the first Question, he refers to a statement which I made in the middle of May, that the English and French Governments, though certain differences had previously occurred between them, as I had stated to the House, in answer to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, were then in complete accord in view of future eventualities. Those are the words I used, and the Papers now before the House show the meaning of this statement, which was made two days after the receipt from the French

Government of its consent to eventual Turkish intervention; that was received on the Saturday, and the statement was made on the Monday. The second Question is with regard to the perfect accord which I stated prevailed on a certain day in June between the Turkish and the English Governments with regard to the condition of things in Egypt. It had no reference to any particular proceedings at any one particular point —such, for instance, as at Alexandria; but it referred to general accord on the Egyptian Question. I went on to say, in answer to those who said that we were not on friendly terms with the Porte, that the language of the Sultan to Lord Dufferin was in complete accord with the views of Her Majesty's Government. That was so. My right hon. Friend now asks if anything has happened since that time to break through that accord. I have already informed the House that the Porte protested against the bombardment of the forts at Alexandria before the bombardment took place, and that the Porte protested while the bombardment was going on. We have received no further communications from them since the bombardment was concluded, and I have twice stated the character of the protest they have made. I have pointed out to the House that they were made under some misapprehension, as it was stated that the fire of the British Fleet would not be returned by the forts, although the House knows that, as a matter of fact, our fire was returned. I think I have now answered the two Questions of my right hon. Friend.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he would not have taken part in the discussion but for the answer given to him yesterday by the Prime Minister to the Question whether the Government, by signing the self-denying Protocol, precluded themselves from landing at Alexandria, immediately after the bombardment, sufficient troops to prevent the terrible events that followed. He ventured to say that the answer of the Prime Minister was susceptible of only one interpretation. The right hon. Gentleman replied thus—

> "Our distinct judgment is this—and this is, I think, a substantial answer to the Question—that preparations adequate to cope with that Army would most certainly not have been allowable under the Protocol called the 'Self-denying' Protocol, or the *Protocole de Désintéressement.*"

MR. GLADSTONE: It should have been called the Protocol of sole action.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS was not aware that there were two Protocols; but, however that might be theoretically, as a matter of fact there was only one, and that was the self-denying Protocol which he had already mentioned. Some weeks ago, when he had asked whether that Protocol might not, in certain contingencies, so bind the hands of the Government that they could not act on an emergency, he had been met by the answer that such Protocols had been signed both in 1840 and in 1880. But the Protocol signed in 1840 to settle the Syrian Question had nothing to do with the special interests of England; and the Conference which met then, as in 1880, had to decide questions in which all the Powers were equally interested. The present Conference was totally different, and bore no resemblance to the other two, as one Power—England—had a special and paramount interest in its proceedings. The answer of the Prime Minister, if it meant anything, meant this—that though the Government were allowed to bombard Alexandria, the self-denying Protocol so bound their hands as to prevent them from landing troops to protect those who had suffered from the bombardment. That Protocol reflected little credit on those who, by accepting its self-denying conditions, had paralyzed the action of England. But now the right hon. Gentleman tried to explain that it was not the *Protocole de Désintéressement*, but some other instrument, which had caused this disastrous result. The House, however, was entitled to know, if the *Protocole de Désintéressement*, which had unquestionably been accepted by Her Majesty's Government, prevented the Admiral from landing troops, how it was that it did not prevent the ships from bombarding the forts of Alexandria? It appeared that a large body of troops, under Arabi, were now between Alexandria and Cairo, and in command of the railway—would that Protocol so fetter the Government as to preclude them from taking steps to prevent atrocities in Cairo such as had occurred in Alexandria? It seemed to him that, both inside and outside of the House, it would be very difficult to satisfy the people of the country that the Government had done their duty, if to-morrow brought news of such an event, and the Prime Minister sheltered himself under some extraordinary instrument which debarred England from acting without the consent of the Conference. If that was to happen, the Government ought never to have entered the Conference. He trusted that the House would have an opportunity of expressing its opinion of the conduct of the Government, which, after producing anarchy in Alexandria, found itself, by its own act, unable to protect those who were injured by its policy. He would not occupy the time of the House further; but he believed that when such an opportunity occurred, the opinion of the House on this question would be given with no uncertain sound, and would be echoed and re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, I only wish to make one remark, and that is in answer to the very plaintive speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who expressed himself as embarrassed at the want of an opportunity for discussing a subject in which he takes the greatest possible interest. I think we know the reason why the hon. and learned Member for Chatham and his Friends are unable to find the opportunity which they wish, and that is this. Whether they have the sanction of their Party or not—whether their action is approved by the Leaders of their Party or not—I do not say whether it is the interest of the country or not, that they have done so, but they have tried, in season and out of season, to force on a discussion for which the House of Commons was not prepared. In the absence of the means of discussion a policy has been pursued which I think most detrimental to the interests of the country—most detrimental to the good name of the country—and most detrimental to the Forces of Her Majesty. They have pursued a policy of attack by insinuations in Questions—a policy of reading from anonymous reports in regard to points at which our troops and ships might be engaged—in order to give the prominence of a Parliamentary discussion to reports which were not authenticated, and in regard to which it was impossible for Her Majesty's Government to reply. The Leaders of the Opposition have not thought fit, either because it does not suit their purposes, or because they think it inconvenient, and not in the interests of the country, that these questions should at the present moment be discussed. The Leaders of the Opposition, I say, have not thought fit to support these proceedings; but what does it matter to the small knot of independent Gentlemen who mostly sit below the Gangway opposite? A more unsatisfactory discussion than that which has taken place to-day it is impossible to conceive—a discussion misleading to the Continent—because those who are responsible, the Front Opposition Bench, have not taken part in it with a form of speech or attack, but have left it to the hon. Members below the Gangway, who are less responsible. [*Cries of* "No!"] There has been no speech of attack on the Government from the Front Bench opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition did throw his cloak for a moment over the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), and I remember it, because I thought at the moment if the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) wished to raise questions and ask for information from the Government he would have done so himself, or through one of those with whom he acts, and would not have selected the hon. Member for Portsmouth. The right hon. Gentleman defended the hon. Member for Portsmouth in regard to the remarks of the Prime Minister as to the charge of secret instructions, and the right hon. Gentleman suggested that the words were "subsequent instructions;" but, if my ears did not entirely deceive me, the hon. Member for Portsmouth did not speak of "subsequent instructions," but distinctly formulated the charge against the Government that there were "secret instructions" which were purposely kept from the House. When the Prime Minister repudiated the charge, the hon. Member for Portsmouth did not withdraw it, and the protection which the Leader of the Opposition extended to the hon. Member was scarcely needed, because the hon. Member had not retracted the charge he had made. I have no wish to intervene further in this debate, because it is not the least likely that any words from hon. Members on this side of the House will have any effect on hon. Members who will not fall in with the general policy of their own

Leaders; but I think it is important that it should be understood out-of-doors that if these debates raised on the adjournment of the House are one-sided and only conducted by a small knot of Members, it is because these occasions are generally viewed by the House as inconvenient for the discussion of the serious questions for which the adjournments are moved, and unsatisfactory in every possible respect.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that the object of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down was to discredit the action of what he called a small knot of independent Members who did not act with their Leaders. But if there was anyone to whom that observation applied in the strongest manner it was the right hon. Gentleman himself. For in so far as the right hon. Gentleman had made himself prominent in the House since this Parliament assembled, it had been as the Leader of a small knot of Members, who had acted independently of their Leaders. The right hon. Gentleman said that the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), in the Motion of which he had given Notice, acted as the mouthpiece of a small knot of Members. Now, so far as his knowledge went, his hon. and learned Friend had acted entirely for himself; and, if without concert with the Leaders of the Party, equally without concert with anybody else in the House. Then the right hon. Gentleman said that the effect of the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) was to discredit the action of the Fleet. He did not think that was the effect of his hon. Friend's speech. What his hon. Friend wanted to attack was, not the action of the Fleet, but the inaction of the Government. What his hon. Friend wanted to impress on the House was that, if proper steps had not been taken to preserve life and property in Alexandria, it was because the Government refused to give sufficient powers to Sir Beauchamp Seymour to act in such a manner as they ought to have known would be necessary if the bombardment was undertaken. His hon. Friend said that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had only 700 men at his disposal, and the Government replied that they had no reason to believe that more would be necessary, because they did not believe the Egyptian Army would burn and pillage the town. But he had in his hand a despatch from Mr. Cookson to Lord Granville, dated May 30, which gave the Government ample warning, and which foreshadowed with fatal accuracy the evils which had subsequently occurred. In this despatch it was stated that the English residents in Alexandria thought the crisis was only suspended, that all the elements of danger remained, that their perils would be renewed, and that with the disablement of the forts a period of great danger to Europeans would commence, as they would be at the mercy of exasperated soldiers. They said also that the whole available force for shore operations did not exceed 300 men, although the Squadron had been sent out to safeguard European life and property. He was not sure whether the Squadron since that date had not been increased; but it had not, at all events, been increased at the time of the bombardment to a sufficient amount to allow the Admiral to land men. Therefore, their case against, not the Admiral or the Fleet, but the Government, was that they engaged in a course of action without having taken sufficient precautions to obviate perils which were foreseen by others, and should have been foreseen by them.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, who spoke amid continued interruptions, said, that what the country was most anxious about at present was the steps Her Majesty's Government were taking to prevent occurrences at Cairo similar to those which had happened at Alexandria. He observed that the absolute accord which was taken on the 15th of May to exist between France and England had been shown, he supposed, in the withdrawal of the French Fleet. In a telegram sent by the Government to the Admiral on Friday last, they said—

> "Opposition having ceased, do not dismantle the forts or disable the guns; endeavour to open friendly communications with the Khedive, and invite him to assert his authority."

That was to say, that those forts which had proved so formidable and required such a prolonged bombardment to silence were not to be dismantled, and those guns which had given such proof of their metal were not to be disabled. The next phrase was still more remarkable. "Endeavour to open friendly communications with the Khedive." Why friendly? We were not at war with the Khedive. The Admiral had been humiliated by the fetters that had been imposed upon him. He wished to know what steps the Government were going to take to save Cairo and the rest of Egypt from the fate of Alexandria? [*Interruption.*] The Correspondent of *The Times*, whose information was generally more accurate than that furnished to the House by the Government, had said that morning that if any disaster did occur it would be the fault, not of the Admiral, but of the Government. [*Interruption.*] The bombardment had been rendered necessary through the neglect of the Government. Her Majesty's Government, having once taken this matter up, were bound to restore order in Egypt. [*Interruption.*] He regretted that the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) was, as usual, continuing his unmannerly interruptions.

MR. WARTON rose to Order. The hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) was issuing a succession of sounds that were unearthly, but were not heavenly.

MR. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Member for Eye had possession of the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT wished to know why, on the 11th of June, instructions had not been sent to the Admiral to land a force. In his opinion, the blame for the loss of life and property that occurred was due to the want of proper instructions being sent to the Admiral. If there was a joint action at all, let it be with the Sovereign of Egypt, whose rights could not be denied. Let the Government follow out the policy which would have been adopted by a Palmerston or a Beaconsfield—a kind yet resolute and determined policy—in dealing with the Sovereign of Egypt. If, after every opportunity offered, that Sovereign declined to act with them, let them have recourse to isolated—at all events to determined—British action. The Government had laid Alexandria in ruins, had destroyed many lives and millions of property, and had injured the interests of the bondholders. They had destroyed Egypt and thrown her back 20 years. Let them take the step needed promptly, and let them at once send a sufficient force to be effective and at the same time merciful. Let them at once ask the Commander at Alexandria to state exactly how many sailors and marines were available for landing on the 11th of July.

And it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose to Order, and asked whether the remaining Questions would now be taken?

MR. SPEAKER: Under the special circumstances of the case I think those Questions should be dropped.

QUESTION.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

In reply to Sir JOHN LUBBOCK,

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE stated that he had been unable to induce the right hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) to remove his block from this Bill, and consequently would introduce it in "another place." He hoped the Bill would reach the House of Commons and become law this Session.

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 213.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 17th July.*]

[SEVENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART II.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

Clause 12 (Exclusion of tenants of holdings of an aggregate valuation exceeding thirty pounds).

MR. HEALY said, he had an Amendment to propose to this clause, which he hoped the Government would find no difficulty in accepting. A man might be nominally possessed of two holdings—

that is to say, his name might be entered on the rate-book as possessor of them, while they were actually in the occupation of his sons as assignees. The object of the Amendment was to enable the assignees of the holding to apply for the benefit of the Act.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 2, after "is," leave out "possessed," and insert "in occupation."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'possessed' stand part of the Clause."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the Government could not accept the Amendment. The person primarily responsible to the landlord, although he might put his son in occupation of the farm, would be the person to whom the Act applied; and it would be impossible for the Government to make the distinction indicated in the Amendment of the hon. Member.

MR. HEALY said, he thought the Government could not have considered his point sufficiently, because they had already given way upon it in the Bill. They had agreed to bring up on Report an Amendment extending the benefit of the Act to two persons, each paying £25 a-year for a farm entered in the rate-book at £50, and it seemed very hard that they refused to accept this Amendment, which contained the same principle. It would seem that the Government, by taking advantage of a technicality, wished to oust parties entitled to the benefit of the Act. Let the Committee take the by no means uncommon case of a man parcelling out his holding valued at £50 per annum between his two sons. The operation might have taken place 20 years ago; and yet, according to the statement of the Solicitor General for Ireland, those sons would not be entitled to the benefit of the Act. He should be quite with the Government in regard to cases in which the possession was divided for colourable reasons, in order to get relief from arrears since the introduction of the Bill. But he contended that the Act ought to apply in the case of a holding in the occupation of two sons for 15, 10, five, or even one year before the Bill was brought in. For these reasons he trusted that the Government, who had already admitted this principle in an earlier section, would see the justice of adopting a similar principle in the present instance.

MR. CHILDERS said, the statement he made was that, where the landlord recognized it as a fact that there were two distinct holdings rented at £30 or under, the tenants should not suffer, although the farm might stand in the rate-book as one holding at £50 or £60 per annum.

MR. HEALY agreed that the right hon. Gentleman had correctly stated the case. The whole point lay in the word "possessed," which, as he understood it, meant possession in law. He was willing that the principle laid down by the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken should be extended to his Amendment.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the question of rating had nothing to do with the subject that had been raised. If a person were the tenant of two different holdings, jointly valued at not more than £30 a-year, and if he were the person responsible for the rent to the landlord, he would be the person to obtain the benefit of the Act, even if he had put his sons in possession of the holdings. An arrangement of that kind on the part of the tenant was made for his own convenience; it made no difference to the landlord how he disposed of the occupation of the farm. But if a person responsible for the rent of two holdings, jointly exceeding in value £30 a-year, gave them up to his sons or herds, he would not come under the Bill so long as he remained in legal possession of the holdings. Again, if a man placed his son on one of the farms with the assent of the landlord, and the landlord looked upon him as being the tenant, and received from him the rent of one of the holdings, that son would be the tenant, and, as such, would be entitled to the benefit of the Act.

MR. GIVAN said, he thought the hon. Member for Wexford was under the impression that the word "possessed" implied some technical right. According to the way in which the hon. Member had put his Amendment, a man might be in occupation of a holding, but not as tenant. He suggested that the Solicitor General for Ireland might meet the object of the hon. Member by agreeing to insert after the proposed Amendment the words "as tenant thereof."

Mr. GIBSON said, he hoped the Government would not admit the alteration proposed by the hon. Member for Wexford. With regard to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan), it appeared to him inconsistent with the words at the beginning of the section.

Dr. LYONS said, no doubt, the inquiry into cases of this kind would be very stringent. He asked what would be the status with regard to the Bill of persons who, as was frequently the case in Ireland, were in the rate-book and in the books of the landlord as the "Representative" of persons deceased or absent? In many parts of the country rents were being received, and receipts given, from year to year in the name of Mr. So-and-So, the representative of—say Mr. John M'Carthy. The explanations of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War were, no doubt, for the moment, well understood in that House; but it was not what was said or understood there now that would rule hereafter; they had to consider the way in which the Act would be interpreted by the Court.

Mr. HEALY said, he was always ready to accept the expositions of the law made by the Government lawyers in that House; but he often thought that Mr. Law, now Lord Chancellor of Ireland, must have bitterly regretted, when he stood alone, so to speak, in the Court of Appeal, some of the readings of the law which he gave during the passage through the House of the Land Bill of last year. In view of the experience they had of the hard way in which every line of that Act had been construed, he asked the Solicitor General for Ireland whether he was still determined to adhere to the word "possessed" in this clause? He believed the words "in occupation," which he proposed to substitute for it, would make the matter much clearer.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, the question was whether the person was possessed of the holding or not. A man might be in occupation of a holding, but not possessed of it.

Mr. HEALY said, he was willing to withdraw the Amendment; but he should do so with the feeling that when he and his hon. Friends were proved to be right and the Law Officers of the Crown wrong in their interpretation of the words, the Government ought to bring in a Bill to meet the case of the unfortunate tenants who might be ousted of their rights by this section in the circumstances he had indicated.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. HEALY said, the Amendment he was about to move involved a point which was raised in connection with the Land Act of last year. The object was to provide that a tenant who held a holding, say, at £25, under one landlord, and a second holding at £10 under another landlord, should not be deprived of the benefit of this Act. He trusted the Government would accede to this proposal.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 3, after "applies," insert "held under the same landlord."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Colonel NOLAN said, there was one reason for supporting the Amendment. He believed it would facilitate the working of the Act. It must be remembered that the landlord had to make an affidavit with regard to the fulfilment of the conditions specified in the 1st clause; and it would be impossible for him to know whether a man held under another landlord or not. Again, a man might have one holding at a fair rent, either settled by the Land Court or originally agreed upon; and he might also hold another farm, for, say, three or four years, for grazing purposes at a competition rent under another landlord. He thought cases of that kind ought to be taken into consideration by the Government, with a view to their not being excluded from the operation of the Act. As the Amendment appeared to him to satisfy the point he should give it his support.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he could hardly accept the argument of the hon. and gallant Member that the working of the Bill would be facilitated, because if the Government were to begin to admit considerations of the kind suggested by the Amendment, a great deal more difficulty would arise than would be the case if the clause remained as at present.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he would urge the Committee to reject the Amendment, which would be an inducement to "land grabbing," the very thing which had caused so much difficulty by placing exorbitant prices on farms, and, in consequence, depriving people of the chance of getting a living from them.

Mr. HEALY said, he was willing to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. HEALY said, he put the case of a tenant who, having taken two farms together, valued at less than £30 a-year, afterwards by the labour of his hands, and the expenditure of his own money, built a dwelling-house, which brought up the rateable value of the property to more than the limit fixed by the Bill. He asked whether it was the intention of the Government that a tenant so situated should be ousted from the benefit of the Act? In order to have that point cleared up, he begged to move the Amendment next standing in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 6, after "year," insert "Provided, That the tenement value of any house or building shall be excluded from the valuation of such holdings."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. PARNELL said, he trusted the Government would give their favourabe attention to this Amendment. It had to be borne in mind, after all, that if a tenant built a good house for himself, and by so doing raised the valuation of his holding above £30, he did not thereby place himself in a better position, or render himself more able to pay his rent than a tenant who did not do so, and who was contented to live in a hovel. Of course, when the tenant had improved his land, and raised the value of it over £30, it would be just to allow the Bill, as it stood, to operate, because the tenant would be necessarily in a better position to pay his rent than if he had not made the improvement. But in the case suggested by the hon. Member for Wexford, it would be a great hardship that the tenant who had consumed his capital in building a good house for himself should find himself excluded from the benefit of this Bill. To exclude such a man would be equivalent to fining him for being industrious and endeavouring to live in a more decent way than the majority of his neighbours.

Mr. GIBSON said, the argument of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was that a man who could afford to build a good house for himself was no more able to pay the rent of his holding than the man who could not afford to build one. He hoped the Government would not agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), which required that in every case, without regard to the conditions under which such buildings might have been erected, the tenement value of such buildings should be excluded from the valuation of the holding.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the Government could not possibly accept the Amendment of the hon. Member. They must deal with the holding as a whole, and not distinguish between portions of it, which would amount to a complete departure from the principle which had been all along established. He would also observe that the Amendment embraced all buildings whatever, whereas the arguments in support of it had been entirely confined to dwelling-houses.

Mr. HEALY said, that the Prime Minister, at an earlier stage of the Bill, conveyed to the House that they were willing to exclude the tenant's improvements from the valuation. He understood that the Government had made up their minds that it was possible for a tenant, without some reservation in his favour, to improve himself out of the benefit of the Bill. However that might be, if the Government were now disposed to put a premium on unimproving tenants, Irish Members could do nothing but divide against the principle.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he understood the hon. Member had referred in his speech to the case of a man having an agricultural holding valued at £25, and another holding not agricultural valued at £10. He also understood him to say that one holding should not be counted against the tenant so as to exclude his other holding. He believed that was in the Bill as it then stood.

Colonel NOLAN said, in that case the whole of his argument as to the grazing holding and agricultural holding held by one tenant was admitted. He trusted this would be made perfectly clear on Report, if it were not already in the Bill.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, everyone knew that dwelling-houses were separately valued from the rest of the holding. But the farm was none the less one holding on that account. The effect of the Amendment would be that a man valued at £30 for his farm, who had also a house upon it valued at £6, would be entitled to come under this Act. It was, in fact, an attempt to slide up the scale from £30 to £36.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 13 (Cancellation of certain rent charges under 44 & 45 Vict., c. 49, s. 59, in repayment of advances for arrears of rent).

On the Motion of Mr. HEALY, Amendments made, in page 6, line 15, by leaving out "Civil Bill;" and in page 6, line 25, by leaving out "Civil Bill."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

MR. GLADSTONE in rising to move the following New Clause:—

(Arrears of rent how dealt with.)

Where it appears to the court, on the joint application of the landlord and tenant of any such holding valued at a sum not exceeding fifty pounds a-year—

That the tenant has paid the whole (or such sum as the landlord may be willing to accept as the equivalent of the whole) of the rent payable in respect of the year of the tenancy expiring as aforesaid, and that antecedent arrears are due, the Land Commission may make, in respect of such antecedent arrears, an advance of a sum not exceeding one year's rent of the holding, and not exceeding half the antecedent arrears, and thereupon the court shall by order declare the holding to be charged with the repayment of the advance to the Land Commission, by a rent-charge payable half-yearly during the thirty-five years from the date specified in the order, and calculated at the rate of five pounds by the hundred, by the year, of the advance;

Whenever, in the case of any tenant evicted for non-payment of rent since the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, the landlord agrees to reinstate such tenant on the terms in this section set forth, this section shall apply as if such tenant had not been so evicted from his holding.

The charge declared by the order as aforesaid shall have priority over all charges affecting the holding except quit-rent and Crown rent, and sums payable to the Commissioners of Public Works, and the landlord for the time being of the holding shall pay to the Land Commission the sum for the time being due on account of such rent-charge.

Every half-yearly amount of such rent-charge shall be deemed to be an addition to the half-year's rent of the holding (whether a judicial rent or otherwise) due from the tenant to the landlord, and may be recovered by the landlord accordingly.

On the order of the court being made as aforesaid in relation to any holding, such antecedent arrears shall be deemed to be absolutely released.

The landlord and tenant may agree that any rent paid by the tenant in or subsequent to the year expiring as aforesaid shall be deemed, for the purposes of this section, to have been paid in respect of the rent due for that year, and not in respect of arrears of rent.

Where arrears of rent in respect of a holding are due to some person or persons besides the landlord, the advance made under this section shall be rateably distributed by the court amongst the persons entitled thereto.

An application for an advance under this section shall not be made after the periods mentioned in the eleventh Clause aforesaid.

The omission or refusal by either landlord or tenant of any holding to join with the other of them in obtaining a loan from the Land Commission under this section shall not prejudice any other application or proceeding which either of them may make or institute under this Act or "The Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870," or "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," in relation to such holding.

The Land Commission shall at such time after the expiration of each period of twelve months as the Treasury may from time to time appoint make up an account showing for the said period of twelve months the amount of all such payments due to them in respect of rent-charges payable to them under this section as they have failed to recover at the expiration of the said period,

said, he should not detain the Committee at any length in proposing this clause. The Committee would be already familiar with its character, because it corresponded with the Arrears Clause for the Land Act of last year, except as to certain changes introduced into it, to which he had already referred in anticipation. The most important of these was, perhaps, the alteration of the time which would be granted for the repayment of the loans, and the effect of which would be to reduce the heavy payment of £8 10*s.* per annum to the moderate payment of £5 per annum in respect of capital and interest. The arguments in favour of the clause were very simple. The clause was intended to soften the harshness of the distinction between those who got the gift and those who got nothing at all—between those who underwent the test of inability to pay and those who were not obliged to admit themselves to have sunk to that point in the social scale, but with respect to whom the circumstances were such that it might be both equitable and politic on the part of the State to render them reasonable and moderate assistance within the limits of a loan. That was the general argument on which the Government founded the clause. The other argument had relation to the expenditure likely to take place under the clause, and this he did not conceive would be large. The number of persons possessed of holdings between the valuations of £30 and £50 reached a total which the Government computed to represent, on the whole, a rent of about £2,000,000 a-year. Were they to reckon the total amount of the demand upon the public funds for loans in the same proportion as their estimate of the demand upon those funds for the money expended by way of gift in the case of holdings of £30 and under, they would have arrived at a sum of between £500,000 and £600,000; but it was a well-known fact that the tenants above £30 valuation and up to £50 were to a less extent in arrear than those below the £30 valuation. He did not think it likely that more than £750,000 would be added to the sum total of expenditure under this Bill in respect of the clause now proposed. He always wished the House to understand that a general estimate of possible expenditure should be taken largely. But it would not surprise him if the expenditure in this case fell materially short of the estimate, because the subject was one which did not require a great allowance to be made for possible error. He believed it might, however, be taken as an estimate likely to represent the actual expenditure under the clause. He begged to move that the clause of which he had given Notice be read a second time.

New Clause (Arrears of rent how dealt with,)—(*Mr. Gladstone,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

Mr. GIBSON said, it was not his intention to offer any opposition to the clause being read a second time. He would merely point out that it made a considerable change in the Bill. It was, in fact, a Bill in itself, because it proposed to deal with all tenancies, without distinction, which were held at the valuation of £50 and under. He did not wish to criticize the policy of a clause resting on the basis of loan; but he could not forget that the provision in the Land Act of last year, which was essentially on the same lines as this clause, had practically failed. Undoubtedly, there were some operations under it; but, broadly speaking, it was a failure. There was a substantial difference which distinguished this clause from the Arrears Clause in the Bill of last year—namely, the extension of the period for the repayment of the loan from 15 to 35 years, which, of course, mitigated the pressure exercised on the party who had to repay the money, and this was a fact entitled to have great weight in their consideration of the clause. But the clause also retained one of the provisions of the Arrears Clause of last year which mainly contributed to its failure—namely, that the landlord was the person liable for the repayment of the loan. Now, although the landlord might get a certain amount of benefit from the loan, the person who would be materially benefited was the tenant. He ventured to say that every landlord whose pecuniary circumstances raised him above absolute penury and distress refused to avail himself of the Act of last year for the reason he had mentioned. Therefore, he saw every reason for anxiety with reference to the working of the present clause. It said that an advance was to be made for high State purposes to keep the tenant in possession of his holding, but then the landlord must repay the advance within the period of 35 years. He was bound to say that, in his opinion, many landlords would hesitate largely before they rendered themselves liable in the way proposed by the clause. He did not think that the tenant could reasonably object to pay a moderate sum for the period of 35 years for the benefit he received when it was considered that the loan was made for his own convenience. At any rate, in dealing with a wide clause like this, it was well to consider whether it was likely to have an extensive operation, or to be killed like the clause of last year for the reason indicated. This clause would be regarded with great jealousy by tenants in Ireland who were excluded from its provisions, because there was no suggestion, from beginning to end, of any condition whatever to be satisfied by the tenant as to his property. Any tenant who was in arrear, whether rich or poor, was entitled to come in, if he could get the landlord to join him, and so get the benefit of public money on these particularly easy terms. But when a tenant above £50 valuation in Ireland, or any tenant in England, saw these easy terms given for the asking, without proof of poverty, great soreness would be created. So far as he knew, there was at present in Ireland a vast difference of opinion on all sides in relation to this Bill. Tenants who had honestly paid their rents and striven to meet their obligations and to resist dangerous criminal teaching, felt soreness at being left out in the cold, while other tenants, many of whom had made no effort to pay their debts and had submitted to terrorism or habits of improvidence, were to have all the benefits of the Bill. The discussion which took place last night brought before the Committee again the difference between the structure of this clause and that of the general clauses of the Bill. The conditions imposed under the previous clause of the Bill were essentially most complicated. He merely asked the Government to bear in mind, before putting down Amendments on Report, the comparative simplicity with which they would call upon the tenant to show that he had paid a year's rent in 1881, leaving it to the landlord and tenant to appropriate the payment for another year, as compared with the immensely complicated way in which they dealt with the tenant under the Gift Clause. On a previous occasion he had pointed out, as plainly as he could, his own great difficulty in the matter; and opinions which he had received from Ireland had strengthened his view, and led him to think that clause was at present a mass of confusion.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he was convinced that the adoption of the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion to allow a loan to be made on the security of a tenant's land would be a great benefit. If it was made necessary for the landlord to give security for the repayment, the clause would have very little effect. He did not think the State would run any risk by being content with the tenant's security. The security might be on the holding as well as on the tenant's interest, if that were necessary; but he was sure it would be of the greatest advantage and would do away with the chief difficulty of joint application, because there would be no difficulty in getting the landlord's consent when he was not to be made responsible. He hoped the Government would consider that point, coming as it did from one whose suggestions were as well worthy of consideration as those of his hon. Friend were.

Mr. GORST said, he must express his alarm and concern lest this clause should prove to be the embryo of an Arrears of Rent Act of 1883. It bore a suspicious resemblance to the Arrears Clause of the Act of last year, which was introduced as a final measure. The strongest denunciations were made by Ministers of the immorality which would result from gift instead of loan. The Chief Secretary had spoken of the denunciation which might have been applied to that clause if it had provided gift instead of loan; and it was then prophesied that the clause would fail. Nobody, at that time, suspected that it would be made the foundation of the Arrears Act of 1882; but now this clause was proposed. It was true that the tenants were to have £50 valuation instead of £30; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin had anticipated the failure of the clause; and what security was there that the Government would not come forward in 1883 and, saying that the system of loan had failed and they must make the thing compulsory, propose another Arrears Bill?

Mr. GIVAN said, he was rather at a loss to know how the proposal of the Prime Minister would place hon. Members opposite. Although he had not always agreed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson), he thoroughly agreed with the objection he had made to this new clause in regard to the advance being made on the security of the landlord's interest. With the failure of the Loan Clause of last year's Act before them, was the House to follow the same course, and run the same danger? They must expect that the landlords in Ireland would refuse to join with the tenants in making applications, and it would be dangerous for them to do so; for what landlord in Ireland, or elsewhere, would now undertake to charge his property for 35 years with a loan which was to be advanced by the State for the relief of the tenant? Numerous difficulties presented themselves to his mind, and the matter bristled with objections. There might be cases in which the mortgagees had barely security for their interest; by the framework of this Bill, and this new clause, the loan to the tenant would have priority over the mortgage. Suppose a tenant wished to sell his land, there would be this incumbrance, which could not be disposed of except by liquidation of the debt. Suppose a landlord wished to sell to his tenant, the estate been already charged with the advance to the tenant; how was the matter to be arranged then? The tenant was bound to pay these instalments for 35 years; but the moment they ceased, where was the money then? He would not make it imperative on the Commissioners to make advances to every tenant unless they were satisfied that he had sufficient margin on the holding to make the advance safe. Although the Prime Minister intended to extend to tenants above £30 benefits from which they would be shut out as the Bill stood, he was afraid this would be a complete failure if the advance was charged on the landlord's interest.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The House and the Committee have had the most distinct intimation from the Government of the proposal they would undertake to make, and they were informed in the clearest manner that that proposal must be a proposal under which the State was to be exempted from the great political mischief of becoming the creditor of possibly a large number of tenants on the basis of their tenant right. Nothing could be clearer than that, and although I made that declaration, and said we could not have agreed to propose a clause upon any other basis, we were encouraged to go on to make that proposal; and now hon. Members say there is nothing to be looked for but a complete failure if this restriction is maintained. I wish I had been made acquainted with their objection, in order that I might have prejudged the matter. I went distinctly into the change we proposed to make, and left the clause of 1881 as it is in respect of security. The whole financial aspect of the matter, I explained, would be changed, and the question of the £500,000 is no test at all of the amount to be charged; but I am prepared to be responsible for the clause we have changed. To adopt indiscriminately the principle that the State is to become the creditor of these persons is a provision which I think open to political danger far greater than any benefit arising from the clause. It is said that the landlords will stand in relation to this clause in the same position as under the clause of last year. I do not agree in that; not only because of the great difficulty in regard to the annual payments to be made, but likewise because, under the Act of last year, it was intended to be the basis of the whole operation, and it was a serious matter indeed for a landlord, who might have many hundreds of tenants in arrear, to have no option before him except that of becoming responsible for the whole of the sum advanced to them; but now he is required to undergo no responsibility whatever with regard to the bulk of his tenants. But there is a kind of margin which, quite unaware of the reception to be accorded to it, we agreed to add to the measure for the sake of touching a case of an intermediate class. This is a case of a limited addition to be made to a number of tenants in arrear; and it does not follow that the landlord must object to incur a very small liability for the sake of clearing off the arrears on holdings under £50, although he is unwilling, or perhaps unable, to incur very large liabilities for the sake of dealing with the whole of the cases. I think there is some inconvenience in having this discussion on the second reading; but certainly I should be glad to hear something more after the discouraging prospect held out by the hon. Member behind me.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, before this clause was passed the Committee should be distinctly informed whether it was to be persevered in or whether it was to be withdrawn. He would assume that the right hon. Gentleman, having after due consideration placed this clause on the Paper, it would be persevered in.

Mr. GLADSTONE: We shall persevere with it as it is.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the right hon. Gentleman had proposed a clause which was practically a new Bill. Under cover of this clause it was proposed to add a serious item, charged on the Consolidated Fund. That might be right or wrong; but at any rate it was a serious proposition which must be regarded by the House in the light of a clear addition to the burden imposed on the taxation of the country. Some reference had been made to the desirability of making this charge on the tenant and not on the landlord. He had several times been taken to task for having emphatically declined, in connection with advances made some two years ago, to allow advances to be made to the tenant. Proposals were made with regard to the financial proposals of the late Government in connection with the distress in 1880, to the effect that the tenant should be allowed to borrow money. He had distinctly declined to be a party to that, because the tenants had at that time no tangible security to offer. Now, however, a considerable portion of the landlords' property had been arbitrarily, and unceremoniously, and without compensation handed over to the tenants. It had been taken away from the landlords without a farthing of compensation and handed over to the tenants who did not pay a farthing for it, and now was available if required as security for money advanced to the Irish tenants. He would remind the Committee that the objection which could be justly advanced two years ago to any attempt to lend money to the Irish tenant who had no security to offer was now entirely altered. When they took a third of the property belonging to the landlord and handed it over to the tenant without payment, it was no longer the case that the tenant could not offer any security. He had not objected to similar proposals in 1880 because the persons designated were tenant farmers, but because they had at that time no tangible security to offer. Therefore, he did not see why the tenants under their altered circumstances should not be entitled to have loans. When the Committee came to discuss this clause in detail, he hoped the Prime Minister would explain why he proposed to subject unfortunate mortgagees, who he fancied were in a nervous state of mind, to this further obligation —the right hon. Gentleman proposed that the mortgagees, who had very poor security, if any at all, for present advances, should make way for the loans. He hoped that would be explained.

Captain AYLMER said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman, if he reconsidered this Bill, would take into consideration this point—the arrear of rent to be advanced under this clause was to spread over 35 years, but under the Bill of last year the tenant had a right to sell his tenant right, and it seemed to him that a considerable addition was made by the money due having a duration of 35 years. However that might be, there was the difficulty that when the tenant who purchased the tenant right came before the Land Commission to have a judicial rent again fixed for 15 years, he would expect to have his rent reduced to what he considered fair, minus a 35th part of the arrears. Why should such a tenant have accumulated on him the arrears of a previous tenant? He was quite sure that this extension of the arrears would cause a great difficulty both as to selling the tenant right and as to fixing a judicial rent.

Mr. GORST said, he might remind the Committee that the late Chief Secretary last year said, with reference to a remark of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) as to this being a demoralizing principle, that he could not see anything demoralizing in it, but that it would doubtless be very demoralizing if the parties were forced to accept the proposal.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. T. A. DICKSON said, the object of his Amendment was that the Arrears Clause and the Arrears Bill should really reach the tenant farmers of Ulster. So far as he could see by the Bill, according to the definition given by the Prime Minister of the tenant right, a great many of the tenant farmers of Ulster would be excluded from the benefits. No doubt, the Prime Minister proposed to arrange that tenants of over £50 should have the benefit of the Bill; but the conditions were that the applications must be joint applications by the landlord and the tenant. His Amendment simply proposed that, on the application of either the landlord or the tenant, the benefit of the Bill should be allowed. That would enable the tenant to apply for a loan. With regard to the Arrears Clause of the Act of 1881, the fatal defect of that was that the landlord and tenant had jointly to apply in connection with a loan for the discharge of arrears, and the advance was to be generally charged on the property. Under the present condition of matters in Ulster, it was perfectly impossible that the landlords would join the tenants in any arrangements in connection with this Bill, and the result would be that many deserving tenants in Ulster would be left out in the cold, because their tenant right would come in as a barrier to their obtaining a loan. They would be unable to obtain advances from the banks or money-lenders on their tenant right, and if something was not done for the tenants of Ulster, a great many tenant farmers would be excluded from the benefit of this Act. He was quite aware that the Prime Minister in the new clause brought in the condition of extending the time from 15 to 35 years; but he very much doubted whether that was a valuable concession. He would rather see the time limited to 15 years, so that it should expire with the terms of the judicial rent in the Land Act of 1881. Fifteen years was the term named, and he considered that quite sufficient for any duration under this Arrears Bill, for his experience in connection with loans was that where a tenant borrowed for 35 years the interest became a permanent charge on the holding, and he thought the Prime Minister would do well to yield to the representations of Irish Members sitting on this side of the House, and to allow tenants to apply for a loan on their own security, the loan not to extend beyond 15 years. Unless some concession was made by which the tenant could borrow on the security of his tenant right, apart from the landlord, the Arrears Bill would be inoperative all over Ulster. He believed that £300,000 would cover the entire sum required in the North of Ireland for both gift and loan; and, taking into consideration the disastrous state of agriculture at present, he thought the Prime Minister should consider the condition of the tenants in the North of Ireland, by assenting to the proposal to allow them to borrow on their own security, especially when the security offered was equal to the fee-simple of the landlord, and that the law-abiding tenant farmers of the North of Ireland, who had suffered so much in the past seasons, should be entitled to obtain loans when they could not acquire gift. In Ulster there were as many, if not more, evictions than in any other Province of Ireland, and yet there was neither crime nor outrage, and he certainly felt that the tenant farmers of Ireland should be entitled to obtain loans. As to the failure of the Arrears Clause in the Land Act, that was shown by the fact that in his own county, notwithstanding all the pressure in connection with rents, only £68 were granted under the Act in connection with arrears.

Amendment proposed to the proposed New Clause,

In line 1, after "Court," insert "on the application either of landlord or tenant."—(*Mr. T. A. Dickson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. T. C. BARING said, he had never spoken on this Bill; but he had voted two or three times on principle, and against his Party, for the Bill, because he believed it was brought in to relieve the extremely poor and utterly helpless tenants in Ireland, and would not have any application elsewhere. If, as the hon. Member had just said, the Government was bound to come to the support of those who could give security, then he thought a good many people in Essex desired relief quite as much as those in Ulster. For that reason simply he thought the Prime Minister was absolutely right, when he brought in what was practically a new Bill, to adhere to the terms he had placed on the Paper; and he certainly opposed the Amendment.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he failed to see in what manner it would be possible to meet the suggestion of the hon. Member; on the present occasion the Committee had to deal with a specific Amendment, and they should clearly understand what the effect of that Amendment would be. The proposal of the hon. Member was to insert "on the application either of landlord or tenant," so that the application of this section would not take place where the tenant and landlord were agreed, but where the landlord wished to put the clause in operation in spite of the tenant or where the tenant wished to put it in operation in spite of the landlord. What would be the effect of that? What the hon. Member proposed was, that if a landlord wished to accept from the Government arrears of rent in discharge of arrears due to him by the tenant, he should be able to do so, and to burden the tenant's interest in spite of the tenant himself; that was to say, that the tenant would have to submit to a burden upon his interest simply because a landlord desired to get a year's rent. That, he ventured to say, would do an infinite amount of mischief. But the hon. Member, on the other hand, thought, although the landlord should not wish to come to such an arrangement, nevertheless the tenant might force the landlord to accept a year's rent in lieu of his arrears; and although the landlord might know the tenant was able to pay, nevertheless he was bound in such a case to accept a year's rent, and to have that rent charged during a certain period on the estate. Either of these provisions—to either force the landlord to accept from a solvent tenant a year's rent, or for the landlord to be able to force on the tenant a charge on the holding against his will, even though the mortgagee should be the State—would raise such objections that the clause would be absolutely unworkable. That was irrespective of the general principle of the hon. Member that where it could be done without difference between the parties the State might, in certain cases, take the security of the landlord. When they came to that question, the Government would be prepared to discuss it; but the present Amendment would be entirely unworkable. Therefore, he hoped it would not be accepted.

MR. PARNELL said, he was inclined to think it would be prudent for the hon. Member to withdraw his Amendment, and concentrate his force on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan), which, he thought, to a great extent, would carry out his object and make the clause, if the Government saw their way to accept it, a practical and workable clause. He still adhered to the opinion that it would have been better to have left the clause to work on the same conditions as the Gift Clause; to have it compulsory on the landlord, but to have included the condition of inability to pay, and not to take into account the value of the tenant right as a portion of the means by which the tenant might be able to pay. However, the Government had decided to adopt the other principle, and to leave the question of inability out of the case altogether; and, under the circumstances, he thought the hon. Member would see that it would be asking rather too much that the loan should be granted on the application of one person only. After all, the hon. Member would recollect that this was one of the most important conditions of the whole matter. He thought the adoption of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan would get over the indisposition of the landlord to agree in all reasonable cases to an application, and that it would be found that one of the chief causes which rendered the clause of the Land Act inoperative would be avoided if the Government agreed to that Amendment. He would suggest to the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) that it would be well to proceed as soon as possible with the subsequent Amendment.

COLONEL NOLAN said, his impression was that the Government might safely accept either this Amendment or the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan), in combination with that of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan), and then to reduce the term from 35 to 15 years. The combination of these Amendments would allow the tenant to put the Act into force, but would compel him to place a charge on his holding, and be responsible for it, and would shorten the time from 35 to 15 years.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, he would withdraw his Amendment, and wait for that of the hon. Member for Monaghan.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

DR. LYONS said, he rose to propose that the limit of valuation should be £100 instead of £50. He said his object was that the Government, having gone the length of relieving by gift or loan the greater part of the tenants in Ireland, should not leave out a comparatively small class. The total number of tenants in Ireland of £100 valuation was very small, and they constituted an independent class, who were the least likely to put forward unfounded claims on the State. But there was certainly a number of holders over £50 who had had their interests injuriously affected by bad seasons; and when the State undertook to assist others, he could not see why they should stop at £50, especially as ample security for repayment of the loan was provided. What was wanted was to give general assistance with safety to the State, and there was no danger to the State in extending the limit beyond that of £50 valuation.

Amendment proposed to the proposed New Clause, in line 2, leave out "fifty," and insert "one hundred."—(*Dr. Lyons.*)

Question proposed, "That 'fifty' stand part of the proposed New Clause."

Mr. GLADSTONE: I regret that we cannot accept this Amendment. Condition has been the main capital element in the Bill all along, and it is not possible to apply that principle to persons paying from £70 to £100 a-year. It would seriously prejudice the Bill, and I hope it will not be pressed.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the Prime Minister had stated that it was not to be any obligation on the part of an applicant for a loan to show poverty. The same argument would apply to holders of £100 as to those of £50.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman has used the word "poverty;" but he is not accurate.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he thought inability to pay and poverty were so near that they need not split hairs. The Prime Minister objected to the tenant at £100 having the same facilities as the tenant at £50. He could not understand where the line was drawn. He did not wish to increase the charge on the Consolidated Fund; but if the Prime Minister intended to assist tenants at £50, he could not see why those at £100 should not be assisted. He did not see why there should be any limit at all, because the Government were stereotyping the worst class of tenants who were absolutely insolvent, and denying assistance to numbers of most deserving tenants in the country—the tenants whom it was most desirable, on the ground of public interest, to retain in their holdings. In his opinion, the great mass of the existing small holders of land would be far better as labourers; and to make them farmers was an injurious proceeding. He could not but admit that the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons) had conclusively proved his case. He was sorry that the hon. Member put the limit at £100, for he thought he should have proposed an unlimited amount. If the Bill had been left as it was drawn, and it was provided that the tenant applying must be a small tenant, and must prove inability to pay, then the Prime Minister would have stood upon firm ground; but, having departed from that position, he could not understand why he refused this Amendment.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, there were some people who the more they got the more they wanted. With regard to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Lowther), it seemed to him that there was a distinct difference between £100 and £50. If the line was fixed at £50, it would be drawn at the occupying tenant who worked his own land; but if it was drawn at the higher point, then it brought in the men who employed capital and labour, and did not work their own land themselves. If the whole community was to be relieved, then it was essential that there should be some relief for the communities of Scotland and England, where there were great numbers who could not pay their rents. In Ireland there was a certain tenant right, and he differed from the right hon. Gentleman in saying that the present proposal would perpetuate a bad system. On the contrary, it seemed to him that the policy of the Government and the House was to preserve the class of peasant tenants.

Mr. PARNELL said, he thought the practical defence for this provision was that it met the practical necessities of the case. It was fixed upon in order to give the Land Act of last year a practical chance of working, and the line must be drawn somewhere. Tenants under £50 were in a very different position from those at £100, and the same necessity could not be said to exist for the latter as for the former.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Dr. LYONS proposed to leave out lines 4, 5, and 6, to the word "and," and also the words "not exceeding half the antecedent arrears." It appeared to him that, on coming to deal with the class of tenants under this clause who were now to be put in the position of receiving loans from the State on very favourable terms, there was a totally new consideration introduced. The Committee were dealing, first of all, with a number of persons in a much more independent position in life, who were capable of making contracts, and who, under ordinary circumstances, were fully capable of meeting the whole amount of their debts. These persons, during a course of years, came to owe a considerable amount of money. In favourable years they could be made to pay the whole sum due by the ordinary process of law; but it was implied in this clause that, owing to the special circumstances of the last three or four years, it was necessary for the State to come forward and lend them public money on more favourable terms than they could borrow at in the open market, for the purpose of paying their landlords the arrears due to them. The landlords to whom this money was owing were themselves in a most serious and critical position, not only as to their own means of support, but with regard to the large number they had depending upon them. In fact, they were dealing with a class of people whom it was desirable to maintain in a state of solvency, in order that they, in turn, might meet the obligations they were under to other persons who had claims upon them in regard to mortgages, jointures, settlements, and so forth, and to the large class of poor people depending upon them, such as labourers, farm servants, and so on. The landowners, in fact, were themselves held strictly responsible for paying 20*s.* in the pound, while the State sought, by this clause, to compel them to take half, or less, of what was due to them by those to whom public loans were made on the easiest possible terms. If the landlords were not paid, there was a very large and important class indirectly belonging to the landed interest who would be left in a position of absolute ruin. The distress experienced by the upper and middle-class owners, and others who were dependent upon rents for their income, was at the present moment extreme, and it was running to a pitch at which it would soon become intolerable. It was imperatively necessary that relief should be given in one way or another to these classes. There could be no doubt, in another point of view, that the most serious results would follow, unless the landed interest were put in a position of solvency at this particular time—he referred to the employment of permanent labourers. In point of principle, he could not see, when public money was lent on the easiest terms, what objection there could be to extending the period of indebtedness beyond one year; but it was a question whether the extension should be to two or three years, and upon that question he was open to give careful consideration to any proposal that might be made. He warned the Commitee that if resident owners, who had, in many instances, cut down their personal and family expenses to the smallest possible scale rather than discharge their permanent hands, were pauperized, hundreds of thousands of unemployed labourers would be found in Ireland during the coming winter; and such a condition of things, he need not remind them, would be most serious. [*Cries of* "Question!"] Surely, this was the question. There were 70,000 owners of land in Ireland, and if these were left in an impecunious condition, it would be impossible for them to pay the labourers to whom they had been hitherto giving continuous employment. This alone, at the low average of two per head, would represent 140,000 labourers and their families—at the lowest computation, nearly 500,000 of men, women, and children. So that the gravity of the problem could not be over-stated.

Amendment proposed to the proposed New Clause, to leave out lines 4, 5, and 6, down to "and."—(*Dr. Lyons.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed New Clause."

MR. GLADSTONE said, he must confess that he found himself in a position which he had not anticipated when he undertook to meet what he considered to be the general wish of the Committee by proposing the extension contained in this clause. Instead of finding his proposal satisfactory, he found that since he had brought it forward there had arisen up on every side of him proposals for encouraging and transforming the whole of the scheme, which materially increased the difficulties of the position they were placed in. He did not know how to extricate himself from these difficulties; and he certainly should not have undertaken to deal with this matter if he had had the least idea that he would have to encounter these numerous proposals for extension, amounting, as he had said, almost to a transformation of his proposal. He did not think the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons) could be serious in what he now proposed.

Dr. LYONS begged to inform the right hon. Gentleman that he was perfectly serious in making this proposal; and he had shown the feasibility of meeting the whole case fully, without drawing one shilling from the Public Exchequer, by moneys raised from purely Irish sources.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, it was not the case that they were on entirely new ground, because they had the legislation of last year before them, and in that legislation the question of the application of the principle of loan to arrears was considered. All along it was felt that it was necessary to retain a moral check upon the working of this Bill, and consequently they required the tenant to pay one year's rent. The hon. Member (Dr. Lyons) proposed absolutely to dispense with this check in recommending that they should enlarge the boon so as to make it apply to three years instead of one. The hon. Member had a further Amendment, to the effect that if there were 10 years' arrears the State should advance payment for seven years. It seemed to him (Mr. Gladstone) that the barest description of the hon. Member's proposals was quite sufficient to condemn them in the mind of the Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, he wished to ask the Government to take into consideration the desirability of including words to the effect that the tenant had obtained a receipt in full for such rent. The reason he proposed these words now was not because this part of the Bill was actually the right place where the Amendment should be moved, but because this was a clause analogous to the clause on which it appeared to him necessary to move the Amendment, as he had not been able to move it at the time the original clause was being considered before the Committee, because the attention of the Committee had not at that time been called to what appeared now to be the necessity for the insertion of these words. The reason he wished to press on the Committee the necessity for the insertion of these words was on account of a sentence which the Committee would remember was inadvertently let drop by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant last night, when speaking of an Amendment moved by an hon. Member on the Conservative side of the House, the object of which Amendment was the curtailment of the period during which this Act should be in operation. The right hon. Gentleman had said that—"The Committee must remember that a certain amount of time was necessary for the making of preliminary arrangements." Well, these preliminary arrangements the right hon. Gentleman had specified as the payment of the rent in full, the payment of the rent in part, or the abrogation of the total amount of rent, or, as he had said, in some cases the promise of the tenant to pay the rent at some future time. Could the right hon. Gentlemnn accept these words, or some such words, in the 1st clause, Sub-section (*a*)?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the object of the noble Lord was to ascertain if the protection contained in the Bill was a real and not a delusive one. Words might be brought up on Report to effect the object of the noble Lord the Member for South Wiltshire.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the noble Lord move anything?

Viscount FOLKESTONE: The right hon. Gentleman has promised to put words in on Report.

Mr. GLADSTONE: No; I did not promise.

Viscount FOLKESTONE: Then I will move, in line 6, after "aforesaid," insert the words "the tenant has obtained a receipt in full for such rent."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. GIVAN said, he did not intend to occupy much of the time of the Committee, inasmuch as the Amendment in his name had already been partly discussed. He regretted that the Prime Minister had looked at that Amendment in such a serious light, because he (Mr. Givan) had thought the right hon. Gentleman was the Minister who, amongst all other Ministers who had occupied his position, was the most anxious to conform to the wishes of the country. This clause was an instance of the truth of this statement, because, seeing that there was a wish that the provisions of this Bill should be extended in some way to tenants whose valuation was above £30, the right hon. Gentleman generously and most willingly framed this clause. But he (Mr. Givan) did not understand the Prime Minister, and he did not think the Committee understood him, to be bound by any words in the Bill, or by any distinct principle in the Bill, if anyone could manage to convince him that that principle or those words were unworkable. He (Mr. Givan) certainly did not understand that the clauses of the Bill of last year, which had so conspicuously failed, were to be introduced into the Bill of this year in the shape of new clauses; and if he had thought so, he should not, for one, have urged the Prime Minister to bring forward the clause. He (Mr. Givan) might point out that in Ulster, and he hoped also in the South and West Ireland of Ireland, the tenant's interest was of substantial value—was a thing that was valuable and real in the holding. Very often, indeed, the value of the tenant right was equal to the landlord's interest in the holding; and it was to be hoped that by the fixing of judicial rents the tenants in the South and West of Ireland would obtain, if they had it not already, as substantial an interest as the tenants of Ulster had. If they took a tenant's holding in Ulster at a rent of £10, the least the interest would be worth would be £100, and probably the value would be £200. He would point out to the Committee that the Church Commissioners always collected, and the Land Commission was now actually collecting, the advances made for the purpose of purchases from the tenants with the greatest facility. All it did was to enclose an order to them, and the money was paid into the bank. His suggestion was that the matter should be taken before one or two magistrates to enforce payment in a summary way. He did not think there was any apprehension on the ground stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and he thought it was unjust to give a loan to the tenant and charge it upon the landlord. He, therefore, hoped the Committee would accept his Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the proposed New Clause, in line 10, after "declare," insert "the tenant's interest in."—(*Mr. Givan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, it did seem to him that if the clause was to stand and to be really operative at all, it was necessary that some Amendment should be inserted on Report, either that of his hon. Friend sitting next him (Mr. Givan) or that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith). The real point seemed to be this. In Ulster, and in a large part of Leinster, the tenant right, before the passing of the Land Act of 1881, amounted to a very large sum—in some cases almost to the fee-simple of the land. The result of the passing of the Act of last year had been to give increased security to the tenant, and practically to cause the tenant right to increase proportionately in value, both where it had only existed previously to a limited extent, and also where it already amounted to an appreciable and considerable value. Wherever tenant right existed in a substantial shape, arrears of rent were practically, in consequence of the legislation of free sale by the Act of last year, secured to the landlord, and, therefore, the effect would be, unless some Amendment were introduced declaring that it was not the landlord's interest that was to be charged, that the landlord would never come into Court in this matter, and the clause would practically not work at all. He did not wish to state any opinion as to the necessity of the clause; but if it was to stand and be operative, he would suggest to the Prime Minister that he should see his way to the introduction of some such Amendment as he pointed to.

MR. MARUM said, he regretted very much to find, from the Prime Minister's statement, that hon. Members were arguing against a preconceived opinion. He might say that he had been in negotiation on behalf of two landlords, one in his own county, and one in Queen's County, both of whom had declined to have anything to do with this clause if it passed, and the primary liability were cast upon the landlord. If this liability remained, the clause should be withdrawn. The section would be inoperative, and might as well not be insisted on if the principle he had referred to were adhered to. He would suggest, in order to overcome any difficulty in this matter, that the collection of money should be left to the county cess officer. If it were not collected within six months, then the liability might fall upon the landlord.

Mr. CHILDERS said, that the hon. Member did not seem quite to appreciate the object of the clause. The right hon. Gentleman had used the words "the primary liability" of the landlords; but the liability did not primarily rest upon the landlord, but upon the tenant, who would be bound to pay the additional sum representing the interest and principal to the landlord, and, having paid that sum to the landlord, the latter would repay it to the Government, so that really the primary liability was with the tenant. The hon. Member had said that he saw no objection to a public officer receiving the amount, and that if within six months he failed to obtain it, then the liability should fall upon the landlord. That was a matter for the Committee to decide hereafter. All that the Government wanted now to secure was that the money should be paid, and the question of how the payment was to be enforced was a mere matter of detail.

Mr. GIVAN said, he wished to relieve the landlord of all liability. Under the clause, as it stood, the landlord was bound, first of all, to collect the instalment of the tenant and pay it to the Land Commission, and, whether the tenant paid or not, the landlord was bound to do so, even if he could not collect his rent. In the next place, it was the first charge upon a landlord's estate, and he questioned very much whether it was a charge upon the tenant's interest at all. He should think not.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that, as the clause stood, it was illusory, for it came to this—that the landlord and tenant might jointly apply to be allowed, in consideration of the payment of rent, to cancel some other rent that was due. The tenant was supposed to have a valuable tenant right in his property. If this tenant right existed, and if it was an asset over and above the liability of the landlord, the landlord would be more foolish than one would suppose him to be if he concurred in an application to the State for an advance to cancel arrears, and made himself liable for the payment of that advance during a certain period. It was quite certain that the landlord would not, under these circumstances, concur in the advance. He had a right to call upon the tenant to sell the tenant right and pay the debt that was due. The landlord would not concur with the tenant, if there was a balance in his favour, in asking for an advance from the State, for which he—the landlord—was liable, to be repaid in 15 or 35 years. As he had already said, it appeared to him that this clause, as it was drawn, was wholly illusory. The landlord would not join with the tenant in an application for an advance; the tenant would not get the advance, and the landlord would then say—"You must sell." This was a position the landlord would have a perfect right to take up under this clause.

Colonel NOLAN said, he understood the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers) to make a proposal which, he thought, would wholly meet this difficulty. ["No, no!"] Well, he bowed to the opinion of his hon. Friends, but that had been his view. As to the Arrears Clauses of the Land Act, he was acquainted with a great many landlords and tenants, and had discussed the subject with them, and he could undertake to say that there were very few Members of the House who had had his experience on the subject. He could say this, that the reason the landlords would object to being security for this money was, roughly, because they objected to subsequently levying the interest on the tenant. If they allowed a public officer to make a tenant liable, it was only when the tenant's interest was exhausted that the money would be recoverable from the land. In such a case as that the landlord would concur. The clause would work then; but he did not think it would in its present shape.

Mr. GREGORY said, there could be no doubt that the primary liability was thrown upon the holding. It would not only take effect upon the holding, but have priority to every incumbrance upon the holding—all mortgages, annuities, or other charges.

Mr. SHAW said, he did not wonder much at the Government wishing to have as much security as they could, and, if they could, to have the landlord between them and the tenant. He had had a large amount of experience as to the anxiety of the tenant farmers of Ireland to discharge their liabilities, and he was sure that any money they borrowed in that way they would be most anxious to pay. It struck him that the proposal of the hon. Member opposite would meet the clause, and, as he understood it, the Government were disposed to accept some such proposal. The landlord would really undertake no liability. If some public officer was bound to exhaust the assets of the tenant before the landlord was applied to, he could not see how the landlord could suffer at all. The Government had made up their minds not to change the substance of the clause, and he thought it would be a great pity if they passed it without amending it in the way pointed out.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, that in 99 cases out of 100 there would be no difficulty in getting money out of the tenants; but why, in the hundredth case, the liability should be thrown on the landlord, he could not see. Who was mainly responsible? Why, the person whose security was given for the money. It was the person whose security was given for the money—that was to say, the landlord whose estate was charged with the payment of the debt. He hoped that the Committee would look at this question from the point of view of justice and common sense, and would remember what took place last year. Last year a certain interest in the land was given to the tenant. No doubt, that interest varied from an equivalent in value of the holding to somewhat less than the value of the holding, and it did not seem to him, therefore, to be just that they should come upon the landlord for the arrears of rent. It did not seem to him to be just to relieve this valuable property from all charge, in consideration of the landlord having a small moiety.

MR. GLADSTONE said, this was a matter of considerable difficulty, and the Government had attended very carefully to all that had been said upon it. He thought the suggestions more or less which had been contained in the speeches—first, of the hon. Member opposite, and further, in that of his right hon. Friend, and in those of two hon. Members below the Gangway, the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Galway (Colonel Nolan) and the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw)—would afford a basis on which the Government might consent to frame their clause. But the clause could not be amended in that sense at present. The Government could not undertake to amend the clause in the rapid process of passing it through Committee; but they could undertake to introduce the necessary Amendments on Report. He did not think, after what had been said, that there could be any mistake as to the basis on which the Government intended to frame the Amendment. The application would be made to the tenant, and the public officer, who would be the best suited for making the application, was, as the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Marum) had pointed out, to exhaust the tenant's interest before any liability came upon the holding itself—that was to say, upon the landlord. On that basis the Government would undertake to frame the clause; but, undoubtedly, it would be better to allow the section to pass now. The Government might withdraw it; but it would be advantageous to pass it now, the hon. Member opposite, seeing that the substance of his object was sufficiently gained, withdrawing his Amendment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether the Prime Minister was willing to say that when the advance was made it should be charged, in the first place, on the tenant's interest?

MR. GLADSTONE: No doubt, that will be so.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that when the tenant's interest was exhausted the charge would come upon the landlord. But would not a question arise in a case where the tenant might be sold up, and in which, as a consequence, he could not continue upon his holding?

MR. GLADSTONE said, that that would apply to any mercantile operation.

MR. GIVAN said, that he was quite sure that what the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister desired was to give every relief he could by this clause. He thought the suggestion which had been made a very good one; and, therefore, he should be very happy to withdraw the Amendment.

MR. MACARTNEY said, he did not see that there was any great difference between the one proposal and the other. If they made the landlord liable in the first place, he would have to pay and recover from the tenant. If they made the tenant liable, and then, if he did not pay, imposed the liability on the landlord, they would give the tenant an incentive not to pay, because he would know that in his default the landlord would have to discharge the debt. This was the reason of the failure of the clause of last year, and he did not see that the change introduced into the present measure was so remarkable that it carried out the idea of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan). A tenant, after having his arrears paid under this clause might, a couple of years afterwards, put up his holding for sale, and it would be made known to the public that the holding, in addition to rent, was subject to the repayment of a certain amount to the State. But the auctioneer, in putting up the holding, would say—"The liability for the repayment of this sum to the State falls in the first place on the tenant; but, after all, the landlord is liable—you need not mind it." The result would be that the incoming tenant would consider himself justified in refusing to pay, and the onus would fall on the landlord. If the tenant really had an interest it ought to be charged, otherwise the landlord might be defeated in the recovery of his rent from the tenant by the statement that he—the tenant—was unable to pay. The State was not expected to have any bowels of compassion; but the landlord was always supposed to have, and if he did not show it, he was threatened in such a manner as to make him forego his just claim.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON asked whether they were to understand that in the Amendment on Report this charge would not be added to the half-year's rent, but that the charge would be a distinct one calculated by the local authority?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No doubt.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he had now to ask the Government to substitute for the period of 35 years mentioned in the clause, the period of 15 years. The reason he moved the Amendment was this. The clause, as he understood it, was intended to be a boon to the tenant in consequence of a calamity he—the tenant—had sustained from bad seasons; the gift was made solely in consequence of the misfortunes of the past two or three years; but there was no reason to doubt that within the next 35 years the same state of things would occur again. He wished to put into the clause the same period as was introduced into the Bill of last year by the right hon. Gentleman himself, and which was held to be a sufficient period during which a personal liability incurred by the tenant should be discharged. It would be a great misfortune if the tenants of Ireland were led to suppose that the State was to come to their aid in every period of drought or run of bad seasons. This Bill ought to be considered a peculiarly exceptional one; and unless a reasonable period were fixed as a limit for the discharge of the liability, there would be repetitions of application for the dole it was now proposed to serve out to the Irish tenants, and great demoralization would be the result.

Amendment proposed to the proposed New Clause, in line 12, leave out the words "thirty-five years" and insert "fifteen years,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'thirty-five years' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. CHILDERS said, that this and the subject of the next Amendment, which was to substitute "£8 10*s*." for "£5" had been carefully considered. It was felt that "£8 10*s*." would be too serious a burden—they had been so impressed with that argument that they had decided upon the more moderate sum and longer period.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the Government had assented to the principle that the tenant should be primarily liable, and they would, therefore, he thought, see the reasonableness of not exceeding, to any considerable extent at any rate, this term of 15 years during which the loan should be held by the tenant. After that period, reductions of rent might take place, and the whole of the conditions under which the land was held might become altered. That was an element in the consideration of the matter which the Government could hardly have considered. Of course, a tenant would rather pay 5 per cent than 8½ per cent of the advance; but now that they were making this advance, they must be careful that they were not unduly burdening future tenants for the benefit of the tenants of the moment. The money would, perhaps, have to be paid back by a tenant of the future. He hoped the Government would reconsider this point.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the matter was one requiring nice consideration.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the Government had better withdraw their proposal.

MR. GLADSTONE said, there was no connection between this point and the judicial rent, and the Government could not accept the Amendment. There might be no judicial rents on some of the farms if the tenants were satisfied with the position of the landlords—as some of them seemed to be. But, even if there was a judicial rent, there was no connection between the levying of the rent and this clause. If the Amendment were adopted, the sum might be larger than the tenant would be able to stand —especially the smaller tenant. The Government were satisfied with the security as it existed in the Bill.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether in the case of every failure of crops there was to be a tribunal of this kind appealed to to pay a tenant's arrears of rent? He could not understand how the Chancellor of the Exchequer could propose that a man who had received a loan from the State should be allowed 35 years to repay it. This was one of the most extraordinary financial proposals he (Mr. W. H. Smith) had ever heard.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the right hon. Gentleman was making one of the most extraordinary financial objections that could be submitted from the other side of the House, seeing that they were proposing that the charge should be put upon the tenant instead of upon the landlord.

MR. MAGNIAC opposed the Amendment.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, this Bill was supposed to be a cure for the serious evils existing in Ireland; but he failed to see the policy, in making a cure, of keeping the sore open longer than was necessary. If the measure was to do good, they must avoid, as much as possible, making future generations look back at what was now done. It would be well, as far as possible, to teach future generations to forget the calamitous times of the present,

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the difficulty he felt in the matter was this —that the advance might be made to a perfectly solvent tenant. As the clause stood, there was nothing to guide the Land Commission as to the class of persons to whom the advance of 35 years should be made; and, so far as they could see, the advance might be made to a perfectly solvent tenant. He would suggest that, if the clause was to be agreed to, there should be instructions given to the Commissioners that the advance should only be made in cases of necessity, and when it appeared to them that the tenant right was a sufficient security.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that it must be manifest to the Government that the clause had not been received with enthusiasm in any part of the House. On the contrary, some of the Supporters of the Government had taken serious objection to its most cardinal provisions. The manner in which it dealt with the tenant right had been severely criticized by hon. Gentlemen opposite; and, moreover, serious objection had been taken in other quarters to the forced period of 35 years prescribed for the repayment of the loans in the interests of the British taxpayers. On the whole, views had been expressed with regard to the clause which he thought must have left on the minds of the Government the impression that it had been hastily drawn. The Prime Minister himself had said more than once in the course of the discussion that if he had had any idea of the objections that would be urged against it he would never have proposed it to the Committee. For these reasons, and seeing that there were other matters to be dealt with before the present stage of the Bill was closed, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would obviate the further consumption of time by withdrawing this ill-digested clause.

MR. CHILDERS said, he hoped the Committee would not take the same view as the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. The clause only took effect in cases where the landlord and tenant agreed to make application to the Commission for a loan. It was difficult to understand the objection to an arrangement of that kind; but it must be remembered that the right hon. Gentleman objected to the whole Bill. He thought the Government had met the discussion of the clause very fairly, and he trusted the proposal would be agreed to by the Committee.

Mr. T. C. BARING said, he should vote for the Amendment. He thought the period of 35 years was one that was likely to induce landlords and tenants to agree to take the loans, because it involved them in no very heavy personal liability. If the period were 15 years, they would probably think three times before they applied for the money. As guardians of the public purse, he said the Committee were justified in making the terms so hard that the loans would not be availed of except where there was the strongest reason for it.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY was understood to say that the small instalments required for the repayment of the loan would make it positively to the interest of the landlord and tenant to conspire to obtain an advance.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 204; Noes 98: Majority 106.—(Div. List, No. 275.)

Amendment proposed to New Clause,

At the end of the first paragraph to add—"Provided, That on any transfer of the holding by sale the principal sum and interest remaining due to the Land Commission shall be paid out of the purchase-money to the Land Commission."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he could see no objection to the adoption of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The matter involved was one that he thought should be cleared up finally when the opportunity was offered by the sale of the tenant right. The only liberty, however, which the Government wished to reserve to themselves was to consider what would be the best wording for the Amendment, between that time and the Report.

Mr. GORST said, the Amendment was incorrectly worded. Instead of "in any transfer of the holding," the Amendment should run—"in any transfer of the tenant's interest in the holding," &c.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, after the word "transfer," to add "of the tenant's interest in."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GREGORY suggested that the Amendment should express that the amount uncovered by the sale remained a charge on the land.

Mr. SHAW said, he hoped the Government would leave a discretion with the Commissioners in this matter. Unless they were empowered to make concessions, the unfortunate tenants would, in some cases, find themselves tied to their holdings.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Mr. MARUM said, he had an Amendment to propose, the object of which was to place the tenant who was sold up, with the assent of the landlord, in the same position as the tenant who was evicted, so far as the benefit of the clause was concerned.

Amendment proposed to the New Clause,

In line 19, after the word "holding," to insert the words "where any tenancy has been sold to the landlord or other vendor, under any judgment obtained at the suit of such landlord, for rent due to him thereout, and such landlord, or such vendor, with his assent, re-conveys such tenancy to the former tenant thereof, or such tenant is otherwise reinstated by such landlord, the provisions of this Act, in reference to a holding valued at not more than thirty pounds, or in reference to a holding valued at a sum not exceeding fifty pounds, as the case may be, shall apply, notwithstanding any merger, as if no such judgment had been obtained, and whether an eviction in pursuance thereof may or may not have taken place."—(*Mr. Marum.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. PARNELL said, the Committee would recollect that upon the Compulsory Clause the Government had agreed to accept an Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), and to bring up a section on Report. That section, he believed, would meet the wishes of his hon. Friend the Member for Kilkenny County. He supposed the Government had no objection to the proposal of his hon. Friend?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that part of the question involved in the proposal of the hon. Member had already been discussed in Committee, and considered by Her Majesty's Government. As had been correctly stated by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), they had promised that a clause should be brought up on Report, in which the principle of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford would be embodied. It would be to the effect that if the landlord expressly agreed to reinstate a tenant who had been sold up for debt, then the tenant should be in the same position as if he had been sold up for rent. But the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. Marum) now proposed to extend that principle to tenants of holdings valued at £50, which was quite a different thing. The effect of this would be that the tenant would go back to his tenancy with a load of debt round his neck, or, at any rate, that he would be encouraged to remain in a state of debt. The Government could not, therefore, accept the hon. Gentleman's proposal, which was entirely different from that which, on the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wexford, they had agreed to in principle.

Mr. PARNELL said, he could not see on what grounds the Government objected to this Amendment. If it was right that the tenant who had not been sold out should, if the landlord consented, have the benefit of this clause, why should it not be right that the tenant who had been sold out should receive the same benefit? There ought to be no difference between the tenant who had been sold out and the tenant who had not been sold out. The matter simply stood in this way—that if a landlord agreed to reinstate a tenant who had been sold out, the State should pay a year's rent as in the case of any other tenant. That was all his hon. Friend asked, and he (Mr. Parnell) thought the request was a very reasonable one.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that in the case of gift they freed the tenant and started him a free man; in the case of loan they brought him back and started him with a weight round his neck. The conditions were entirely different, and he hoped his hon. Friend would not press the Amendment.

Mr. SYNAN said, with great respect to his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland, he saw no difference whatever whether the advance be by way of loan or gift. When the landlord and tenant stipulated with the Government that the tenant should be put back and that the loan should be a charge upon the holding, the State was in the same position as if the advance had been a gift. With respect to the weight round a man's neck, surely the landlord was the best judge. The State was as safe in the one case as in the other; the landlord would take the weight and the responsibility, and the Government would have as much security as they would have in the case of gift. The tenant would be just as free in the one case as in the other. The landlord took a year's rent; took a loan from the Government, and stipulated to pay it back. He (Mr. Synan) was at a loss to understand how the right hon. and learned Gentleman made a distinction between the one case and the other so far as the State was concerned. The State would simply get back its money, and would have ample security.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:— Ayes 38; Noes 222: Majority 184. — (Div. List, No. 276.)

Colonel ALEXANDER said, it was now nearly 1 o'clock in the morning, and as the Speaker was to be in the Chair at 12 o'clock that day, and as, moreover, there was some very important Business to transact before they separated, he begged leave to move that the Chairman do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Colonel Alexander.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he thought they ought to continue the Committee until 1 o'clock, and he was sure the hon. and gallant Gentleman would not like to deviate from the general practice.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he had hoped that they would have got through the Bill that night. He trusted, however, there would be no impediment to the Report of the Bill being taken on Thursday. He might suggest that the Bill, so far as it had progressed through Committee, should be reprinted; an Order of the House would facilitate that course if made that night. If his suggestion were adopted the Bill would be in the hands of Members to-morrow, Amendments could be put down, and the Report of the Bill could then be taken on Thursday, and the third reading, as originally arranged, on Friday. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would state to the Committee whether he would be prepared to adopt that suggestion?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that, if that course were agreeable to the House, it would be very convenient and advantageous. He quite agreed with the general sketch of Business the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) had given.

Mr. GIBSON said, there were a good many Amendments that the Government had to place on the Paper. He assumed that those Amendments were quite ready, and that there would be no objection to their being circulated to-morrow along with the Bill as reprinted. It was necessary that they should have those Amendments in their hands as early as possible. He supposed the Committee would be resumed at 12 o'clock to-morrow, and that the remaining Amendments would not occupy long in consideration. It should be understood that they should have the Government Amendments before them to-day in some shape or other, for they would necessarily require some consideration.

Mr. HEALY said, he would like to say a word in regard to the way in which their Business was managed. The Tories moved to report Progress at 7 o'clock for the purpose of killing the Local Option Motion, which would have been taken at 9 o'clock, and they now moved to report Progress in order to kill the Contagious Diseases Motion to-morrow; thereby wasting two days of that House. If Irish Members had ventured to do anything of the sort, they would, in the words of the Prime Minister, have been subjected to a very summary process.

Mr. PARNELL said, that before this Motion was disposed of, he would like to ask the Government whether they would not reconsider the subject of the last Amendment between now and Report? The matter was one of considerable importance, and he scarcely thought that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, in replying to the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kilkenny (Mr. Marum), had quite appreciated the scope of the Amendment. This clause, as it stood, provided that whenever, in the case of any tenant evicted for non-payment of rent since the 1st of May, 1880, the landlord agreed to reinstate such tenant on the terms in this section set forth, this section should apply as if such tenant had not been evicted. The matter which he hoped the Government would reconsider before Report was, that the same privilege which they extended to tenants who had been evicted since the 1st May, 1880, should also be extended to tenants who had been evicted and sold out. There was no practical difference between the situation of the two classes of tenants; the one class had been evicted by ejectment for non-payment of rent, and the other class had been evicted by being sold out. There was, practically, no difference whatever between the rights of the two classes of tenants so far as they came under the provisions of this Bill. He did trust the Government would give this matter, which was a matter of some practical importance, a fair consideration between this and Report, with a view to see whether they could not include this class of tenants—the tenants who had been sold out—in the operation of the Bill.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. M'COAN proposed, as an Amendment to the proposed new Clause, in line 45, after "holdings," to insert—

"Provided, That in case the landlord shall omit or refuse to join with the tenant in an application for such loan, the Land Commission, if it consider such omission or refusal to be unreasonable, may, nevertheless, on the sole application of the tenant, make the required advance, limited as aforesaid, and charge it upon the holding as hereinbefore provided."

He would add nothing whatever to what he thought the almost perfect agreement of testimony as to the destructive effect the insistance upon the joint application of the landlord and tenant would have upon the useful operation of the Bill. They had the evidence of Members from the North of Ireland, as well as from the South of Ireland, that that would actually make the Loan Clauses of the Act nugatory altogether. That was the experience under the similar provision in the Land Act of last year, and if that feature was imported into this Bill the consequences would be pretty much the same. The Prime Minister had voluntarily declared his intention to adhere to that feature of the Bill. That being so, it would be useless for him to contend against the right hon. Gentleman; but he ventured to offer the right hon. Gentleman a sort of compromise. The discretion which he proposed to vest in the Land Commission was perfectly analogous to that which was given in every other part of the Bill. If the Commissioners found that the grounds of the landlord's refusal were unreasonable, they should have power to pass over his head and make a loan on the application of the tenant himself. He could not understand what satisfactory answer could be given to that compromise. Some objection might be taken to the provision involved in the closing words of the Amendment—namely, that the Land Commissioners might charge the loan on the holding, or, in other words, that the landlord, and not the tenant, should be made responsible for the loan. He would ask the Government to consent to the Amendment, if the provisions should be either to hold the landlord responsible for the repayment of the loan, or should make the rental dischargeable.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHILDERS said, the Government could not accept the Amendment. The point had been raised at an earlier period by the hon. Member for Monaghan, and the Government then stated their views. They had conceded largely; but they must hold that there must be a joint application by landlord and tenant.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the proposed new Clause be added to the Bill."

MR. WARTON wished to suggest to the Government, before the clause was passed, to consider the possibility of some scheme which might enable the repayment of advances before the time had expired. He thought it would be well for the financial interests of the country that there should be some means of repaying a loan before the limit of time was reached, and some discount or reduction made in consideration of such payment.

MR. CHILDERS said, the Government were always perfectly ready to receive repayments, and there would be no difficulty on that account.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

New Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot.*)

MR. CHILDERS said, he had no objection to the Motion.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

—◦○◦—

AGRICULTURAL TENANTS (COMPENSATION) (Nos. 1 AND 2) BILLS.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Select Committee on the Agricultural Tenants (Compensation) (Nos. 1 and 2) Bills, do consist of Twenty-seven Members."—(*Sir Thomas Acland.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE proposed that Mr. Bradlaugh be added to the Committee.

MR. SPEAKER: The first Question is that the Committee consist of 27 Members.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was going to challenge that, and was going to move an Amendment.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH rose to Order, and asked whether, as the hon. Member proposed to raise this question, this was not an Opposed Motion? The hon. Member had given Notice of an objection to one of the names; but he now opposed the Motion that the Committee should consist of 27 Members.

MR. SPEAKER: No doubt, the hon. Member proposes an Amendment which challenges the proposition now before the House; but there is no Notice of the Amendment.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH begged to call attention to the fact that the hon. Member had given Notice of an Amendment to one of the names, but now changed that Notice into an objection to nominating a Committee of 27 Members. Surely it was not competent to him to take that course.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he would explain why he made this proposal. He had put down a Motion that the noble Lord the Member for South Wiltshire (Viscount Folkestone) be omitted from the Committee and Mr. Bradlaugh be added to it. He did not think the noble Lord had devoted as much time to agricultural subjects as the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin); but, on Saturday, after he had given this Notice, a Motion was placed on the Paper; the Government had altered the Committee by putting the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire in the place of the noble Lord. He thought the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire ought to be a Member of the Committee, and it would be wrong for him to suggest any other Member. His Amendment had been altered by the authorities of the House, so that the name of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) was inserted in the place of the noble Lord the Member for South Wiltshire. For the convenience of the House, he proposed to move that the Committee should consist of 29 Members; and then, if that was carried, he should propose to add Mr. Bradlaugh, and to name another Gentleman on the other side, so as to make the Committee even.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, the Motion before the House was that the Committee should consist of 27 Members; but the Motion of the hon. Member that one of the Members should be omitted was in direct contradiction to the Motion. Therefore, this was an Opposed Motion, and could not come on after half-past 12 o'clock.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member will refer to the Resolution of February 18, 1879, with regard to Opposed Business, he will see that it does not apply in this case. There is no Notice of opposition, and, therefore, there is no objection to the Motion being taken.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, the Motion was whether the Committee should consist of 27 Members; and the Motion of the hon. Member that one of the Members should be struck off was an Amendment to the Motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is, no doubt, an Amendment; but there is no Notice of it, and the Standing Order requires that Notice of the Amendment shall appear on the Paper.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he thought the question had not been fairly brought before the notice of the Speaker. There was a printed Amendment to the effect that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) should be omitted from the Committee. That, he thought, an Amendment to the Motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it quite clear that that Notice does not apply, because the Question before the House is that the Committee consist of 27 Members, and the Notice of Amendment does not challenge that proposition.

Colonel MAKINS asked, if this Notice was carried, and the proposal that Mr. Chaplin should be a Member of the Committee came up, would not that be an Opposed Motion in the sense of the Standing Order, because a Notice had been given of an Amendment to that effect?

Mr. SPEAKER: I can only give the same answer.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, then he proposed to move, as an Amendment, that the word "seven" be omitted, and the word "nine" be introduced. He thought it would simplify matters if the House would practically take that Motion as raising the question whether Mr. Bradlaugh should be on the Committee or not. Although Mr. Bradlaugh had not taken the Oath, he had a perfect right to sit on a Committee. The case had been so decided in the last century, and confirmed in the present century in regard to Baron Rothschild. Although that was so, the Committee of Selection had not put Mr. Bradlaugh upon any Committee during the present Session. He did not know why they had taken that course, or why Mr. Bradlaugh had not a legal right to serve on a Committee equally with any other Member, and therefore proposed that Mr. Bradlaugh should serve on this Committee—the Committee to inquire into two Bills connected with agricultural tenants' compensation. Mr. Bradlaugh had devoted a great deal of his time to questions connected with land. He might not have come to the same conclusions with regard to land as other Gentlemen in the House; but he had devoted a great deal of time to the subject, and had lectured throughout the country upon it. Therefore, he was as fitted to serve on this Committee as any other Gentleman in the House; and he also thought it would be desirable that the Radical element should be represented on the Committee. There were 13 Members from this side of the House, and 13 from the other side, and the odd man was a Member of the Home Rule Party. But amongst the 13 on this side of the House he hardly saw one whom he could call a Radical. He should have no confidence in any of the 13, except two. He, therefore, thought Mr. Bradlaugh should be put on the Committee to represent that section of opinion on land which he represented.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "Twenty-seven," in order to insert the words "Twenty-nine,"—(*Mr. Labouchere,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'Twenty-seven' stand part of the Question."

MR. ONSLOW rose to a point of Order. This case, he said, was not analogous to that of Baron Rothschild. Parliament ruled, by a distinct vote of the House, that Mr. Bradlaugh was not able to take the Oath; and, therefore, there was no analogy. He should like the decision of the Speaker upon that matter.

MR. SPEAKER: That is a matter for the determination of the House.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he remembered the circumstances connected with Baron Rothschild's case. Baron Rothschild was appointed on a Committee, although he had not taken his seat in the House. His conduct was very different from that of Mr. Bradlaugh. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) seemed to have taken Mr. Bradlaugh as his Colleague for better or for worse. It did not matter, in the opinion of the hon. Member, whether Mr. Bradlaugh knew anything about agriculture or not; indeed, he (Mr. Newdegate) thought Mr. Bradlaugh knew very little about it, because he had been practising as an attorney in America, after being a soldier, and since his return to this country he (Mr. Newdegate) did not believe he had attended to agricultural subjects at all. The real fact was that the hon. Member for Northampton was seeking an excuse to thrust his would-be Colleague in any manner he could upon the House; while the House could not feel that Mr. Bradlaugh had particularly commended himself to its favour by his conduct in respect to his seat. He hoped that this extraordinary favour would not be extended to one who was in no way adapted to consider the subject which was referred to the Committee, and who was disqualified from the principal functions of his service. This was simply a contrivance to place the House in a false position with regard to its decision that Mr. Bradlaugh could not take his seat. That decision was supported by the Courts of Law to which this House, by Resolution, referred the case. The Motion of the hon. Member was, therefore, an attempt to place the House in a false position—of contravening the decisions of the Courts of Law, which the House had, in fact, solicited.

MR. ANDERSON asked, whether, if Mr. Bradlaugh was put on the Committee, he could give votes in the Committee; and, if so, would those votes be equivalent to votes in Committee of the Whole House, carrying the same penalties? If so, he did not think the hon. Member (Mr. Labouchere) was conferring any very great boon upon his Colleague.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he believed that no penalties would be incurred by Mr. Bradlaugh sitting on the Committee, as the Act referred to taking a seat and voting in the House. The question was raised some years ago; and in Baron Rothschild's case it was resolved that, though he had not taken the Oath, he could sit upon a Committee without being liable to penalties, and he did so sit on two Committees, and it was settled that he did not thereby become liable to penalties. Therefore, he did not think that the hon. Member for Northampton was running any risk in proposing this Amendment. With regard to the Committee, the question was that it should be enlarged to 29. That was so much a question for the House that he did not wish to express an opinion upon it, and probably every hon. Member would exercise his own discretion.

LORD ELCHO said, he did not wish to raise the question whether Mr. Bradlaugh should be on the Committee or not; but he should not vote, because, if he did, that would imply that there ought to be a Committee at all. He thought the whole proceedings with regard to the Agricultural Holdings Bill had been somewhat irregular. For the last three years a Royal Commission had been sitting upon this question; almost as soon as that Commission was appointed an hon. Member, who was on that Commission, brought forward a Bill on the subject which had been referred to the Commission, and then a rival Bill was introduced on the other side.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House has already ordered that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee, and the only question is whether that Committee shall consist of 27 or 29 Members.

Mr. WHITBREAD thought palpable inconveniences would arise if Mr. Bradlaugh, not having taken the Oath, should serve on a Committee, and then, as it might happen, be appointed Chairman of the Committee, and, owing to that position, have to present the Report of the Committee to the House. That, he thought, would show the House the awkwardness of the position.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, the very same thing was said before Baron Rothschild was appointed, and yet the House appointed Baron Rothschild to sit on the Committee.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS said, the hon. Member for Northampton had led the House to believe, no doubt sincerely, that his Colleague had a right to be on a Select Committee. He denied that a Select Committee had any representative or judicial character. A Select Committee did not necessarily consist of Members of the House alone. It sometimes was constituted by an equal number of Peers and Commoners, and in a remarkable class of instances wholly within the disposition and control of the Commons. Referees, who were paid officials—none of them being Members of the House—were accustomed to sit and vote in the deliberations upstairs until the privilege was taken from them by a specific Resolution. A Select Committee was not bound to come to a decision, or pronounce judgment on the subject referred to at all. Except the evidence, it frequently made no Report, and when it did, the House was under no obligation, in point of principle or practice, to take any step in consequence, and it was considered no discourtesy if no notice of it whatever was taken after it was laid upon the Table. A Select Committee was simply appointed at the discretion of the House, and he did not hesitate to tell the House that he was one who acquiesced in Baron Rothschild's being put on the Committee, because he thought the House had absolute discretion as to whom they should appoint on a Committee, and thought it was competent for the House to put Baron Rothschild on the Committee, without any reservation at all. Right there was none. It was for the House to decide whether Mr. Bradlaugh was eligible for this Committee. He could not help saying, without any disrespect to the hon. Member (Mr. Labouchere) or his Colleague, that he regarded this proposal as simply an attempt to break in a panel of a door which had already been closed against Mr. Bradlaugh.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 120; Noes 35: Majority 85.—(Div. List, No. 277.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Mr. Goschen, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Sir William Hart Dyke, Lord Edward Cavendish, Mr. Stanhope, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay, Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, Mr. Pell, Mr. Richard Paget, Colonel Kingscote, Mr. Duckham, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Gurdon, Mr. James Howard. Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Northcote, Mr. Wiggin, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Dawnay, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, and Mr. Marum *nominated* Members of the Committee; Five to be the quorum.

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Staveley Hill, Bill to amend "The Agricultural Holdings Act, 1875," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Monckton, and Mr. Levett.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 242.]

WELLESLEY BRIDGE (LIMERICK) BILL.

Select Committee on Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) Bill:—Mr. Courtney, Mr. Henry Thomson, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy *nominated* Members of the Committee.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) [SALARIES AND EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Salaries of the Assistant Commissioners, Secretary, and other Officials, and of the personal, travelling, or office Expenses of the Commissioners and others, as well as of any Expenses which may be incurred by the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to reorganise the Educational Endowments of Scotland.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 19*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal [64], *Previous Question* put; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday [182], *debate adjourned.*
Select Committee—Report—Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) [No. 288].
Committee—Report—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [213-241] [*Eighth Night*].
Withdrawn—Capital Punishment * [55].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

EARL OF AYLESFORD'S ESTATES BILL [*Lords.*]

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he had had no idea that the opinion he had expressed in regard to the Bill of Lord Cairns would receive such an immediate confirmation in the House of Lords by the introduction of the present Bill. It was a direct repudiation of the Settled Lands Bill. It was a measure in favour of a Member of the House of Lords, which, from its very character, ought to have been dealt with by the Bill which was passed by the House on Friday last, and would become law in the course of a few days. He understood that, with reference to these Private Acts, Lord Cairns had stated that the Settled Lands Bill would deal with every case that could arise. This measure was a palpable contradiction to that assertion, and it showed how utterly inadequate the Settled Lands Bill was. The question now arose—what the House of Commons should do when Bills of this character came before it, knowing, as they did, how prejudicial it was to the interests of the country, and especially to the owners of land, that Parliament should agree to the perpetuation of settlements. He had received many communications from various quarters asking him to oppose this Bill. There was not, however, in the Bill any proposal to extend, prolong, or in any degree to perpetuate any settlement of this important estate. He, therefore, did not intend in this case to oppose the measure; but he did say that whenever an Estate Bill came before the House to prolong the settlement of land he should feel it his duty to offer opposition to it. If the House refused to pass the Bill, the consequence would be that Lord Aylesford's interest in these important estates would pass into the care of Trustees, who would be supposed to have a fair regard for the proper care of the property, and there might be disadvantages in rejecting the measure. He would only say that if measures of this sort were brought before the House which did propose to extend the practice of settling estates, having a strong conviction that the practice was opposed to the best interests of agriculture as well as to the interests of the landlords, he should certainly oppose them.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had no wish to continue the discussion upon the Bill; but he could not allow the remarks of the hon. Member to pass unnoticed, without one word of remonstrance as to the attack which had been made on Lord Cairns' Bill. This was a Private Bill which was passing through the House of Lords before Lord Cairns' Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. It was a Bill which dealt with special circumstances and with a special settlement, and it was impossible that Lord Cairns' Bill would deal with every imaginable case that might arise. If the hon. Member wished to raise any objection to the Settled Lands Bill he should have done so while it was before the House, and not have waited to fire a parting shot at it when it had left the House. He was aware that the Bill had been passed without much notice by the public; but he believed that when its effect was understood it would be found to be one of the greatest reforms that had ever been made in relation to land affecting the social position of a considerable number of people for the benefit of the public. Under these circumstances, he had felt it impossible to allow the remarks of the hon. Member to pass without a word of protest.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD remarked, that he had not attacked the Settled Lands Bill.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT—PROTECTION OF EUROPEANS —THE SUEZ CANAL.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government at once to land marines and bluejackets at Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez for the purpose of assisting Europeans now resident in those places, to protect their lives and property should either be threatened with attack; and, if he will be good enough to state how many vessels, British and others, are now in and about the Canal for convoy purposes; and, if it is true that an Italian man-of-war has passed through the Suez Canal as a convoy?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: With reference to the Question which my hon. Friend has added to that which is on the Paper, I believe that on one occasion an Italian man-of-war did act as a convoy through the Suez Canal. So far as we are informed, only on one occasion. I am sorry I am not prepared to give a detailed account of the steps which Her Majesty's Government have taken, or are ready to take, for the protection of the places mentioned in the Question; but I will ask my hon. Friend to be satisfied with the assurance that nothing is being neglected which is considered necessary for this purpose.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—and I will give Notice for to-morrow if he cannot answer the Question to-day—whether it is true that the Ministry of the Khedive hesitated to take the necessary steps to inform the people of Egypt that Arabi was a rebel and an outlaw?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I think the hon. Member had better give Notice of that Question.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Has the Government received any reply from the Porte in reference to the Identic Note as to the Conference?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No; we have received no information from Constantinople this morning.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[Bill 213.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 18th July.*]

[EIGHTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. ERRINGTON said, the clause he had put upon the Paper was one which provided that—

> "When, on application by the tenant, the first preliminary condition under the first Clause of this Act is proved to the satisfaction of the Land Commission, or, on payment into court before the Land Commission by the tenant of one year's rent of his holding, it shall be lawful for the Commissioners to issue and renew from time to time, for such period as they may consider reasonable for deciding the application before them, an injunction restraining or suspending all proceedings for recovering the arrears of rent accrued previously to the year expiring as aforesaid: Provided, That no such injunction shall be held to interfere with or limit the landlord's right to proceed for the recovery of rent or arrears which may have become due subsequently to the year expiring as aforesaid."

The principle of this clause had been accepted by Her Majesty's Government, and Notice had been given of a new clause last night for the purpose of carrying it out; therefore he did not propose to move his clause now; but he should like to point out to his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland that he did not think the clause of which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had given Notice would quite carry out what he (Mr. Errington) was desirous of securing—namely, that there should be some guarantee on the payment into Court by the tenant of a year's rent of the holding. He thought it would be seen, on reference to the new clause of which Notice had been given, that it did not quite carry out this object. Of course, it would not be in Order on his part to enter into a discussion at that moment of the clause of which the right hon. and learned

Gentleman had given Notice; and he would, therefore, only ask his right hon. and learned Friend to consider the point, and perhaps to-morrow he would be able to make a statement with regard to it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he should be glad to look into the matter. A clause had been drawn which was intended to carry out thoroughly the undertaking that had been given to the Committee, and if it were found that it had failed to do this, he would see that it was made more clear. There had certainly been no intention to do otherwise than fulfil the promise that had been given.

MR. BIGGAR said, he desired to move, on behalf of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), the insertion of the following clause after Clause 2:—

(Power to Land Commission Court pending applications to fix fair rent to make orders regarding arrears of rent.)

"(1.) Where, in pursuance of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' any application has been made to the court, in the said Act mentioned, to fix the fair rent of a holding, and such application is pending at the date of the passing of this Act, or where any such application shall be made after the passing of this Act, the court in fixing the judicial rent may, on the application of the tenant, make an order declaring that all arrears of rent due in respect of the holding which have accrued, or shall accrue, due between the date of the application to fix the fair rent and the date when the judicial rent first becomes payable, shall be computed at the rate of the judicial rent, and on such order being made, and on payment by the tenant in respect of such arrears of such amount as would have been payable in respect of same, if a rent equal to the judicial rent only, had been payable in respect of the holding, as from the period commencing at the rent-day next preceding the date of the application to the court, all such arrears of rent shall be released and extinguished.

"(2.) Where any application to fix the fair rent of a holding is at the date of the passing of this Act, or hereafter shall be pending, and prior to the final order of the court thereon, proceedings (whether by ejectment for non-payment of rent, or by action for rent, or otherwise) have been or shall be taken against the tenant of such holding, in respect, wholly or partly, of arrears of rent which have accrued or shall accrue due on any rent day or days, the rent accruing due whereon is liable to be affected by such order, the court before which the proceedings to enforce payment of such rent are pending shall, upon the application of such tenant, and upon such terms as to costs as may seem just, postpone or suspend such proceedings, so far as they relate to or are founded upon any arrears of rent accruing due on any such rent day or days as aforesaid, until the termination of the proceedings on the application to fix the fair rent of the holding, on payment by the tenant in respect of such arrears, of such amount as the court shall deem just, not exceeding the amount which would have been payable by the tenant in respect thereof had the annual rent of the holding been equal to the annual value thereof, as valued under the Acts relating to the valuation of rateable property in Ireland."

He was sorry his hon. Friend was not present in his place, because as the clause was one which that hon. Gentleman had placed on the Paper he would have been able to argue it much more fully than he (Mr. Biggar) could be expected to do; but, at the same time, he begged, on behalf of his hon. Friend, to move the clause. The object of the clause, as far as he understood the matter, was to provide that, where an application was made for the fixing of a fair rent, the arrears between the date of the application and the fixing of the judicial rent should be computed at the same rate as the judicial rent. The reason why it had been necessary to propose this clause was that there was some ambiguity occasioned by the construction of different sections of the Land Act, because upon one section it was held that the date of the fair rent should be from the gale day before the application to fix the fair rent; while under another it was held that the fair rent should not commence until the gale day after the date at which the Sub-Commissioners gave their decision. The result of these contradictory constructions of the two sections was that the Sub-Commissioners had given very contradictory judgments with regard to this question, and these judgments had given rise to a number of appeals to the Land Commissioners, which would not otherwise have taken place. The tenants argued, on the one hand, that the rent payable for the period subsequent to the application, and up to the time of the judgment fixing the fair rent, should be based on the amount determined as the judicial rent; while the landlords, on the other hand, argued that where the tenant had proved to the satisfaction of the Sub-Commissioners that the rent ought to be reduced, he should not be entitled to the reduction for the period prior to the judgment; but that the rent down to that moment should be payable according to the rate of the former contract. It was very desirable that the law on this point should be laid down in such a way as to render it perfectly clear as to this point, because the cost of an appeal was a matter of considerable moment, and, in many of these cases, might amount to more than the total amount in dispute between the tenant and the landlord. Let them take a case where, as very often happened, the reduction made in the rent did not exceed £1 or £2, or, at most, the sum of £5, the expense of an appeal would to each party be very much in excess of the difference between the former rent and the fair rent fixed by the Sub-Commissioners as the judicial rent. He therefore begged to move the clause which stood in the name of his hon. Friend.

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the point raised by the clause just moved was one that had been frequently discussed by the House, and always with the same result. He wished to point out to hon. Members that the Bill now under discussion was not a Bill for the Amendment of the Land Act of 1881, under which it was expressly provided that the rent fixed by the Sub-Commissioners as a fair rent should take effect and commence on the rent day next succeeding the decision given by the Court. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) proposed, by the clause he had brought forward, to alter this, and to provide that where an application was made to fix a fair rent, and a fair rent was subsequently fixed, the fair rent should not commence with the gale day next following the decision of the Court, as provided by the Land Act, but that it should have a retrospective effect, and should cover the period between the date of the application and the time at which the fair rent was judicially fixed. The question was one that had been frequently discussed; and as often as this proposition had been made the House had declined to give its assent to it, on the ground that this Bill was not intended to be an Amendment of the Land Act of 1881. The matter was discussed fully when the Land Act itself was before the House, and reasons were then given for the way in which the point was decided; and, consequently, as it had been disposed of then, and since the Land Act was passed, and the law was fully understood to be that the fair rent should be payable from the gale day subsequent to its being fixed by the Court, he hoped the Committee would adhere to this decision, and that the determination come to by the House upon the subject would not be altered.

MR. DALY said the delay which had occurred in obtaining a settlement of questions arising in reference to this matter had been entirely attributable to the action of Her Majesty's Government in having provided insufficient means for carrying out the object they had in view; and the result was that, owing to the fact that the Government had not made proper instruments for dealing with the cases that required to be disposed of, large numbers of cases had failed to come in under the Act of 1881. If they considered the equity of the matter, it would be seen that, because the Government had not provided sufficient facilities for getting fair rents fixed, the tenants would be called upon to pay arrears under the old system of unfair rent. Supposing, for instance, a man had been in the habit of paying a rental of £35, and the Sub-Commissioners decided that, according to the principles of fairness, the rent should be reduced to £25, but owing to the want of proper facilities the judgment of the Court was delayed for a considerable period, the collector when he came round would say—"It is quite true that your rent will, in future, be £25, as it ought to have been at the first; but, at the same time, we must compel you to pay the extra £10 for arrears." If they had regard to the object of the Land Act, it would be conceded that it was intended to settle the relations of landlord and tenant on the principle of fairness and justice, and to bring peace and quietness to the land; but he would ask how could they expect to produce these results when the tenantry knew that they had to pay what the Government officers declared to be unjust. In his opinion, the position the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had assumed on behalf of Her Majesty's Government with regard to this question, was perfectly indefensible.

MR. PARNELL said, by the construction they had put upon the Land Act of last Session, the Commissioners had decided that where an application was made to fix a fair rent on the first occasion on which the Court sat, the judicial rent should date from the date of that application, and hence it followed that a large number of tenants who were able to apply to the Court to fix a fair rent at the time of the first sitting came within that construction, especially as that period had been extended, by special order of the Court, for a further period of about three weeks, and all the fair rents fixed upon applications made during that period were to date from the time of the application; but with regard to the whole of the other tenants who had applied since, and also with regard to those who might apply hereafter, the rent fixed as a fair rent would commence from the rent day following the application to the Court. The Amendment involved in this clause was a very serious one, and it was intended to remedy one of those defects in the Act of last Session which had tended more than anything else to prevent many landlords—he would not say all of them—offering a reasonable settlement to their tenants. The matter stood in this way—the landlord who was the owner of an estate, as to which it might be reasonably supposed that the rents would be reduced on application to the Court, would be in this position—that by refusing to come to a settlement with his tenants out of Court he would be entitled to charge the old rack-rental until the gale day subsequent to the decision of the Court; and, therefore, it would follow that many tenants—vast numbers of tenants—who might reasonably expect the Court to reduce their rents, but who had not yet applied to the Court owing to the hopelessness of any expectation of the Court being able to reach their cases for a long time to come, would have to pay the rack rent they had hitherto been charged down to the period when they might be able to get a decision from the Court. He assumed that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had given some consideration to this matter, and if Her Majesty's Government could not see their way to the acceptance of this clause, he hoped they would be able to announce that it was their intention next Session to remedy the crying defect he had pointed out in the Act of last year. He trusted the Committee would presently hear an announcement to this effect from a responsible Member of the Government, as such a statement would, for all practical purposes, amount to the same thing as the insertion of the clause moved by his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), because those landlords who had not yet come to a settlement with their tenants, but who were still holding out and refusing a reasonable arrangement, would thus be made to see that they would have nothing to gain by holding out any longer, and might, therefore, be induced to adjust and reduce their rents in accordance with the standard of fair rent as settled by the Court for holdings on the neighbouring estates. Therefore, he trusted that even if Her Majesty's Government could not possibly see their way to the acceptance of the clause proposed by his hon. Friend at the present moment, they would, at least, be in a position to announce their intention next Session to legislate, by way of Amendment to the Land Act, in such a manner as to enable all the tenants to be placed on the same basis, whether they applied to the Court at its first sitting or not. He might add that no one ever anticipated that the Court of the Land Commission would have given such a decision as would have rendered it necessary to bring forward this clause, otherwise he thought it highly probable that a vast number more tenants would have made their applications on the occasion of the first sitting of the Court, so as to have made sure of the advantage to be thus obtained. That decision had been arrived at on a purely technical construction of two sections of the Land Act that were placed very far apart, and it had certainly never previously occurred to the legal mind that the Land Commissioners would hold that those tenants who applied to the Court in the first instance would have their rents fixed from the date of the application, while those who did not do so would be placed at a decided disadvantage. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would make some announcement to the Committee that would have the effect of facilitating a settlement between landlord and tenant on the basis suggested by this clause.

Mr. SYNAN said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had dealt with the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) as if it were outside the scope and object of the present Bill; but if the right hon. and learned Gentleman examined it more closely, he would perceive that it only applied to arrears, and, therefore, was within the purview of the measure under discussion by the Committee. If they wanted to amend the Land Act they must amend it for all purposes—present and future; but the clause moved by his hon. Friend only applied to a year's rent as far as arrears went, and provided that the judicial rent should be made the basis on which the arrears due between the date of the application and the date of the judicial rent being fixed should be computed at the rate of the judicial rent, and not at the rate of the old rack-rental. Therefore, the Amendment clearly came within the scope of this Bill, and the objection taken by the right hon. and learned Gentleman was without foundation. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant ought, therefore, to apply himself to the question, could he accept the present clause and allow the arrears accruing during the period stated to be discharged on the basis of the judicial rent as fixed by the Court, and not on the rack-rental previously exacted from the tenant?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he hoped the discussion of this clause would not be carried much further, as the issue had already been put on the right basis by the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the hon. Member who had just spoken. He (Mr. Trevelyan) did not deny that, technically speaking, the clause proposed by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) came within the scope of the present Bill; but it was one of such a character that it could not be accepted alone, because in accepting it Her Majesty's Government would have to admit a principle which would practically open up a most important Amendment of the Land Act of 1881. The Bill before the Committee had been introduced for the purpose of dealing with a limited class of arrears in a very special manner; and as far as the Amendment actually touched the matter, to the best of his belief it had already been discussed and disposed of by the Committee, and was now brought forward for the purpose, as had been expressed by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, of extracting an announcement from the Government in reference to some future action with regard to the Land Act, and the Arrears Question at large. If it were right, as was the accepted rule, that an Amendment should always be cognate to the Bill on which it was proposed, he must say that, in his opinion, it would be admitting a very dangerous principle to hold that an announcement on a particular measure might be made that was not cognate to that measure, and even if he felt competent at that moment—as, in fact, he did not—to make an announcement seriously affecting the working of the Land Act, he certainly should not make it under the circumstances. The point involved in the Amendment was one of those matters that ought to be brought up in the House at the time the Prime Minister might propose to consider the principle of the Land Act. He would consult the Prime Minister on the subject; but he hoped the hon. Member for the City of Cork would take it from him (Mr. Trevelyan) that Her Majesty's Government were in no way committed by what had passed to-day, and that he could make no acknowledgment in reference to the speech of the hon. Gentleman, or the Amendment, than that the matter which had been put before the Committee should be considered.

Mr. GIBSON said, he was very glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had not, either directly or indirectly, given any undertaking in reference to this matter. If there was one thing that was more deadly than another to the prospect of anything like a settlement of Irish affairs, it was the constant use of vague, uncertain, and ambiguous words by Members of Her Majesty's Government, such as that they might consider, or possibly would consider, or might hereafter reconsider something or other. The House had had an immense amount of this during the last year. The Prime Minister had allowed hon. Members to extract from him, on different occasions, vague, ambiguous, and uncertain words, which had had more to do with keeping Ireland in a state of perpetual hot water than anything else that could be possibly imagined or conceived. An attempt had been made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to extract from Her Majesty's Government a further pledge that they would reconsider an important provision in the Land Act of last year. If any vague words giving currency to such an idea were to be uttered by a responsible Minister of the Crown, he (Mr. Gibson) really trembled for the result. They all knew how the agitation had been kept up among the tenants, and the way in which the tenants were stimulated to go on and endeavour to obtain further concessions; and he (Mr. Gibson) had not a shadow of doubt that every rash and inconsiderate word uttered by any responsible Minister in his place in that House in reference to considering, or reconsidering, Amendments of the Land Act, would be made use of in the coming Recess as an incentive to further agitation and discontent with the view of procuring further concessions from Her Majesty's Government. He was glad, therefore, on the present occasion, to be able to take distinct notice of the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had given no word of encouragement in reference to the important question raised by the Amendment. That Amendment was one—he did not here go into the question whether it was in Order or not, as that was not the point—of great importance, and was one that ought to be met on its own merits or demerits, and not to be used as a peg on which to hang the materials for further legislation.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he thought the language just used by the right hon. and learned Gentleman was more likely to promote agitation in Ireland than any promise that might be made by Her Majesty's Government with regard to the question raised by this Amendment. He (Mr. Macfarlane) appealed to Her Majesty's Government to consider the substantial grievance that existed in regard to this matter, as it would be much more suitable to the feeling of the Irish people that they should have some assurance that the Government would consider this grievance than that they would adopt the advice of the right hon. and learned Gentleman that further consideration should be given to the subject. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was, no doubt, consistent in his view, as he had always contended that the Irish tenants had no grievance; but Her Majesty's Government had not adopted that view as embodying a true statement of the case. He (Mr. Macfarlane) would suggest that, for the purpose of allaying the reasonable agitation existing among the tenants, a few words containing a promise of a definite kind —he did not wish them to be indefinite— that they would in the future deal with this very serious grievance, would have a good effect in Ireland.

MR. GREGORY said, Her Majesty's Government had been asked by the hon. Member for the City of Cork to enter into a pledge of a very extensive character, which might have the effect of giving rise to further agitation, that they would, in the course of a future Session, undertake to deal with the question raised by the Amendment. He hoped the Government would decline to make any such promise.

MR. PARNELL said, he had certainly been very much surprised at the tone and character of the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). So far from the announcement which he (Mr. Parnell) had thought might be made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant being likely to be attended with a renewal of agitation in Ireland, it would have a directly contrary effect. What he (Mr. Parnell) had thought as to this subject was, that a statement made by some responsible Member of Her Majesty's Government, that they would legislate next Session in such a way as to induce those landlords—those rack-renting landlords— who were now refusing any concession to their tenants, to concede that which, if the Court were to reach their cases, would be granted through the action of the Court; and he had pointed out that, owing to a provision in the Act of last Session, tenants who had not applied to the Court in the first instance were placed in the position that they would have to continue to pay rack rents until the Courts were able to adjudicate on their cases. He had also expressed his belief that this provision in the Act of last Session was keeping thousands upon thousands of tenants from making application to the Court, and inducing them to rely on other means and methods, such as the agitation in which they had hitherto been engaged, for obtaining such a reduction of rents as the spirit of the Act of last Session entitled them to expect, but which they were unable to obtain owing to the defect which existed in its provisions, and which his (Mr. Parnell's) Amendment sought to remedy. He would put it to the Committee whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin had a right to get up, and, in a speech such as he had made, mainly consisting of platitudes, accuse him (Mr. Parnell) of seeking to perpetuate and foment agitation by asking Her Majesty's Government to make an announcement as to the course they proposed to take in regard to the subject of this Amendment? He could not understand why, if Her Majesty's Government had made up their minds on this matter, they should not be in a position to make the announcement he had asked for; and he should be inclined to think, although he did not wish to press his opinion against that of the Government, that the present occasion was a very proper one for the making of such an announcement. The question he wished to ask was, did Her Majesty's Government think that the judicial rent ought to date from the date of the application; and, if so, were they prepared to introduce legislation in the course of the ensuing Session that would give effect to this view? Moreover, did they think that such legislation should have a retrospective effect, supposing an Amendment of the Land Act to be introduced next Session, so that those tenants who applied to the Court previous to such legislation should have the advantage of the Act as well as those who came forward at the time of the first sitting of the Court? He could assure the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) that, in his (Mr. Parnell's) judgment, and in the judgment of those who were best qualified to speak in regard to this matter, such an announcement as he had asked for, coming from Her Majesty's Government, would do more to restore tranquillity to Ireland, and to bring about voluntary arrangements out of Court between landlords and tenants, than any other course that could be taken. He regretted exceedingly that this question had had to be brought on at a Wednesday's Sitting, when, in the nature of the case, it could not be expected that the Prime Minister would be in his place. They were in a difficulty at the present moment. They were ignorant of the intentions of the Government, and, under these circumstances, he (Mr. Parnell), and those with whom he acted, would be obliged to press the Amendment before the Committee to a division; but if they had heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant what he had hoped to hear, they might have dispensed with the necessity for a division. Even now, if an announcement could be made that would be of a satisfactory character, they might be able to pass on to other matters. The question was one of very great importance, and ought not to be lightly dismissed by Her Majesty's Government; and he certainly thought the Committee was entitled to receive some definite announcement upon it from some responsible Minister.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he had expected that there would be, in reference to these matters, some regard for facts and truth. He agreed in the principle that the judicial rent in the cases of all tenants should be dated from the day of application to have the judicial rent fixed; but he wished to call attention to one important point in connection with this subject. They knew very well that large numbers of tenants had not made application to the Court, who ought to have gone there; and he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) would ask, who was it that had prevented those tenants from doing so? The hon. Member who had spoken in so mild a way on this matter in Committee (Mr. Parnell), and the Party who acted with him, were those who had done their very best to prevent the tenants going into Court; and the result was that precious time had been wasted. It was those hon. Gentlemen who had excited the feelings of the tenantry until the country had been brought to its present condition. If those hon. Gentlemen had been actuated by the feeling they now professed to entertain, and had felt a true regard for the interests of the tenants and a real sentiment of patriotism, they would have done their utmost, at the moment the Land Act came into force, to make it acceptable among the people of Ireland, and to insure that it should work in the best possible way. History would tell, and did tell, and the people of Ireland—the peasants of that country—were beginning to know and to acknowledge why it was that they had been brought into their present condition. At the same time, he thought the Government must face events as they were; and he did think that even now, if they were to give some assistance in the direction indicated as to rent—he was not speaking of arrears—it would be highly desirable. He should not vote on this proposal.

MR. PARNELL said, there was not the slightest particle of foundation for the statement of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mitchell Henry) that he (Mr. Parnell) had prevented, or sought to hinder, any tenant from going into the Land Court; and he called on the hon. Gentleman to produce his proofs for that assertion, either with regard to any words which he (Mr. Parnell) had uttered, or any action he had taken or sanctioned.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Committee was drifting into a discussion on the general operation of the Land Act, and must confine its attention to the Amendment under consideration. There was a technical difficulty about the matter when he permitted the clause to be brought before the Committee. They must not, however, get into a discussion as to the general operation of the Land Act.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he had not originated the discussion, but he had felt great interest in the question as to the date of fixing of the judicial rent, and in connection with the present clause certain comments had been made which he had thought ought not to be allowed to go unnoticed. He therefore said that the advice given by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Parnell) and his Friends was that the tenants should not go into the Land Court.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that was not the subject before the Committee. The Question was whether the clause moved by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) should be read a second time.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he had already said all he wished to say, and he had no desire to go any further.

MR. MOLLOY said, now the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was in the House, perhaps he would be able to make an announcement on the question that would be satisfactory to the Irish Members. The Amendment was a most important one, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would state his view with regard to it.

MR. DALY wished to say a word or two as to arrears. He wished to know whether the arrears could be calculated on the basis of the judicial rents of the Commissioners, or on the basis of the rack rents imposed by the landlords? There was no more remarkable fact than the evidence of the hon. Member for the County of Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), who, in order to satisfy his animus against the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), declared that the clause would do harm to his constituents. The reason for the clause was, first of all, the delay in fixing a judicial rent, which arose directly with the Government, because of insufficient machinery having been provided for acting on the originating notice. The demand of hon. Members from Ireland was this—that when the rent had been fixed judicially at a certain sum, the fact of its not having been fixed earlier arose from insufficient machinery provided by the Government. They said that when once the rent had been fixed the arrears should be calculated upon the basis of that rent, and not on the basis of the rack rent of the landlord. The object of the Government in proposing this legislation was to restore peace and contentment to Ireland. If this clause was denied to them by the Committee the effect would be a prolongation of the unhappy strife at present prevailing in the country. On every principle of equity, on every principle of expediency, the Government would do well to consider this clause, which contained only what was just and equitable, and which, if adopted, would go a great length in promoting the prosperity of Ireland.

MR. PARNELL said, that now the Prime Minister was in his place he would appeal to him whether he could not see his way to making some announcement with regard to the course he intended to pursue as to the subject of this clause. The clause proposed that when the Court was applied to to fix a fair rent, that rent should date from the day of the application to the Court. Under the Bill the rent would date from the day of the fixing of the fair rent by the Court.

It was a matter very considerable practical importance that such an arrangement as that proposed in this clause should be admitted with a view of facilitating settlements out of Court between landlords and tenants. As he (Mr. Parnell) had explained a short time ago, if an application was not heard, and the tenant did not succeed in having the rent fixed, the landlord might continue to charge a rack rent. He had also explained to the Committee, with regard to the announcement by the Government that they intended to deal with this matter next Session, that it would be well, when they did deal with it, that the action should have a retrospective effect, and should apply to those tenants who had gone to the Court to have a fair rent fixed previous to the passing of the Amendment Act, equally as to those who had applied after the passing of the measure. That would facilitate settlements, and do an enormous deal to restore law and order in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister the other day, in making a statement with regard to Public Business, intimated that the Government would next Session legislate on one or two points which required amending in the Land Act. And the right hon. Gentleman included amongst these points the question of the date of the fixing of the judicial rent; but he made no further statement as to the scope of this or any other Amendment. He (Mr. Parnell) would submit to the Government and the Committee that the present occasion, when this matter was under discussion, was the proper time for the Government to make up their minds as to what was demanded by the justice of the case, and to inform the Committee and the country what their intentions were with regard to it. It was of the utmost importance, if the Government intended to amend the Land Act in that direction, that the country should know it, and that both landlords and tenants in Ireland should have some idea of what was going to be done in order that settlements out of Court might be facilitated as much as possible. He hoped he was not asking too much in desiring the Prime Minister, now that he saw the right hon. Gentleman in his place, to throw some light upon this subject. If the right hon. Gentleman would give some indication of his views, hon. Members, no doubt, would be prepared to proceed to the next Business on the Paper without prolonging the present discussion.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was not in the House when the right hon. Gentleman near him spoke of the intention of the Government in regard to the particular point of amending the Land Act; therefore, he could not refer precisely to what had fallen from him; but he (Mr. Gladstone) believed that what the right hon. Gentleman had said was perfectly in accordance with the actual views of the Government. He (Mr. Gladstone) wished to point out that there seemed to be some misapprehension as to what had fallen from him on a previous occasion. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) had spoken of the supposition that some matter or other—he (Mr. Gladstone) forgot what it was—would appear in the legislation of 1883 with regard to the Irish Land Act; and he (Mr. Gladstone) said, in reply, that he had never given any promise of legislation for 1883 on the Irish Land Act, and that all he had said had been that there were a variety of points under the Land Act which had, in varying degrees, or which might be held to have, claims on the attention of Parliament. When he declined to bind the Government to bring in legislation of any particular kind it was on broad and general grounds. First of all, he did not think it would be desirable to hold out an expectation of legislation on the Irish Land Act which, as had been pointed out by hon. Members, would disturb the public mind with expectations in a manner likely to retard the action that was now going on, and, generally, he believed going on to the great benefit of the country. He was bound to say that in the present state of Parliamentary Business and the crippled condition of that House in respect to the transaction of the accumulated Business before it touching the Empire at large, and England and Scotland in particular, neither he nor his Colleagues were prepared to enter into any pledge whatever in regard to any kind of legislation for next year until Parliament had dealt with the question of its own procedure, and that simply upon the ground that they were so entirely destitute of knowledge as to what it would be or what it would not be in the power of the House of

Commons to do. So long as the present state of arrangements continued he should be encouraging delusive expectations, and holding out hopes not likely to be fulfilled if, when one after the other, claims were made upon the Government—as they would be made with great promptitude if he gave the promise—he promised that kind of legislation for the next Session of Parliament. In the present condition of things the Government must reserve absolute freedom of action; and, in addition to that, he thought it would not be desirable to hold out any expectations that would interfere with the progress of the settlement in Ireland. He had said this much, not in strict conformity with the Rules of the Committee, perhaps, although he had not intended to go beyond them; but the matter of this clause having been brought, though by a narrow justification, within the view of the Committee, he could not altogether refuse to reply to the appeal of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Parnell).

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 37; Noes 116: Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 278.)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he wished to move a new clause to the effect that, after the tenant had obtained his release from arrears, such release should be a bar to any proceeding by any other creditor to recover, by sale of the tenure, any debt or debts owing by the tenant of the date of the last gale day of the tenancy in the year 1881. He had placed the Amendment on the Paper to give effect to a great many observations which had been made as to the position of the gombeen man, or whatever the Irish called the money-lender. It was partly suggested by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gregory), and partly by his (Sir George Campbell's) own experience of the gombeen man in India. He knew very well that in India there was a person corresponding to the gombeen man who was a money-lender. There were two extreme views as to the manner in which the gombeen man should be treated; but what he wished to do was to take a middle course. He wished to give the gombeen man his rights, and no more than his rights; but as the Bill now stood they would really give him more than his rights, and would be putting him in a better position than he had ever occupied before, for the reason that the land legislation had done two things for him; it had made the sale of the tenant right a security to him that he never had before, and had removed the claim of the landlord, who, under the existing law, had the first charge. They limited the first charge of the landlord, and put the second charge of the gombeen man in a better position than it had ever enjoyed before. They took away from the gombeen man all motive for the exercise of forbearance towards the tenant, and gave him a summary remedy by the sale of the tenant right—in fact, they were just bringing about that effect which they wished to avoid. He did not propose to go so far as the Amendment put upon the Paper by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gregory), who proposed that the release under this Bill should operate as a release in bankruptcy—relieving the tenant from all demands. He (Sir George Campbell) did not propose to wipe out claims altogether, but merely to apply the special remedy which this Bill would give. In America, India, and other countries, there was a homestead law under which the tenure was not to be saleable; and though he did not propose to go so far as that law, he thought it ought to be provided in the Bill that the gombeen man should not be able to sell up the tenant, especially as it was provided in the measure that the landlord should not be able to do so.

New Clause—

(Operation of a release from arrears.)

"After the tenant has obtained release from arrears by the operation of this Act, such release shall be a bar to any proceeding by any other creditor of the tenant to recover, by sale of the tenure, any debt or debts owing by the tenant of the date of the last gale day of the tenancy in the year 1881."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. SYNAN said, he quite concurred with his hon. Friend as to the absolute necessity of a clause of this character, in order to make this a complete Bill. What was the object of the Bill, and why was it that public money was given for the purpose of relieving the Irish tenant of his arrears? Why, the object was two-fold—first, to keep a man in his holding; and, next, to enable him to take advantage of the Land Act of last year. They compulsorily made the landlord forgive the tenant his arrears, which might be six or seven years' arrears, on payment of one year's rent; and they did that for the purpose of enabling the tenant, on discharging that one year's rent, to go into the Land Court and keep his holding. What would be the use of this measure if the creditor of the tenant, for whose advantage the Bill was passed, was to be enabled to put up the holding for sale, and turn the tenant out? Would not the object be defeated? If the Bill were passed in its present form, would not the gombeen man come in more powerful than the landlord, and be able to sell the tenant out and out; and would not their legislation be altogether fruitless? It seemed to him that there was a very strong analogy between the case of India and Ireland in this matter; and, for the purpose of making their legislation complete, they ought to prevent the gombeen man from being able to take advantage of a law enabling him to sell the tenant out, and to obtain his debt with usurious interest. He did not think the gombeen man ought to be allowed to recover in that way. If this clause were adopted the legislation would leave the gombeen man as a creditor of the tenant, with the ordinary means for obtaining his debt; and the effect of the present legislation, in the interest of the tenant, would be to put the debtor in a better position to discharge his liabilities, so that the gombeen man would be benefited, although he would be prevented from selling out the tenant. The Amendment only went to this extent—that the gombeen man should not turn out the tenant any more than the landlord.

Mr. GIVAN said, he trusted that the hon. Member (Sir George Campbell) would not press this Amendment, which he (Mr. Givan) looked upon as utterly indefensible and impracticable. He thought the object of the Bill was to put the tenant farmer who received relief in the same position as his solvent neighbour —to put him in the world on an equal footing, to allow him to remain in his holding unfettered like the man who, by his own effort, had been able to pay off all his arrears. If the clause were adopted, the tenant would be prevented from getting ordinary credit.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would point out that his Amendment only applied to past debts.

Mr. GIVAN said, no doubt that was so; but the Committee would see in what respect it would fail to work. For instance, how would they be able to draw a distinction between the gombeen man and the ordinary shopkeeper? Who was the gombeen man? Why, anyone who lent money at 2 or 3 per cent was a gombeen man. There were some people who objected altogether to the lending of money, and who contended that it was against the moral law; and these people would hold that the person who lent money at a reasonable interest was a gombeen man. Any man who lent money to a tenant, in order to get him out of a difficulty, or to keep him in his holding, would be deprived of his rights under this clause. Suppose a man had a mortgage on a holding, a registered interest, a sort of indefeasible title, was he to be deprived of his mortgage by this Amendment, and the legal interest he had obtained in the holding as security for the repayment of a just debt at a reasonable rate of interest? Was a mortgage under these circumstances, or a debt contracted under these circumstances, to be considered as null and void, simply because the hon. Member chose to call the man who lent money a "gombeen man?" He hoped the Committee would see that this clause would be an injustice to the tenant, that it would brand him and his holding perpetually, and would prevent him from obtaining credit.

Sir JOHN HAY said, that the hon. and learned Member who had just addressed the Committee spoke of reasonable interest, and perhaps the Committee would allow him (Sir John Hay) to refer to an extract from the Report of the Irish Fishery Commissioners with regard to 17,000 tenants in Connemara. The Commissioners stated that hitherto these people had always been obliged to resort to a humble sort of usurer, who asked usually 50 per cent for his money. It was these persons that the hon. Member (Sir George Campbell) sought to prevent from selling up the tenant. The Report to which he referred was with reference to County Galway, and was laid on the Table of the House in 1876. He wished merely to say these few words to point out to the Committee how very different were the terms under which these poor creatures borrowed money from the terms that might be imagined under the representation of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan).

MR. RAMSAY said, his experience was not different from that which the right hon. and gallant Member who had just sat down brought forward. His (Mr. Ramsay's) difficulty was that it was not specified that the clause was to be confined to cases in which 50 per cent, or a lesser amount of interest, had been charged. The clause applied to all debts due to a certain date by the tenant. It might be within the Indian experience of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), but it was not within the experience of anyone in this country, that a person should be liable for the payment of a debt, and not be liable to give up his means for the purpose of meeting the liability. To his (Mr. Ramsay's) mind, it would be very much to be regretted if the Government should see their way to accepting any such Amendment to deprive the honest trader who had lent money for the purchase of carts, or other implements used in the cultivation of a farm, of the power of taking any means that the tenant might have in repayment. To lay down such a principle would be a very dangerous precedent.

MR. BLAKE said, he agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan), he (Mr. Blake) himself having been in conflict with the gombeen man who was charging 50 per cent for the money he lent, whilst he (Mr. Blake) had only been receiving 2½ per cent. The greatest curse over a large portion of Ireland was the gombeen man. The right hon. and gallant Member (Sir John Hay) had just quoted from his (Mr. Blake's) Report for 1876, as a Member of the Fisheries Commission in Ireland, in which he had stated that the usual rate of interest paid to the gombeen man was 50 per cent. Not only was the gombeen man an unmitigated evil over a large portion of Ireland, but so also was the small shopkeeper. He (Mr. Blake) could state, from a very extensive knowledge of the peasantry of Ireland, that, in the matter of procuring seed, clothing, timber, and so on, the exactions of these small shopkeepers were of a most tremendous character. The great object of this Bill was to give the poorer class of tenants some heart to meet the world again; but if, whilst they were relieved from the claims of the landlord in respect of arrears, they were to be open to the exactions of this class of creditors, they would be deprived, in hundreds and thousands of cases, of all heart. This clause would not deprive the creditors of the poor tenant from getting their money paid back in other ways; but, for the sake of humanity, he would appeal to the Committee, whilst they relieved the tenant in the way they proposed, to go a step further and pass this most desirable and necessary clause moved by the hon. Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs for the protection of the tenant. He (Mr. Blake) knew that in a vast number of instances the poor tenantry were quite prepared to pay the debts to the gombeen man and to the shopkeepers directly they were able to do so; and he, therefore, did not think that these creditors should have the pull they would possess in the power of selling the tenant right of these people.

MR. SHAW said, he did not really know what the hon. Gentleman meant by this Amendment. Did he mean that the mere effect of settling arrears of rent settled all other debts? [SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: No.] Then what would be the effect of it? Suppose they passed the clause, everyone who had a debt out would at once take proceedings against the debtor, and the result would be a universal clearing of the West of Ireland. If they passed the clause, and if proceedings were at once taken, the next thing the Committee would hear of would be that, before people could make application for relief under this measure, whole districts would be cleared of their inhabitants. ["No, no!"] At any rate, that was his reading of the matter. To his mind, there was a great deal of nonsense talked on this question. The gombeen man was a person doing a very small business, and that business was scattered over very large districts. The loans were for small amounts, and it was as necessary for the gombeen man to live as for anybody else. He (Mr. Shaw) did not believe they charged a farthing more for their trouble than the largest merchant in London did for his turnover. But for those so-called gombeen men the poor tenants of Ireland would not have lived at all during the past two or three years. He knew the efforts the shopkeepers in his own county had made to keep the farmers in the district above board. Far from feeling any desire to destroy these poor people, the shopkeepers were anxious to maintain them, because in destroying them they would be destroying themselves. If he understood this clause at all, he thought it would be extremely injurious.

Mr. DALY said, he quite accepted the view put forward by the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw), and he thought, with regard to this clause, that it smacked a great deal of Indian experience, and was wholly inapplicable to the condition of Ireland. They had had the gombeen man introduced into this debate, and their attention had been directed to him in order to induce them to commit a great injustice. Men who, like himself, saw on his desk the judgments that were obtained against these Irish farmers would know very well that if the gombeen man was the kind of person it was sought to make it appear, his name would be found connected with those documents much more often than it was. As a matter of fact, the gombeen man was very much a character of past times. It was now very easy for an Irish farmer to obtain money; for any honest man of decent character, who got two other men of decent character to put their names on a bill, was able to obtain a fair sum of money on reasonable and equitable terms, so that the gombeen man was rapidly disappearing. If this clause became law, they would really destroy in a great part the asset of these industrial people of good character of whom he spoke. Let him take, for example, a man who had had his judicial rent fixed, who was a man of good repute, of whom his clergyman spoke in good terms; supposing he wanted to raise £60 or £80, what better security could there be for the repayment of the loan than the deposit of his lease? If that was not to be a security, his (Mr. Daly's) contention was that they would do great injustice to a great many people. He acquitted the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs of blame for putting this clause on the Paper, as the hon. Member had very little knowledge of Ireland. A great deal had been said about the interest charged by country shopkeepers; but, as a matter of fact, no one had so substantially sustained the farmers and labourers during the terrific struggle through which they had passed as these very shopkeepers. And for what reason was it that they had sustained these poor people? It was because they had implicit faith in the honesty of the persons they had assisted. The shopkeepers who had advanced goods were absolutely confident of being paid when the farmers were in a position to discharge their liabilities. He had conversed with hundreds of these shopkeepers, and their general reply, when questioned upon these subjects, was—"Please God, when the good times come, we shall get paid." With regard to the rate of interest at which money was lent, there was always a sufficient competition in even the remotest village in Ireland to regulate the price; and, independent of the immorality of a breach of trust against the people who had given their goods to the Irish farmers, there would be another danger in passing this clause, and that was the possible demoralization of the tenants themselves. He considered, as regarded this clause, if it had been submitted to any person with the experience of the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw), or any person who knew the country, and their opinion had been given, he did not believe the hon. Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs would have put this proposal on the Paper. As it was, he (Mr. Daly) believed if the clause passed into law it would not be regarded as a boon by any honest or respectable tenant; but, on the contrary, would be looked upon by a great part of the community as an error and injustice. And there was another thing he wished to point out. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs had referred to the fact that the clause only applied to past debts. The hon. Member in his clause would seem to display ignorance of human nature—did he not know that when a man was claiming and receiving usurious interest he took good care to protect himself by every tittle of the law that could avail him anything?

They might rest assured that where money had been lent at usurious interest by a practised money-lender, where it was possible to hold the asset of the tenant it was held. Therefore, the clause was useless; it could not operate with regard to the past, and it could do a great deal of mischief, not alone in practice, but in principle, with regard to the morality and character of the tenant.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he hoped the Committee would decline to consider this clause in relation to the poor farmer. He was not going into the question as to how far that person was to be protected against the gombeen man or not. There had been hard cases, no doubt; but for every case where the gombeen man was affected, the clause would apply to five or six other cases where the tenant would not have been able to carry on his business at all if it had not been for advances he had received either in money or in kind. The shopkeepers would be placed in a most unfortunate position — they would be reduced almost to ruin if they were to lose the chance of getting back that which was owing to them by the farmers. But the reason he had risen was to call the attention of the Committee to what he thought would have to be done if this clause were accepted. What had they done in the case of the landlord creditor? They had said—"We will assure you out of State money—out of either the Irish Church Fund or the Imperial taxes—a very considerable part of your debt, if you, on your part, will forego a portion of it." The State would pay 50 per cent of the debt, very often more. If this clause were passed, it would be said they were taking away from the shopkeepers and those who had advanced money the only method of securing repayment that was left to them; and it would be said—"These people will now have very little chance of getting a penny." The Committee would, therefore, see that they would be unable to treat the shopkeeper, the banker, or even the gombeen man, different to the landlord; and they would have to be prepared to vote a very considerable sum of money to compensate them for their losses out of some public fund.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought great importance was to be attached to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster); but he (Mr. W. H. Smith) wished to ask the Government how they were going to protect the tenant when he was rehabilitated under this Bill? There could be no doubt that at the present moment it was not worth the while of the shopkeeper, or the gombeen man, or of any creditor to take proceedings against the tenant, as the landlord had the first claim upon him. The debts remained unsecured; but as soon as the tenant was rehabilitated under this Bill, all the claims upon the tenant, except the claim of the landlord, would become singularly valuable. That which had been pointed out by the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) would happen under this clause. As the hon. Member had pointed out, directly this passed it would be a notice to the creditor that his debt became more or less doubtful, and the creditor would instantly put the law into operation and obtain a judgment against the tenant. The tenant would be clear from all claim by the landlord under the Bill—he would be released, as far as the landlord was concerned, from any fear of eviction — and the other creditors, seeing that the tenant was possessed of a most valuable property which his landlord could not touch, would instantly endeavour to possess themselves of that property. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) thought it was clear that the creditor would at once avail himself of the facilities that he would undoubtedly possess under this Act for recovering a debt, which at the present moment was wholly and absolutely irrecoverable. Well, was it the intention of the Government that that should happen which the hon. Member for the County of Cork said would take place under the clause, and which would undoubtedly happen when the measure was in full operation? Was it the intention of the Government that creditors whose debts were now absolutely irrecoverable should have the opportunity of setting the law in motion, and clearing whole districts in Ireland under the powers which this Act would certainly place at their disposal? If it were so, the Act could not be called a measure for the benefit of persons who had got into arrear with their rent. The result of passing the clause would be that an immense number of actions would instantly be set on foot in the Civil Bill Courts.

MR. GLADSTONE said, no doubt they were placed in a difficulty, and no one would be inclined to discredit the good intentions of the hon. Gentleman in endeavouring to grapple with it. The right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had contributed nothing whatever to the removal of the difficulty, and had only made the general and vague admission that he thought there was a good deal of force in the admirable, though short speech which had come from the right hon. Gentleman on the Ministerial Benches (Mr. Forster). If the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) would vote in conformity with the admirable speech of the right hon. Gentleman referred to he would do well; and he (Mr. Gladstone) looked to the right hon. Gentleman for support, inasmuch as he had supplied nothing, great or small, in answer to the speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. But he (Mr. Gladstone) was not going to avoid answering the question of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman asked—" How are you going to protect the tenant against his ordinary creditor?" Well, they were going to protect the tenant certainly by no direct legislation; but they were going to protect him against the ordinary creditor in the only way that would be legitimate—unless they were prepared to follow the course pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman—namely, by improving his position, by relieving him of the most perilous of his debts, by giving him a fresh start in life, and by placing his credit on a sound commercial footing—by enabling him to go into the Court to get a judicial rent, and to put himself in the sound position, in which, instead of having to pay 20 per cent for any advance he might require, he might go to the bank and obtain it for 5 per cent. The Bill would give the tenant fair play and an open field, and enable him to attain a solvent position. He (Mr. Gladstone) did not pretend to say that the provisions of the Bill were such as to meet every case that might arise—he did not deny that some cases of the kind referred to by the hon. Baronet who moved the clause might sometimes occur. No doubt there might be cases where the creditors might, wisely or unwisely, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) had pointed out, make a rapid use of the powers of the Bill. No doubt cases might occur where in that way the creditors would be able to put the tenants in a position of difficulty, probably culminating in eviction. He (Mr. Gladstone) did not deny that, and he did not pretend that they could prevent it. The question before the Committee was, whether there was a remedy for the difficulty, and, if so, whether that remedy was offered in the clause of the hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Gladstone) ventured to say there was no answer at all to be given to the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster). The clause made no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate debts, and no doubt, if it were accepted, the creditors of the tenants would at once take steps for enforcing their claims. The gombeen man, like the Jews in Roumania and elsewhere, was the offspring of the necessities of the people, and the best way to get rid of him was not to destroy his remedy at law, but to render his assistance unnecessary. Supposing he granted—and he was not sure that he should be justified in granting it—that they would be justified in taking away the rights of the gombeen man if he stood alone. But he did not stand alone, the clause made no difference between the debts owing to the gombeen man and the most legitimate debts. The money-lender who had supplied the tenant with means, when he was in a state of the direst distress, possibly starving, would be dealt with in exactly the same way as the usurer. And he agreed with the hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) that if the provision were accepted, the news of its acceptance would be telegraphed to Ireland, and all the tenant's creditors would immediately take steps to enforce the remedy which the law allowed. Though he was not prepared to endorse all the hon. Member, who, no doubt, was a great authority, had stated—namely, that whole districts would be cleared if this clause were enforced, he had no doubt that the creditors would be driven to the use of his remedy were they to adopt so unprecedented a measure. They would be driven in many instances to take the most speedy and violent action. Let them consider what was the clause before the Committee. The tenant in Ireland had two classes of creditors, the landlord on the one side and the shopkeeper and the money-lender on the other. He (Mr. Gladstone) might fairly make this classification. Well, what were they doing by this Bill? They were endeavouring to settle by a summary process the tenant's account with his landlord; and why did they do that? Not merely because the tenant was in arrear and distress—there were plenty of people in arrear and distress elsewhere than in Ireland, though not in such great masses—but chiefly because unless they did so he could not have access to the Land Court. It was not the relief of distress, it was not merely the prevention of eviction—though he admitted that was a great object—but it was, above all, to give the tenant access to the Land Court; and it was because access to the Land Court was a capital part of an Imperial policy which they had induced Parliament to adopt that this measure was brought forward. That object, however, would remain essentially crippled so long as a large portion of the small tenantry in Ireland were barred from entrance to the Land Court by the existence of this particular kind of debt. It would be an anomaly, having determined to give access to the Court, to continue to debar the tenants from all accessibility to it. Then, on what principle did they interfere? They did not take away all the remedies of the shopkeeper. That might be literally true, but he did not think it was true in substance. What remedy did they leave him? They left him a remedy which would be a most cruel one—namely, the right of selling up the tenant and reducing the man to a level of insufficiency in the holding, or they compelled him to leave the farm. The only remedy was that of selling up the stock. Was that a desirable course to drive the shopkeeper or gombeen man to? It would be much better in the interest of the shopkeeper himself to drive him to a remedy less effective. When they interfered with the landlord's debt for the purposes of public policy, it should be remembered that, acting on a principle which was strictly equitable and even liberal, they gave him money where in many cases he had no chance of getting a penny; and they could not well take away from the shopkeeper and the gombeen man the only remedy they had without giving them some sort of compensation. That would be altogether a one-sided operation. There might, no doubt, be evictions from the imprudent use by these creditors of their legal rights; but whatever might be the result, he ventured to say that the remedy by the proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) was a remedy one hundredfold worse than the disease.

MR. GIBSON remarked, that the Prime Minister, in his interesting speech, told the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy that he sought to apply an unprecedented remedy for an unprecedented state of facts. The right hon. Gentleman might have described his own Bill in similar words. He should like to know what would be the condition of the tenant, after the Bill was passed, if it were left exactly as it stood at present? He was protected from the landlord against the landlord's consent, and was given, it might be, a substantial part of the landlord's property; but would that protect the tenant against being destroyed? That he understood to be the object of the Bill; and what was the method adopted for preserving and protecting the tenant from other creditors? Under the Bill as it stood a gift was made from the State measured by the large sum, it might be, of £2,500,000, and the landlord's claim, which might amount to several years' rent, was to be partly obliterated nominally for the advantage of the tenant, but really for the advantage of his other creditors. Why was this? The answer to that question was sought to be given in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy. He would not say that the method adopted by this Bill was desperate, but, at any rate, it was extraordinary; and it might hereafter be found that they had undertaken this exceptional legislation, not for the benefit of the men they sought to benefit, but simply for the advantage of their creditors. The way in which the Amendment had been discussed on the part of the Government was fairly clever. The difficulty of dealing with the matter was patent and obvious, and the Amendment of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy was open to criticism and might require revision, so far as the drafting of the Amendment went. Without claiming any special capacity for criticism, he could criticize this Amendment without the slightest difficulty, and no doubt it was open to many of the difficulties which had been suggested in regard to its drafting, and if it were read a second time it would require considerable alteration. There could be no doubt about that. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Givan) used words in regard to it which were most interesting, and, to a certain extent, most touching. He asked "why the mortgagee, having realized his position by getting judgment, should be deprived of his mortgage and interest in the holding and have his legal rights suspended?" That was very sound criticism. The whole Bill proceeded on the assumption that it was necessary for the purposes of public policy to sweep away the landlord's right to his arrears and deprive him of his interest in the holding. Was there any reason, on any logical grounds, why the same principle should not be applied even to a person who held the position of mortgagee. The hon. Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) said he did not see that it was reasonable to devise a drastic measure of a desperate and unprecedented character to offend any person other than a landlord. It might be said that one victim was enough for one Bill, and that victim was the landlord. Why were banks entitled to be more privileged and protected than landlords? The whole Bill proceeded in a manner so exceptional that it was very difficult to argue upon sound logic. The truth was that the measure was one of so anomalous a character that in dealing with it they were bound to dismiss their logic to the same remote region as that to which last Session they consigned their political economy. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) had thrown his modest *ægis* over the Prime Minister in reference to the Bill. The Prime Minister was obviously in a difficulty in dealing with it satisfactorily. He was severe in his manner, and evidently anxious to know, in terms of considerable severity, why it was that his Bill was assailed by methods so desperate and unreasonable. The right hon. Member for Bradford came to the rescue, and said there was no analogy between the position of the tenant and the landlord and the other creditors, because the landlord was to be paid one-half of the arrears; but in the first clauses of the Bill no volition was given to the landlord, and considerably more than one-half of his entire claim might be swept away for ever, whether he liked it or not. It was not to be suspended, but swept away for all time, and for all purposes, against every class of property the tenant might have. There was no analogy in that drastic treatment of the Bill and the treatment proposed by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy in his Amendment, which only sought to suspend a particular remedy for a particular purpose. No one could say that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy was not open to grave criticism; but he (Mr. Gibson) wanted to know if the Bill was not one which, in all its provisions, was itself open to criticism? They were told they were bound to accept the Bill with their eyes shut, or they would be opposing an Imperial policy. It was no answer to say that there were difficulties besetting the question. He admitted them. The whole argument for the Bill rested on the statement made by the Prime Minister more than once in the course of his speech, that it should be clearly recollected by hon. Members in the discussion that the great object to subserved by the Bill was that of procuring for the tenant access to the Land Court. "That," said the right hon. Gentleman, "was the Imperial policy which was to be carried out, developed, and concluded under the operation of the Bill;" and the right hon. Gentleman, finding himself in that position, proposed that this should be his excuse for never again dealing with another Arrears Bill. He would ask, was not such an Amendment as that suggested by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy the one means by which efficacy could be given to that piece of Imperial policy, because, taking the Bill as it stood, what was its position if not shielded or followed by such an Amendment? They had given the tenant a legal support against his landlord, and why should they enable not the landlord, but one of the other creditors, to step in and, standing in the shoes of the tenant, avail himself of every one of the remedies provided by the State gift? Thus it might happen that their Imperial policy might have been passed in thousands of cases not for the advantage of the tenants of Ireland, but for the benefit of creditors of the tenants other than the landlord, who had been deliberately left free to proceed against the tenant and compel him to sell his estate. He had himself taken up the Bill as it stood, and he had listened with attention to the speech of the Prime Minister; but he felt bound to say, if the Government elected to send the Bill, as it stood now, from the House, it might be used in many cases to defeat the objects which the Government said were those which had caused them to bring in such a measure. He declined to enter into the question of the gombeen man. That was not the question. It might be that the gombeen man was often a respectable man. The one argument the Government presented to the country in justification of their Bill was that it was a Bill solely for the benefit of the tenants of Ireland, to enable the tenants to go into the Land Court. The argument now presented was that, as the Bill stood, it would enable and encourage other creditors of the tenant to supplant the tenant, and enable themselves to get the benefits of the Act.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD only desired to say one word in regard to this important Amendment. He would not render himself amenable to the reproach of the Prime Minister, because he did not intend to leave it in doubt as to how he meant to vote. He was reported to have been the only Member of the House who had voted uncompromisingly in support of the Bill. The Prime Minister had stated that the object of the Bill was to give every tenant in Ireland a facility for approaching the Land Court. That was the reason why he (Mr. Arnold) had supported the Bill. But he took it that it was impossible for the Prime Minister to say that the tenant might not be deprived of his access to the Land Court by creditors other than the landlord, and if that allegation was substantiated, a very important case would be established for the Amendment of his hon. Friend. It set aside altogether other creditors, without giving a right to discriminate whether they were gombeen men or not. That was perfectly outside the question. As a matter of fact, the only institutions that were prosperous in Ireland at this moment were the banks. No one could dispute the fact that eight of the banks in Ireland at the present moment had stock which was worth more than the £100 stock of the Bank of England. What was the connection of the State with the matter? The State, by this Bill, gave to the tenant farmer of Ireland security which he did not before possess; and, in doing so, the State ought to make such terms as were equitable for the tenant. But he was bound to say that this clause was neither equitable nor reasonable; and for this reason only, that it proposed to give no consideration whatever to these creditors who were attacked by it. They gave the landlord consideration, and if they were now dealing with the debts of other creditors, they were bound to give them some consideration also. But, at the same time, if the clause of his hon. Friend were so altered as to secure that every tenant should have access to the Land Court, and that access might be so secured by deferring or postponing the operation of the Act—say for one or two years—that would be a perfectly legitimate interference by the State on the ground that they had given the tenant a security he did not possess before, and had placed the creditors in a better position. He could not vote for the Amendment as it stood, because it placed the creditors in a worse position than that in which they stood before; but if his hon. Friend would so amend the proposal that there would be no immediate action taken—such as his hon. Friend the Member for the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw) suggested—until the tenants should have had the power of approaching the Land Court, he would support it.

MR. M'COAN said, that whatever might be the fate of the Amendment, there was no doubt that it would have one salutary effect. He had voted for the Bill under the impression that its intention and its effect would be to secure the embarrassed tenants of Ireland in the possession of their holdings; but from the speech of the Prime Minister it seemed now clear enough that he had been voting for it under a delusion. In point of fact, he had been voting to oust the tenant from his interest in his holding, and to create an improved security, at his expense, for his other creditors. That had never been his intention. But the effect of this Bill was to oust the landlord by Parliamentary compulsion, and to compel him to surrender his just claims, or, at any rate, his legal claims, if they were not just—and, being legal, he was entitled to assume, for the purpose of argument, that they were just—for the purpose of putting into a vastly improved position the shopkeeper and gombeen man, and the Munster Bank. Now, that had been no part of his meaning. He had meant to contribute by his vote to fix the embarrassed tenant in his holding, and to clear him from his embarrassments up to the end of last year, giving him a fresh start. The object of the Bill was declared to be to give the tenant a fresh start; but it now appeared that that was not so, for though the landlord was to be swept aside, the shopkeeper and gombeen man were to come forward and have their full pound of flesh. The only effect of the Bill would be not to rehabilitate this large class of embarrassed tenants, and not to produce that amount of restored peace and contentment which they all hoped for from the provisions of the Bill, but to make provision for another class of creditors. The Bill was, therefore, a delusion, and he should, accordingly, vote for the Amendment. There was no doubt that the Amendment was open to criticism, but it embodied a sound principle, without which the Act would be a failure, and without which they would not have done their utmost to get rid of the embarrassment of the tenant.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) asked the Committee to bring back their minds to the Bill before them. After the long discussion the Bill had received, and the considerable amount of labour it had imposed upon hon. Members, many of whom had had to attend in their places from morning to night, this Amendment was now introduced from their own side of the House. The object of it was to create a totally different effect as regarded the release of the tenant from arrears from that contemplated by the Bill. No one, however acute he might be, would find the germ of the Amendment in the Bill itself, either good, bad, or indifferent. It had no real connection with the Bill, and it would be just as reasonable to propose an Amendment for the payment of Cetewayo's expenses in coming over to this country, as the Amendment now proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) to the Bill which they had been discussing day and night for a considerable period with hardly a break. They were now asked to introduce a clause respecting a matter which had no connection whatever with the object of the Bill. It was a Bill to make provision for certain arrears of rent, and when the 1st clause was under discussion the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) asked, as he was entitled to do, what they were going to do with the other creditors. That very question was discussed about a month ago. In the time which had since elapsed they had gone through all the clauses, and it was supposed that the Bill would be reported that day. It was now half-past 2 o'clock, and they had made no impression upon the Amendments on the Paper; and they were now, after an interval of a month, going to have all the second reading speeches over again as to whether all the creditors ought not to be brought under the venue of the Bill, and left in the same position as the landlord. He appealed to hon. Members if that was a reasonable way of conducting the Business of the House. He admitted that he had had no large experience of the way of conducting Public Business in that House; but he must say that up to the present time he had never heard of such constant repetitions of second reading speeches. The same arguments were repeated day after day upon the different provisions of the Bill, and when at length, to use a popular expression, they all thought they could see daylight, they found that daylight had gone back into night again. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) said the present discussion satisfied him that the Bill was a fallacy and a delusion. If so, it would be better to abandon it altogether. If the exigencies of the case did not require that assistance should be given to the tenant in the interests of peace and order, why go on with it? The landlord was the largest creditor, no doubt the first creditor; there were considerable arrears due to him, and he (the Attorney General for Ireland) had said before, and he would repeat again, that he entirely denied the assertion that the forbearance of the landlord was a matter of consideration to the tenant, for he simply allowed the arrears to accumulate for which he could at any moment come down and crush him. Therefore, the man to whom large arrears were due was not to be regarded as a benevolent friend. The State now came forward and said—"We will pay one year's rent clear to the landlord up to the end of 1881, if the tenant can produce another year's rent, and the tenant may then go free, the landlord obtaining two years' rent." It was said that the Bill was opposed to all good finance and economic science. He had no doubt that it was contrary to good finance; but then it was always contrary to good finance for a man to be poor. No man was a good Chancellor of the Exchequer whose pockets were always empty; and that was the condition of a large portion of the tenantry of Ireland. But the question was, how were they to be relieved? He granted that the Bill presented to the House was presented on a "give and take" ground. The landlord received two years' arrears of rent, and not the tenant. With regard to the remaining arrears, up to last November and all subsequent arrears the Bill did not propose to interfere. This clause related to a condition of things in which a tenant with a few cows and a few agricultural implements might have to depend for assistance upon neighbours. He dared say there were parts of Connemara where there was no plough at all. [Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: No.] He was not speaking of tenants of the hon. Member for Galway; but he was assured that in some parts of Connemara there was not a plough possessed by a tenant, and that he had to depend upon what assistance he could get. Many of the tenants had in their houses as their only furniture, a dresser, a few plates, perhaps one table, and a couple of seats. In that state of things Parliament came forward and gave the tenant a fresh start, rendering him free from his liabilities. But what did this Amendment propose? It proposed to drive the creditors of the tenant, other than the landlord, to a state of desperation. The effect of that would be that, knowing their security was to be taken away, and having nothing to rely upon but the small means of the impoverished tenant, the shopkeeper would be driven to make a swoop and turn the tenant out without any means of living. They were told that that was benevolence to the tenant. He did not see in what the benevolence consisted. The larger the security the man had the less likely was he to take himself off. If the creditor knew that the tenant would be placed in a better position it would be to his interest to allow him to remain in his holding. The Bill gave the tenant a fresh start and insured him the means of paying his debts. Who were the class which it was proposed to shut out? They were a class who were almost as much suffering in the distressed districts as the tenants themselves. It was the class of smaller shopkeepers, who had been sailing in the same boat, and who had been keeping the tenants going, by helping them to keep body and soul together; and now it was proposed to take a step which would prevent those unfortunate men from recouping themselves in the only way they possibly could, and thereby impoverishing the tenant still more. He hoped the Committee would not listen to the Amendment. The Bill was not intended to be, as they all knew, an Insolvency or Bankruptcy Bill for the tenants; it was not intended to convert an impoverished tenant into an insolvent tenant, and to require him to make an inventory of his goods. Whether it was a good or a bad Bill, it was, at any rate, an honest effort to give the small tenants in these impoverished circumstances the means of going on in the world as they were, but not so impoverished that in future they would be unable to make a fresh start. It proposed, in point of fact, to give the tenants the means of paying those very creditors who had shown benevolence in the past. He trusted the Committee would not accept the Amendment, for the sake of the tenants themselves.

MR. GILL said, he wished to state in a few words his reasons for voting against the Amendment before the Committee. He was quite certain the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had placed it on the Paper with the best motives; but the hon. Member could not appreciate what its effect would be in Ireland as well as those who lived there could. It would be, in the first place, the setting of two classes against each other who had hitherto worked well together — the farmers and the shopkeepers. He was bound to say that the shopkeepers were a considerate body of persons, who had never harshly exercised their rights against the tenants, and he believed that in future, if they had the power of selling the tenant's interest in his holding, they would rarely or never use it. To do so would be altogether against their own interest; it was not likely that a shopkeeper would incur the unpopularity and the certain destruction of his trade in the district which would follow. This was a strong reason, at any rate, why the power to sell would probably be very seldom used. During the speech of the Prime Minister, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had interposed with the remark that if the Amendment were not passed it would be likely that many tenant farmers would be made bankrupts; but he (Mr. Gill) believed that if it were adopted its effect would be that a large number of shopkeepers would be placed in that position; and he was rather surprised that the right hon. Gentleman, with his vast mercantile experience, seemed not to be aware of the fact. He repeated his disbelief that the power of sale would be exercised by the shopkeepers; but he was quite sure that the adoption of the Amendment would lead to an immediate curtailment of credit throughout Ireland. The wholesale merchants would undoubtedly instruct their representatives and travellers to deal for cash only, and a large number of shopkeepers would suffer unjustly and severely in consequence. On the other hand, he could not agree that any practical advantage would result to the farmers, because, for the reasons already stated, he believed there would be exceedingly few shopkeepers willing to sell the tenant right of their own customers.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report the Bill, as amended, to the House."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 182; Noes 38: Majority 144.

AYES.

Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brassey, Sir T.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Caine, W. S.
Callan, P.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Carbutt, E. H.
Causton, R. K.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Col. D. La T.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Daly, J.
Davies, R.
Davies, W.
Dickson, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ferguson, R.
Findlater, W.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Gill, H. J.
Givan, J.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Grant, A.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
Illingworth, A.
James, C.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Johnson, W. M.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Kinnear, J.
Lalor, R.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lyons, R. D.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marum, E. M.
Maskelyne, M. H. Story-
Mason, H.
Matheson, Sir A.
Maxwell-Heron, J.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Morgan, rt. hn. G. O.
Morley, A.
Muntz, P. H.
Nelson, I.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Major F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Porter, A. M.
Potter, T. B.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pugh, L. P.
Pulley, J.
Rathbone, W.
Richard, H.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Samuelson, B.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, W.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Slagg, J.
Smyth, P. J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Taylor, P. A.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.

Tillett, J. H.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

NOES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bentinck, rt. hon. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Burrell, Sir W. W.
Campbell, J. A.
Coddington, W.
Compton, F.
Davenport, H. T.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Feilden, Major-General R. J.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Floyer, J.
Freshfield, C. K.
Harcourt, E. W.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Northcote, H. S.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Ramsay, J.
Rankin, J.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
Salt, T.
Scott, M. D.
Stanley, E. J.
Thomson, H.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Warton, C. N.
Whitley, E.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, hon. P.

TELLERS.
Gregory, G. B.
Schreiber, C.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow,* and to be *printed.* [Bill 241.]

QUESTIONS.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—THE EMIGRATION CLAUSE—RECOMMITTAL.

Mr. GIBSON: I rise to put a Question to the Prime Minister, because the final stages of this Bill have been taken with a rapidity which came upon everybody by surprise. There were some Amendments on the Paper with regard to emigration which excited a good deal of interest, and I understand the Government are desirous of giving an opportunity of having that matter reconsidered. I wish to ask the Government if that is so?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he did not know whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman was in his place at the time of the occurrence to which he had referred. [Mr. Gibson: No.] In that case the right hon. and learned Gentleman spoke from information imparted by others, and not from personal knowledge. He was himself in his place at the time, and he had seen the Chairman resume his seat at the Table; and he could assure the right hon. and learned Gentleman that the proceedings were marked by no unusual haste. [Mr. Warton: Oh, oh!] He thought the hon. and learned Member for Bridport was pushing Parliamentary licence very far when he interrupted him, on a matter of fact, with exclamations of that sort. He thought it was hardly decent that such interruptions should take place. He had been conversant with the proceedings of that House for half-a-century, and he ventured to say that everything done by the Chairman that afternoon had been done with the strictest order, and without the slightest appearance of haste. [Mr. Warton: Oh!] The hon. and learned Member for Bridport, with his experience of the House, might have a different opinion; and, of course, he was entitled to set it up if he so pleased. He (Mr. Gladstone) had no title to interfere with it, and certainly would not interrupt the hon. and learned Member if he stated it in a sense different from his own. But he thought it was his duty, in the position he held, to refer to anything that concerned the constituted authorities of the House. [Mr. Gibson: I only asked the question.] He thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman had gone a little further than that; but perhaps he had not meant what he said. At the same time, he did not think that anybody was the worse for it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was quite right in supposing that a full opportunity would be given to hon. Members to state their opinion on the subjects which, owing to the absence of some hon. Members, passed without notice a few minutes ago. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) would to-night, at a quarter to 6, propose the preliminary step for obtaining the necessary authority, and to-morrow would move to re-commit the Bill, either before or after Report—he was not sure which it would be—for the purpose of raising the matter, which would enable any hon. Gentleman desirous of making a Motion in Committee to state his opinions. He did not believe that, practically, anything had been lost owing to the circumstances—he admitted that they were peculiar—which had occurred in consequence of the fact that Gentlemen who were generally among the most energetic attendants in the House did not happen to be in their places at a critical moment.

Mr. GREGORY explained that there were several points to which he desired to draw attention, the chief one being the question of emigration.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that it would probably be for the convenience of the House that he should state that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) would today take the preliminary step towards carrying out the Government proposal that the Land Commission should be strengthened by the appointment of a fourth Commissioner, so that the proceedings of the Commission should not be hampered in cases where the presence of three Commissioners would be required. This would meet the point raised some time ago by the right hon. Gentleman opposite with regard to the position of the Land Commission when appeals came before them.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked whether the re-committal of the Bill would be before or after Report?

Mr. GLADSTONE: After the Report.

Mr. SEXTON wished to corroborate what had fallen from the Prime Minister. When the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Gill) had concluded his speech the Chairman of Committees waited, and no one rose. He then put the Question, which, having been decided, he then called on the hon. Gentleman who had the next Amendment on the Paper. He, however, was not in his place, and had not reached it when the Chairman put the Question that the Bill be reported to the House. There was no irregularity at all about the action of the Chairman. He would now like to ask the Prime Minister when he would take the third reading?

Mr. GLADSTONE: On Friday morning.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS REPEAL BILL.—[Bill 64.]

(*Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. P. A. Taylor*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF rose to a point of Order. On a previous occasion the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair had ruled that the second reading of a measure of which he had charge could not be debated because the Bill was not printed. As the Bill now before the House had not been printed, he wished to know whether it was competent for the House to debate its second reading?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that I have ever decided from the Chair, as stated by the hon. Member, that a Bill not having been printed could not be debated. I might have said that it was very unusual to proceed with a Bill that was not printed; but I could not interfere and say that it was not open to the House to proceed with that Bill, if it thought proper, although not printed.

Mr. CALLAN: I believe I will not be in Order in moving that a certain part of the House usually occupied by ladies should be cleared; but to give the reporters a well-earned holiday, I have to direct your attention, Sir, to the fact that Strangers are present.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member desire to take notice of the presence of Strangers?

Mr. CALLAN: Yes; I rise for that purpose. If necessary, I will move that Strangers be ordered to withdraw.

Mr. MACARTNEY: I should like to ask, Sir, if the Galleries being cleared would also have the effect of clearing the Ladies' Gallery?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member asks me whether an order to exclude Strangers will exclude ladies from the Ladies' Gallery. I am bound to say it would not.

Mr. CALLAN: Then, for the purpose of calling attention to the matter, I spy Strangers present, and shall proceed to a division.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I put the Question I think it right to say that if the House should resolve to exclude Strangers the effect would be that Strangers in the Gallery and Reporters for the Press would be excluded, but no one would be excluded from the Ladies' Gallery. At the same time, if the hon. Member insists on pressing the Motion I am bound to put it.

Mr. CALLAN: I hope, Sir, if the House decides to exclude Strangers, that those who occupy the Ladies' Gallery will take the hint.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is that Strangers be ordered to withdraw. [*Cries of* "Aye, aye!" *and* "No, no!"] I think the Noes have it. [*Cries of* "The Ayes have it."] Will the hon. Member name another Teller?

MR. CALLAN: Colonel Alexander.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 36; Noes 173: Majority 137.—(Div. List, No. 280.)

MR. SPEAKER: Some reference having been made to the presence of ladies, I think it right to state that in 1876, when a similar Order of the Day was before the House, my attention was called to the presence of ladies on that occasion, and I used these words—

> "I may state for the information of the House that there are two Galleries of this House appropriated to the use of ladies. One of these is under my direct control; and, having regard to the subject-matter of the first Order of the Day, I have directed that Gallery to be closed. With regard to the other Gallery, as the House is aware, it is available for the use of the friends of Members, under the orders of Members in the usual manner. I have not felt myself at liberty to close that Gallery; but I have desired the messenger in attendance to inform all ladies who may present themselves there of the nature of the subject about to be discussed. If after that caution they think proper to insist upon admittance, I do not feel at liberty, without the authority of the House, to exclude them."

I may state that on this occasion I have given similar instructions to the Sergeant-at-Arms.

COLONEL ALEXANDER: I beg to move that ladies should be excluded from the Gallery.

MR. MOORE seconded the Motion, but the Question was not put from the Chair.

MR. STANSFELD: I do not intend to trespass unduly upon the kindness or attention of the House on this occasion. I was not aware until this moment that the Bill had not been printed, and I apologize to the House for the omission. I may, perhaps, be permitted to explain that it arose in this way. When I brought in the Bill I was literally on the eve, myself, of a serious illness, and since then, as those who know me know, my mind has been pre-occupied by domestic anxieties of no ordinary kind. But the Bill itself, as hon. Members know perfectly well, is one simply for the absolute repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. It raises a question of principle; and as far as I am concerned, and as far as those who advocate it are concerned, we have not felt that our functions went further than to propound the principle of the repeal of the existing legislation, leaving it to the responsible Government of the time to make what proposals they might think necessary to meet the exigencies of the case. I should be in yet another difficulty if I proposed to trespass too long on the attention of the House, or to go into any exhaustive discussion of this complicated subject with regard to which such different opinions obtain. If I were to endeavour to do so, speaking with the utmost conciseness consistent with lucidity, I could not conclude before the day's Sitting had terminated. I should think it unfair, and not a gentlemanly act on my part, so to exhaust the time and patience of the House, and therefore I shall not do it. Further than this, my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War has given Notice of moving, not a negative upon the second reading of this Bill, but "the Previous Question." And I do not think I misinterpret his intention and that of the Government when I say that they are not based on any unfavourable opinion on the subject of the repeal; but upon the consideration that a Committee is yet sitting upstairs to consider this question, and that it would not be convenient to the House to decide a question of this kind before that Committee had presented its Report. So far as I am concerned I entirely admit the difficulty of the position; but I say with regard to it that that Committee has been sitting for nearly four Sessions, and that until quite lately I had every reason to believe that it would have been able to report, and that it could have reported before this date. I know I should be transgressing the Rules of the House were I to discuss the causes of the long delay which has occurred in the proceedings of the Committee during the present Session of Parliament; and therefore I merely refer to the matter as a reason why, for my own part, I have not felt it incumbent on me, or right for me, to withdraw this Bill. But I do not deny the force of the argument which the right hon. Gentleman will undoubtedly put forward; and what I propose, therefore, with the leave of the House, is, not exhaustively to discuss this question, but to do two things, and two things only—first of all happen to be in their places at a critical moment.

Mr. GREGORY explained that there were several points to which he desired to draw attention, the chief one being the question of emigration.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that it would probably be for the convenience of the House that he should state that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) would to-day take the preliminary step towards carrying out the Government proposal that the Land Commission should be strengthened by the appointment of a fourth Commissioner, so that the proceedings of the Commission should not be hampered in cases where the presence of three Commissioners would be required. This would meet the point raised some time ago by the right hon. Gentleman opposite with regard to the position of the Land Commission when appeals came before them.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked whether the re-committal of the Bill would be before or after Report?

Mr. GLADSTONE: After the Report.

Mr. SEXTON wished to corroborate what had fallen from the Prime Minister. When the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Gill) had concluded his speech the Chairman of Committees waited, and no one rose. He then put the Question, which, having been decided, he then called on the hon. Gentleman who had the next Amendment on the Paper. He, however, was not in his place, and had not reached it when the Chairman put the Question that the Bill be reported to the House. There was no irregularity at all about the action of the Chairman. He would now like to ask the Prime Minister when he would take the third reading?

Mr. GLADSTONE: On Friday morning.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—:0:—

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS REPEAL BILL.—[Bill 64.]

(*Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. P. A. Taylor*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF rose to a point of Order. On a previous occasion the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair had ruled that the second reading of a measure of which he had charge could not be debated because the Bill was not printed. As the Bill now before the House had not been printed, he wished to know whether it was competent for the House to debate its second reading?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that I have ever decided from the Chair, as stated by the hon. Member, that a Bill not having been printed could not be debated. I might have said that it was very unusual to proceed with a Bill that was not printed; but I could not interfere and say that it was not open to the House to proceed with that Bill, if it thought proper, although not printed.

Mr. CALLAN: I believe I will not be in Order in moving that a certain part of the House usually occupied by ladies should be cleared; but to give the reporters a well-earned holiday, I have to direct your attention, Sir, to the fact that Strangers are present.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member desire to take notice of the presence of Strangers?

Mr. CALLAN: Yes; I rise for that purpose. If necessary, I will move that Strangers be ordered to withdraw.

Mr. MACARTNEY: I should like to ask, Sir, if the Galleries being cleared would also have the effect of clearing the Ladies' Gallery?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member asks me whether an order to exclude Strangers will exclude ladies from the Ladies' Gallery. I am bound to say it would not.

Mr. CALLAN: Then, for the purpose of calling attention to the matter, I spy Strangers present, and shall proceed to a division.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I put the Question I think it right to say that if the House should resolve to exclude Strangers the effect would be that Strangers in the Gallery and Reporters for the Press would be excluded, but no one would be excluded from the Ladies' Gallery. At the same time, if the hon. Member insists on pressing the Motion I am bound to put it.

Mr. CALLAN: I hope, Sir, if the House decides to exclude Strangers, that those who occupy the Ladies' Gallery will take the hint.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is that Strangers be ordered to withdraw. [*Cries of* "Aye, aye!" *and* "No, no!"] I think the Noes have it. [*Cries of* "The Ayes have it."] Will the hon. Member name another Teller?

MR. CALLAN: Colonel Alexander.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 36; Noes 173: Majority 137.—(Div. List, No. 280.)

MR. SPEAKER: Some reference having been made to the presence of ladies, I think it right to state that in 1876, when a similar Order of the Day was before the House, my attention was called to the presence of ladies on that occasion, and I used these words—

> "I may state for the information of the House that there are two Galleries of this House appropriated to the use of ladies. One of these is under my direct control; and, having regard to the subject-matter of the first Order of the Day, I have directed that Gallery to be closed. With regard to the other Gallery, as the House is aware, it is available for the use of the friends of Members, under the orders of Members in the usual manner. I have not felt myself at liberty to close that Gallery; but I have desired the messenger in attendance to inform all ladies who may present themselves there of the nature of the subject about to be discussed. If after that caution they think proper to insist upon admittance, I do not feel at liberty, without the authority of the House, to exclude them."

I may state that on this occasion I have given similar instructions to the Sergeant-at-Arms.

COLONEL ALEXANDER: I beg to move that ladies should be excluded from the Gallery.

MR. MOORE seconded the Motion, but the Question was not put from the Chair.

MR. STANSFELD: I do not intend to trespass unduly upon the kindness or attention of the House on this occasion. I was not aware until this moment that the Bill had not been printed, and I apologize to the House for the omission. I may, perhaps, be permitted to explain that it arose in this way. When I brought in the Bill I was literally on the eve, myself, of a serious illness, and since then, as those who know me know, my mind has been pre-occupied by domestic anxieties of no ordinary kind. But the Bill itself, as hon. Members know perfectly well, is one simply for the absolute repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. It raises a question of principle; and as far as I am concerned, and as far as those who advocate it are concerned, we have not felt that our functions went further than to propound the principle of the repeal of the existing legislation, leaving it to the responsible Government of the time to make what proposals they might think necessary to meet the exigencies of the case. I should be in yet another difficulty if I proposed to trespass too long on the attention of the House, or to go into any exhaustive discussion of this complicated subject with regard to which such different opinions obtain. If I were to endeavour to do so, speaking with the utmost conciseness consistent with lucidity, I could not conclude before the day's Sitting had terminated. I should think it unfair, and not a gentlemanly act on my part, so to exhaust the time and patience of the House, and therefore I shall not do it. Further than this, my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War has given Notice of moving, not a negative upon the second reading of this Bill, but "the Previous Question." And I do not think I misinterpret his intention and that of the Government when I say that they are not based on any unfavourable opinion on the subject of the repeal; but upon the consideration that a Committee is yet sitting upstairs to consider this question, and that it would not be convenient to the House to decide a question of this kind before that Committee had presented its Report. So far as I am concerned I entirely admit the difficulty of the position; but I say with regard to it that that Committee has been sitting for nearly four Sessions, and that until quite lately I had every reason to believe that it would have been able to report, and that it could have reported before this date. I know I should be transgressing the Rules of the House were I to discuss the causes of the long delay which has occurred in the proceedings of the Committee during the present Session of Parliament; and therefore I merely refer to the matter as a reason why, for my own part, I have not felt it incumbent on me, or right for me, to withdraw this Bill. But I do not deny the force of the argument which the right hon. Gentleman will undoubtedly put forward; and what I propose, therefore, with the leave of the House, is, not exhaustively to discuss this question, but to do two things, and two things only—first of all to make clear if I can the essential point of view taken by us who oppose this legislation; secondly, to remove some misconception, if it exists, as to the legislation which it would be possible for us to accept; and, lastly, I would venture to point out to my right hon. Friend, to the Government, and the House, some special obligations and responsibilities of this Government and of certain Members of this Government, and I will make an appeal to them when the proper time comes to take up this question. I have said that there have been very long delays. The Acts in question were passed in the years 1866 and 1869, and in 1870-1 a Royal Commission sat upon them and reported unfavourably to the continuance of the existing Acts. Again, a period of agitation came up, and the subject was discussed throughout the country. The Committee which is still sitting was appointed during the Government of the late Lord Beaconsfield, was re-appointed on the assembly of the present Parliament, and has sat up to this day; and during that period all those who are so deeply interested in and conversant with this subject, both in the House and out of it, have, to a certain extent, felt themselves bound and restrained in their action; and, therefore, I think it right to say that there will be very considerable disappointment and a strong feeling excited in their minds, when they find that there is to be no action upon the Report of the Committee in the present Session of Parliament. But I find no fault—I should not be entitled to do so—with this condition of things. All I ask the House is, to be allowed to make an explanation and a statement, the limits of which I have already defined. Now, the Acts provide hospitals for the treatment of venereal diseases in some districts which are called subjected or protected districts. It is often supposed that we who oppose these Acts are unfavourable to the provision of hospitals and medical appliances for the treatment or cure of these diseases on the ground that they are the consequence of sexual vice. Well, many other diseases are the consequence of vice of one kind or another; and what I wish to say is, that those who oppose this legislation do not object to the treatment and cure of disease and the prevention and mitigation of its sufferings. On the contrary, it is their conviction that when these Acts are repealed, and arrangements of the right kind are applied to the country at large, the amount of provision for the treatment of these diseases will be greatly increased, and it will be increased with the approval and assent of those who object to the existing legislation. Moreover, they have no fear whatsoever, as far I have been able to judge of their minds and opinions, that provisions for the treatment of disease, properly afforded and managed, need or would tend to the promotion of vice; on the contrary, they are under the conviction, derived particularly from the personal experience of those who have been connected with voluntary institutions for the purpose, that they may be so managed as to conduce to the diminution of vice and to the promotion of temperance and virtue amongst the population. But there is one principle in these Acts to which we who are opposed to them are irreconcilably opposed; and it is my duty to state to the House that we act from so strong a conviction of absolute duty that we cannot conceive any circumstances under which we should feel justified in relinquishing our opposition to this legislation. This statement I make in no spirit of threat. I think it right as a matter of honesty to say so much to the House. The House knows from the past history of other questions and movements that when you find in this country a large number of serious, earnest, moral, and high-minded men and women absolutely convinced of the moral iniquity of a given legislation, no Parliamentary or other defeats can succeed in extinguishing their convictions, their self-sacrifice, and their zeal in the direction of what they believe to be right. And, therefore, I think this House and the Government ought to take this into account that unless in some way or other the evil principle, to which I have referred, and to which these earnest people object, can be removed from this legislation, this legislation can have no peace until it is repealed. What is the objectionable principle? It is the principle of compulsion; applied in this way—the compulsory registration and the compulsory examination of women of a certain class, for the purpose of ascertaining if they are physically fit for the life which they lead, and with the view of compulsorily committing them to and detaining them in hospitals, if they are found to be diseased, until such time as they are cured. Well, I say in the simplest possible language to the Members of this House that this is a proposition of law which is abhorrent to our notions of justice and of morality, and, I will add, of religion itself; and it would be impossible for me, as long as I remain a Member of this House, or even if I were not a Member of this House—as long as I live and breathe—to refrain from fulfilling what I should feel to be the duty incumbent upon me of opposing a principle imported into our legislation, inconsistent with the very basis of morality, and with the religion which we profess. Now, that is the principle which must be got rid of, and which cannot be got rid of by any mere amendment of these laws. It is supposed that the ideal benefits which people imagine—as I believe without foundation—to flow from this legislation could not be obtained without the importation of this principle of compulsory legislation. I will not discuss that point now; that would be to go into the evidence which the Committee received this Session, and I am not entitled to take that course; but I will express my conviction that whatever ideal benefits may be supposed to have followed from the operation of these Acts, greater benefit to the country at large may easily be secured by a system not involving compulsion, and not open to the moral objections which I now represent to-day. Now, I want to make an appeal to Her Majesty's Government. They have a certain general responsibility in this matter, in that we have come to a deadlock from which nothing we can do can extricate us, but from which they can and ought to extricate us, and let me show what that deadlock is. When these Acts were originally passed, a good deal was said about promoting efficiency in the Army and Navy; but I beg leave to say that, after the examination of witnesses which has taken place before a Royal Commission and this Committee, we shall not hear very much of that. I do not think that in the future any Government or this House would be prepared to place such exceptional legislation as this upon so narrow a ground. Well, then, I pass that by, and come to the ground on which the most ardent advocates of this legislation have defended it—namely, the hope of stamping out a certain special venereal disease which is said to affect permanently the constitutions of men and of generations yet unborn. What I want to put to the Government and to my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War is, that if that is the ground on which you defend this legislation, then you cannot restrict it within its present limits. Upon that principle you are bound logically, and in common honesty, to extend these supposed hygienic benefits to the rest of the community, and not to confine them to specific and limited districts, to Army and Navy districts. If your strong ground is not the ground of Army and and Navy efficiency—and I deny that it is a strong ground—but the extinction of a peculiar disease—then it is impossible for you to rest where you are, and you must be prepared to propose the extension of these Acts to the country at large. I think I may say, without trenching upon the Rules of the House and referring only to the evidence of previous Sessions, that I have not met with a single witness in favour of the existence of these Acts, who was not also in favour of their extension. Well, Sir, it is known, and hon. Members know, that these Acts could not be extended to the country at large, that the country would not stand it, and that this House would not pass the measure; and this House knows, or ought to know, that if these Acts were to be brought forward now for the first time they could not be passed. They were passed in former days almost in silence, with great rapidity; I may say they were "Lobbied" through the House; but now that public opinion is awakened upon this subject, I say fearlessly, without the slightest fear of rational contradiction, that it would be impossible now for this or any Government to pass these Acts. That is the position in which we are placed. If the Acts are maintained they must be extended; but they cannot be extended, and therefore they must be repealed. But the House is perfectly familiar with the difficulties, almost amounting to impossibilities, of a private Member seeking to enact or get any legislation repealed; and the argument, therefore, to Her Majesty's Government is—and I hope my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War when he speaks will agree with me—that when this Committee has reported, the Government will have to acknowledge some special responsibility upon them to get us out of this deadlock. I do not think that when that time comes my right hon. Friend, if he has to deal with the question, will be in any insuperable difficulty. As far as I am concerned, my conviction is that these Acts are the greatest hygienic imposture we have ever known. I believe they have done no hygienic good, and at the proper time I shall hope to demonstrate that to the minds of hon. Members who, if I may say so, seem to require enlightenment upon this subject. But however that may be, whatever modicum of benefit, hygienic or in respect of order, may be believed to have resulted from these Acts, what I do point out to the House and the Government is this—that precisely the same results are to be found in parts of the country, towns, and cities, where these Acts do not apply; and I cite the well-known case of the city of Glasgow, where all the benefits supposed to have been attributable (I think wrongly) to the Acts themselves have been obtained without any compulsory system at all. I have only one or two words more to say to the Government and to my right hon. Friend. I have spoken of the general responsibility of the Government in this matter; but there are also personal responsibilities to which, perhaps, I may without offence refer. I will not read the list of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen who have, year after year, voted for the repeal of the Acts; but will merely remark that I do not think they can have turned their back on the opinions which they entertained formerly on this subject. I interpret the votes given by the Prime Minister and my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War as nothing else than an admission that "we cannot stand where we are," and that interpretation I think I am entitled to put upon them. Well, then, I hope these obligations will be recognized, and I address a further argument to the Prime Minister. During all this period of delay, while many good people have become sick, but not faint at heart, from disappointment and from hope deferred, the hope so long deferred has largely centred upon him. Those I refer to have felt—and I think they have rightly felt—that with my right hon. Friend the question of morals is ever present; they know his view and that of another right hon. Friend of mine, unhappily no longer a Member of this Administration, that "the moral law ought to be applied to the acts of nations as well as to the actions of individuals;" and I must say to him that they, at least, can never admit any doubt or question as to the "application of that law." Sir, I will go no further upon this occasion; but I ask of the Government, in moving the "Previous Question," to give what assurance they may feel justified in giving that they accept these responsibilities, and will deal with this question with the least possible delay.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Stansfeld.*)

Mr. CHILDERS: The whole House has listened with great respect and great attention to the speech of my right hon. Friend, and I think I shall have the judgment of every one present with me when I say that nobody could have addressed himself to the task which he has undertaken with greater knowledge and with greater weight. He has put his case before the House in the best and most appropriate light. My right hon. Friend's proposal is simply this—he recommends to the House, on the present occasion, to repeal absolutely the several Acts in the Statute Book dealing with the prevalence of venereal disease amongst our soldiers and sailors, and tending to diminish that disease. My right hon. Friend has said nothing about what he thought would follow, except that he assumes that the initiative would rest with the Government to propose something, because it was impossible for private Members to do it; but all that he indicated was that there might follow some increased expense in the nature of provision for hospitals appropriated for dealing with this particular disease in other parts of the country than those Lock Hospitals at present used where the Acts are at present in force. Now, Sir, to meet the Motion of my right hon. Friend, I have put down a Motion to move the "Previous Question," and my hon. Friend admits that I could not have done otherwise. The facts as to these Acts have been sketched, and correctly sketched, by my right hon. Friend. He brought us down to the present time and I shall not refer to anything except the last four years. In 1879, on the Motion of a late Member of the House, who shared my right hon. Friend's strong feelings upon this question, a Committee was appointed with the entire concurrence of the late Government. That Committee met in 1879; met again in 1880; and met again in 1881; and I think I shall not transgress the Rule of the House as to references to proceedings of a Committee when I say that in the present Session that Committee has closed its evidence; that its Chairman has in course of preparation a Report, and that, in all probability, that Report will be discussed and settled in the next few weeks. Those, I believe, are the facts about which there can be no dispute. What I recommend is that the House should wait for the Report of the Committee. They have taken a large amount of evidence; I am told that about 30,000 Questions have been asked by the Committee during the years that it has sat; and I recommend hon. Members to read that Report and as much of the evidence as they are prepared to go through before arriving at any opinion on the question. I venture to say that it would be, not an intentional, but a practical affront to a Committee, if after they have spent a great deal of time in discussing the particular question — no less than four years—and have with great diligence collected a vast amount of material to enable a judgment to be arrived at, this House should anticipate their Report and determine to adopt some legislation, whatever it might be, either in the direction of continuing or repealing the Acts, or in the direction of extension. I must say, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, what is the course we must take in the matter. I will not refer at all, although my right hon. Friend has referred, to the opinions which different Members of the Government as well as myself have expressed in past years. I prefer to take the line of expressing no opinion upon this subject upon this occasion. I should be wrong if I did so; because whatever opinion I may have formed of the evidence which came before me, whether in Office or out of Office, in former years, it would be my duty now to approach the subject without any bias whatever, and to devote myself when the Report of the Committee appears to carefully studying, not only the words of that Report, but the evidence on which that Report is founded; and therefore I shall not, on the present occasion, express ever so remotely any opinion upon the proposals of my right hon. Friend. I will keep myself absolutely free, and keep my Colleagues absolutely free, to decide as we may think fit, after considering that Report and the evidence, what course we should recommend to Parliament; and I will only say now what the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government has said as to the impossibility of stating to Parliament what proposals they may make in any future Session until we know what facilities we are given for discussing them. On the other hand, it will be our business to go thoroughly into this question, and, if we consider that the law ought to be altered, to make a proposal to Parliament for that alteration. On these grounds, and on these grounds only, without in the least going into the matter of the Bill itself, I feel it my duty simply to move the "Previous Question."

Previous Question proposed, "That that Question be now put."—(*Mr. Childers.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not know whether it is necessary to say anything in support of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. It does appear, without reference to the Main Question, that, under the circumstances, the position of the Report of the Committee, and this Bill not having been even circulated, and the general circumstances of the case, the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman is the right one, and that which ought to be taken by the House.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: I should like to say one or two words. I have every wish to bear testimony to the extremely moderate and careful speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He said one or two words with regard to the postponement of the Report, with reference to which I wish to make a remark. One is not at liberty to go into what takes place upstairs during a Sitting of the Committee; but I do not think that any Member, whatever opinions he may hold on the Main Question, who was present at our last meeting, will be disposed to blame anyone for the non-appearance of the Report at this time. In fact, the understanding was that a day considerably later than to-day would be the earliest date at which it could be reasonably expected that the Report could be ready, and that possibly even some additional time would be necessary. There are many points in the right hon. Gentleman's speech to which some Members of the Committee may be disposed to take exception; but it would be particularly unbecoming in me to discuss them, inasmuch as in future Sittings of the Committee, it may be my duty to hold the scales between contending parties on these very points.

Previous Question, "That that Question be now put," put, and *negatived.*

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.—[Bill 182.]

(*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Birley, Mr. W. M'Arthur, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. STEVENSON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: I am glad that previous legislation has cleared away many old objections founded on the incompetency of Parliament to deal with this subject. Scotland has had Sunday Closing for 28 years; and the Irish Act was passed only after a rigid inquiry as to the success of the Scotch measure. This temporary Act in Ireland has succeeded in doing a very large amount of good, and completely justified the arguments of its promoters. I sincerely hope this Session will not close without the Irish Sunday Closing Bill being made the permanent law of that part of the United Kingdom. With regard to the present measure, there can be no doubt that it is viewed by the bulk of the people of England with great and increasing favour; and I think it is only fair that in a matter in which the health and prosperity of the people are so largely concerned the will of the people should prevail. Sunday is the day when the workman has his week's wages in his pocket, and, therefore, it is exceedingly wrong and unfair to other traders, whose shops were closed, that on that day he should be exposed to temptation, and that facilities should be provided for him to spend his week's earnings in the public-house, much to the injury of his wife and children. I call upon Parliament to put an end to the present state of things and read this Bill a second time. It cannot be urged against the measure that those whom it most directly affects have not had the opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it. On the contrary, every class of the community, and every variety of locality, has been canvassed for its opinion, with the result that wherever it has been tested, an overwhelming majority of the householders in England are found to be in favour of the proposed change. The most remarkable part of the experience of the promoters of the Bill is this—that the lower down you go in the scale of society the more earnest and eager is the desire for the passage of this measure. There can be no doubt that poor and humble people, feeling the evils of intemperance brought to their own door, are the most anxious that Parliament should interpose and entirely alter the present system. The supporters of Sunday closing in the country are gaining in numbers every day. The Corporation of Liverpool, in successive years, have shown an increasing majority in favour of the measure, and last year their Petition was unanimously adopted, and Boards of Guardians and other public bodies in the country are petitioning for the Bill. I had the honour of presenting to the Prime Minister only the other day a statement signed by 3,574 borough and county magistrates in England expressing their opinion that, in the interests of morality and good order, this measure ought to be passed. I need not remind the House of Commons of the masses of Petitions which have been presented, showing the desire of large classes of the constituencies for this measure. I think it would be found, on examination, that the large communities are even more anxious to see the Bill passed than the smaller places. Not only in the interest of the public, but in the interest of the thousands of people who are employed in public-houses, this change is desirable. The *employés* of public-houses ought to have a day of rest above all others, considering the nature of the trade in which they were engaged, and that the hours of opening are twice as many in the week as are permitted by the Factory Acts. I hope it is not necessary to refer to the stale beer argument;

the argument, in fact, is about as stale as the beer on which it hangs. I believe that the mere convenience, if there is any, of having fresh drawn, compared with having it bought in a bottle on Saturday night, ought not to weigh for one instant against the adoption of a measure which sought, amongst other things, to give a day of rest to thousands of people who were employed throughout the week. It may be asked —"Why don't you deal with the *bonâ fide* traveller?" I have quite enough to do without meddling with this difficult subject. The Bill leaves the *bonâ fide* traveller untouched; it will not interfere in the slightest degree with the legitimate refreshment of those who come under the category of *bonâ fide* travellers. A Petition was presented to the House the other day against the Bill from the Licensed Victuallers, in which allusion was made to the improving morality of the people under the existing system. I am glad it is so. That is part of my case. I believe if the morality of the people were not improving I should have had less chance of passing the Bill. I will not unnecessarily occupy the time of the House; but I beg you not to lag behind public opinion in this matter, but to give the people of England what they seek as a boon, and which they cannot see should be denied them after it has been granted to the people of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Stevenson.*)

MR. WARTON, in moving, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said: I feel it my duty to oppose this proposal at every stage. I do not come here prepared with statistics and long notes to debate this question, for I am prepared to deal with it naked as it stands, for to my mind it is a mass of the worst tyranny. I can well understand people going a great length in a matter of this kind, for, unfortunately, there are too many fools and fanatics in the world; but what I do object to is that they should attempt to bend everyone else to their own iron will, which is tyranny of the worst character. It is said that the Bill is founded upon high principles of morality; but I cannot understand where this high principle of morality is when the *bonâ fide* traveller is exempted from its application. The question is, no doubt, a difficult one, for I fail to see, if people take a drive into the country on Sundays, how they can enjoy themselves if they have not the means of getting refreshment. I have no wish whatever to enter into a disputation as to what may be high grounds of morality after the lessons upon that point which we have lately had from two eminent statesmen, whose views, although they profess to agree in principle, are exceedingly divergent; but, as I have always understood, one of the great principles of morality is to do to others what you would wish them to do by you. If you do not do that, your conduct becomes immoral and tyrannical. I look upon this proposal as a piece of Radical tyranny. There is this difference between the Tories and the Radicals. The Tories endeavour to secure their object by argument and reasoning, whereas the Radicals seek to obtain theirs by force. Why should not people be left free to enjoy their Sundays as they please? For my own part, I do not see why there should be any restrictions at all. Well, that, perhaps, is an extreme view, and I only give expression to it to meet the extreme view entertained on the other side. Whenever there is an extreme view on one side, and an extreme view on the other, the result is a compromise fair and right to both, and that compromise we have now existing, is in having the public-houses open for only a few hours on Sunday, so that some respect is paid to that holy day. The poor man has very few pleasures indeed; he has to slave from Monday morning to Saturday night at his work, and a few Radicals, wrapped up in their high feelings of virtue, wish to deprive him of his right to refresh himself, if he chooses, in a public-house on the only day he has in the week. Irishmen may drink whisky, but the English national drink is beer; and I hope Englishmen will ever have their beer. We have the high authority of the Prime Minister on our side. In his Budget speech last year the right hon. Gentleman said that beer was a liquor which might compare with the nectar of the gods; and no doubt the right hon. Gentleman sometimes quaffed the excellent beverage which our brewers make. It is only those who know nothing about the habits of Englishmen who bring forward Bills of this description. What are these poor people to do on the Sunday? Are they to go to a number of conventicles which are turned into political engines for the dissemination of Radical principles? In Wales you had a Sunday Closing Bill passed by the most studied misrepresentation. Statements were made on that Bill which had extremely little foundation. The fact is, this is the three tailors of Tooley Street over again; it is the little Radical faction who think they are going to rule the country completely. The fault is the fault of the Prime Minister, who gives way to them when they attack him with sufficient energy; but we must not let them think that there are none left in this country with the sturdy old English feeling that the natural healthy drink of the Englishman is beer. Go all round the country, and you will find that that is the real pleasure appreciated by the labouring classes. ["No, no!"] It is a very proper and reasonable pleasure, and as to the hon. Gentleman over the way who says "No, no!" to that proposition, I do not know the nature of the interruption; but I may remind him that we have been told by a very high authority that it is wrong to say "No;" but I will not quote that authority against the hon. Gentleman. I understand him to say "No" to the statement that the Englishman likes his beer. I suppose in his young days he has, like most of us, rowed on the river, and when we have been rowing on the river or playing on the cricket field, a good draught of beer is not unwelcome. I have spoken of moralists. I might go higher. The wisest man that ever lived —I am not going to quote Burns now—has said—"Let the poor man drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." It is really a solemn question whether some people are to impose their will on others. We all love freedom, I think, and I am standing here in favour of freedom. Why should the public-houses be shut up on Sundays? Why should not people drink, then, if they like? Really this sort of opposition to well-established habits and undoubted preferences is a most unfair thing. I should like to bring in a Bill next Session for insisting that all advocates of Sunday closing should drink so much beer or so much whisky on Sundays. It would be just as evil for us to compel them to drink as for them to compel us not to drink. What is the real history of our social feeling in this country on this question? It is not 70 years ago that the expression was common in this country that a man was "as drunk as a lord," and the explanation of the expression was that drinking was supposed to be the peculiar privilege of the aristocracy. Now, in good, nay, in decent society the man who gets drunk habitually is looked upon as a disgrace. That idea is reaching the lower classes now, and legislation will not do anything. Do you suppose that our fellow-creatures among the lower classes are so indifferent that the voice of public opinion has had no influence on them? Do we not find now that among the humblest members of the working classes drunkenness is not so common as it was, and that when it does take place there is usually some substantial excuse for it? I am an advocate of temperance in the strict sense of the word—I am an advocate of moderation—and I do hope that the time is rapidly coming when, without Bills of this sort, the feelings of the country will be in favour of moderate indulgence as against excessive indulgence. I hope the time will come soon when the people of the very lowest classes will think it a disgrace to get drunk. But why should we try to enforce people to keep sober against their will? Why not leave the matter to the influence of public opinion? The question we have more immediately before us is with regard to the Sabbath, and for my part I am not what is called a strict Sabbatarian. I do not think Sunday was meant to be a day of general gloom, but that it was meant to be a day of health, liberty, and rest. It is not liberty to say that a man shall not drink what he thinks will refresh him on the Sunday. At the back of all these fanatics we have got a number of scientists; but there are two sides to this question, for there are people of equal eminence in science who think that we owe something of our brain power to the habits of our ancestors, drinking and otherwise. You cannot alter people's natures by Act of Parliament. You cannot insist upon high-dried laws making men perfectly chaste and perfectly sober—it is not practicable. I advise all those who are in favour of legislation in this matter to study carefully Shakespeare's great play of *Measure for Measure;* in that great work he paints plainly enough the stupidity and folly of those who try to make human nature better than it possibly can be. It is perfectly cruel—I do not scruple to use the word —for Radicals in independent social positions to come here and deprive the poor man of the only thing he has got; it shows an utter absence of Christianity and human feeling. Those who bring forward Bills like this gain nothing at all except from one another. They may lend one another a helping hand, and the whole set of fanatical opinions may get a little support by this propping up of each other's absurdities, but they get no golden opinions from anyone else. Why, what are you to think when you hear from the hon. Member who brings this forward that he cannot grapple with one great question—when a man comes forward and says meekly and humbly that he cannot deal with a question which goes to the root of the matter? The hon. Member dare not grapple with it. He cannot prevent a man who has walked six or eight miles from being thirsty; that man, being a *bonâ fide* traveller, goes in to have his refreshment; and if it is such a wicked thing to have public-houses open on Sundays at all, how is that you let the *bonâ fide* traveller pass? If this Bill goes through, everyone will be a *bonâ fide* traveller—that is the tendency of England now—people will not be controlled. Hon. Members who sit opposite may be actuated by some strange notions of "moral law"—on our side of the House we like morality as much as anyone; but we do not think it much good to try and reach by Act of Parliament an imposing standard. In the present day we have between the old Whigs and Tories a lot of men with little crotchets, and it is these men who come forward against drink, against Sunday opening, against vaccination. They try in the most dishonest manner to turn the scale between the two political Parties by going to the Cabinet and putting pressure upon it in an unworthy manner. I can respect the conscientious Whig; I respect still more the honest Tory; but I say it is a piece of impertinence for people to come in with these little fanatical notions and try to throw their petty weight into the scale against one side or the other. I will ask my hon. Friends opposite one question—do they belong to any clubs? I do not like to mention the Reform Club, because there are strange dissensions in that place on a topic which is very notorious—["Question"]—I am speaking of the Reform and other Liberal clubs as places to meet in during hours when the public-houses are shut, and I must say I find here no clause to shut up, for instance, the Reform Club on a Sunday. Does not this show hypocrisy on the part of Members opposite? Suppose men of all classes had only the public-houses to go to? My position is this, that narrow-minded men cannot sympathize with the wants of their fellow-creatures, and that the situation of the poor man who may not have a club to go to is not realized by hon. Members who have plenty of facilities to drink if they like. We have not many working men Representatives in this House. I do not see one on this occasion, and I am inclined to think that they know the working man's wishes, and therefore cannot vote for this Bill, but that not wishing to annoy the Radical Party, they go away without voting. And I must say, so far as the Government is concerned, that though the Government is most respectably represented, the Front Bench is not particularly well occupied—and I do not think the Government have charged the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hibbert) with the expression of their views upon this question. I could wish that they would exhibit more firmness on occasions like the present; it is not sufficient for them merely to slink away. But, after all, I can but repeat that in my view proposals like the present are simply the outcome of a narrow mind. Members of the Radical Party too often desire to have all their own way, and, borrowing their own method, I would recommend the advocates of the measure to withdraw it, and introduce another providing for the punishment of all *bonâ fide* travellers who procure refreshment. It has been stated that numbers of people have signed Petitions in favour of the Bill. It must be a matter of common knowledge that Petitions are of little value, and can very easily be got up. We also have Petitions on our side—Petitions signed by adult males, who protest against its introduction. For my part, I also protest against it, on the broad ground of the necessity of maintaining our ancient freedom, our liberty to drink at whatever time we choose to drink, and on that ground I oppose, and hope the House will oppose, such a narrow and hypocritical Bill.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR JOSEPH PEASE: I believe, Sir, that I had the honour of bringing this question of Sunday closing into a more practical line for the consideration of this House than has been the lot of many hon. Members who have dealt with the subject. Some time ago, when the hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson) proceeded to deal with the matter by way of Resolution, I was successful in carrying, without dissent, certain modifications of the Resolution which my hon. Friend then moved. I believe that the time has now come when the House is prepared to deal with the question of Sunday closing in a manner that will bring about its practical settlement. I may say that I believe, with the hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the House (Mr. Stevenson), that the bulk of the working class in this Kingdom are with us in favour of the Bill now before us. The difficulty we have to encounter is not so much in regard to the passing of a Bill for Sunday closing; it arises more out of the matter with which we shall have to deal when we come to the exceptions it may be necessary to provide in that measure. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stevenson) has alluded to the question of the *boná fide* traveller, as to whom I may say that in my belief he is the most *boná fide* humbug that ever existed. By the present and proposed law, any person who happened to be three miles or more away from his home on the Sunday is enabled to procure any quantity of drink he may choose to take, while the man who remains quietly at his own house, under this Sunday Closing Bill, will not be able to send to the public-house at stated times of the day for his dinner and supper beer. The House, acting on the conclusions at which it has previously arrived, will probably modify the provisions of any Sunday Closing Bill with regard to the Metropolis and other large places. I am free to admit that the Metropolis will have to be made the subject of special legislation. I very much regret the absence from this House of my hon. Friend who formerly sat for Cornwall—Mr. John Tremayne—who showed that on an investigation which had been made as to the requirements of the Metropolis, it had been found that there was an enormous number of people in London on the Sunday who had nowhere to go except to refreshment rooms, which would still have to be licensed; and also that it would only be reasonable to allow the same exception in some of the larger towns in the country where the inhabitants should be allowed to send during certain hours of the day for such beer as they may require for dinner or supper, to be consumed in their own houses; but these are necessarily matters of detail, which can only be dealt with in Committee. The great point at which we have now arrived in regard to this legislation is that instead of providing for the opening of public-houses on Sundays we are providing for the closing of such places, and, in so doing, making such exceptions as the exigencies of the time and of the people are considered to demand. If we were to carry this measure for Sunday closing too far, we should be doing, as has been done once or twice in our legislation on previous occasions, harm. I believe that the rank and file of the country are entirely with us. We have already had a Bill brought in for Cornwall, and an Act was passed for Wales in which there was an unfortunate misprint, and we have had another Bill brought in for Yorkshire, and we know that there are other Acts which have passed this House, and are at present in force for Ireland and Scotland. I may here say that I am desirous of making my remarks as short as possible, as I am anxious that in the time which remains to us we should be able to get to a division; but when we get into Committee on the Bill, if we should succeed in so doing, we can deal with the subject of providing those relaxations which the proper working of the measure may require. I have presented Petitions from every Board of Guardians in the division of the county I have the honour to represent (Durham) in favour of this measure as it stands on the Paper. In the different country districts the people are thoroughly prepared for the complete closing of the public-houses on Sundays, and in many of them they would be glad to do away with the provision which is made to meet the case of *bonâ fide* travellers. They think that to keep the respectable public-houses open on Sunday for travellers only produces work for those engaged in the business for very little profit, doing very little good to the traveller and less to the landlord. The Resolution which I proposed on a former occasion was to the effect that in any Sunday closing measure provision should be made for the Metropolis and other large towns, permitting the sale of dinner and supper beer for consumption off the premises, and if this Bill should get into Committee I shall be glad again to move in that direction. I have now only further to say that I heartily support the second reading; and I hope that during the short time we have to debate the measure the House will come to the conclusion that it is entitled to a second reading.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that a number of hon. Members, and himself among them, had for very long been of opinion that public-houses might be closed on Sunday for all but sale off the premises, and he would be quite prepared, for his own part, to consider a Bill which contained such a provision. He could not, however, assent to the second reading of this Bill, for he was asked here to affirm that the houses were to be closed on Sunday, subject only to the *bonâ fide* traveller clause. There were many difficulties attaching to a proposal of that kind, and he did not think it would be wise to assent to the second reading, waiting for the chances of Committee to introduce into the Bill the Amendments which he felt to be absolutely necessary. Nobody would dispute the enormous difficulties which surrounded the question of the *bonâ fide* traveller. Living as he himself did in a neighbourhood bordering upon the Metropolis, he was bound to say that something must be provided in order to meet the requirements of men who, for example, took advantage of the legislation which had enabled them to leave London and spend their Sunday in Epping Forest. Many amongst the working population of London availed themselves now of the privileges within their reach, and went into the country for their Sunday, and it was exceedingly difficult to say they should be prevented from obtaining refreshments on that day. This was a question which the country was very much interested in, and he was surprised that the Government had not thought it worth while to take a more prominent part on this occasion. The Government were distinctly prominent by their absence on this occasion; and he thought they had a right to the assistance and counsel of right hon. Gentlemen when a subject came up which possessed deep interest for the country, and which affected seriously the whole licensing trade.

MR. C. P. PHIPPS: I will not say that the hon. Member for South Shields has sprung a mine upon the House, because, of course, everyone was well aware that there was a chance of the Bill coming on; but I do say that hardly any Member in the House thought there was any chance of such an important question as this being discussed to-day. I think there is good evidence of this, when one looks round the House and sees the apparently little interest taken in this question. The support of this Bill mainly comes from the other side, and we see there mainly empty Benches. It is not my intention to go into the *bonâ fide* traveller question; but there are one or two points which should make any man pause before he commits himself to the principle of closing all public-houses on Sunday. To pass this stage on the understanding that Amendments will be brought forward in Committee would, I think, be a very dangerous course for us to pursue. This Bill is the result of an agitation that has been got up and thoroughly well worked. If the same attention had been bestowed upon other matters, probably it would have been better for the well-being of the nation at large. The hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Joseph Pease) said that if such a Bill were agreed to it should contain special exceptions in favour of the Metropolis; but I fail entirely to see why the same exceptions should not apply to other large towns, and you would certainly have many of them urging their strong and just claims.

It is impossible, however, to make men sober by legislation. It is all very well to talk of the gigantic evils caused by intemperance, and I do not for a moment desire to say they are not gigantic; but I do venture to say this, that the intemperate among the people of England are in a very great minority. If a publican is against Sunday trading he has the remedy entirely in his own hands. There is nothing to prevent him taking out a six days' licence. Only the other day I was talking to a publican in the place I represent, and he told me he had taken out a six days' licence, and that his business had not suffered very much. I was told by a gentleman of the result of his experience on his own estate, where he had only allowed the publicans to take out six days' licences. He said the consequence was that they had more drunkenness on Sunday than they had on any other day of the week. I ought, perhaps, to say, in explanation of this, that about a mile beyond the village on his estate there are some large ironworks and a considerable number of workmen. His experience was so unfortunate that he made up his mind to go back to the old system, and allow the publicans to take out what licences they liked. But, unfortunately, he died, and the idea was not carried out. There is another question that ought to be considered. The promoters of this legislation look at one side of the question, and entirely decline to look at any other. But supposing you have the drink bought and taken home on Saturday night. Does it not occur to hon. Gentlemen that in a great many instances the result of bringing spirits into a house will be to lead to drinking on the part of the women of the family, and demoralize the children by the spectacle of this spirit-drinking going on at home? I think that is a very serious question indeed. The arguments in favour of this Bill appear to me to be entirely sentimental. I hardly believe there will be less drinking in the country until the tone of the people has been raised. If this Bill is passed it will inflict incalculable harm upon the people at large.

Mr. EWART: No Member on this side of the House has spoken in favour of this Bill; but, notwithstanding the eloquent and denunciatory speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), in which he has charged those who hold the opinions I entertain with rant, cant, and hypocrisy, I am not deterred from raising my voice in favour of this measure. The evil of drunkenness is one that everyone must admit does more in the way of producing crime, disease, and poverty, than, perhaps, all other causes put together, and is far worse in its effects than war, pestilence, and famine. The money expended in drink exceeds annually the amount of the national taxation, and it would pay off the National Debt in four years. It is well known that Sunday is among the lower classes the worst day in the week, for many of them choose that day for going to the public-house and spending their time and money away from their families. The hon. Member who last addressed the House (Mr. Phipps) referred to the evils that might be introduced into families by taking the drink home. I am not at all afraid of any such result; nor am I such an enthusiast on the subject of total abstinence that I should wish to see the poor man deprived of his beer on Sundays; but I certainly should prefer that he should provide it on the Saturday night. If he would only do this, there is no question as to the brewers being quite competent to meet his requirements on this matter. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) spoke very much as if this were a question as between one side of the House and the other—as though hon. Members on the other side of the House were in favour of the Bill, and those who sit on this side were opposed to it. Now, I differ very much from my hon. and learned Friend on this point. I believe that the Conservative feeling of the country is largely in favour of this measure, and that if a poll were to be taken upon it, the majority of the Conservatives would be found to be on the side of those who support the Bill. I have had some experience of Sunday closing in Ireland, and am glad to be able to bear my testimony to the eminent success that has attended the operation of the measure now in force in Ireland. There is nothing in the world like experience derived from actual experiment; and I have no doubt that the same good results that have manifested themselves in Ireland would be found to follow if a similar measure were to be extended to

England. With regard to what has been said as to the state of popular opinion on this subject, I may instance the attitude that has been assumed by the Archbishops and Bishops of the English Church, and the active part of the clergy of the Church of England, as well as of the clergy of all denominations outside the Church, on this matter. I sincerely trust the House will agree to the second reading of this Bill.

MR. GIBSON: I regret that this debate, which has been going on now for an hour and a-half, has not elicited from any Member of the Government a statement of the views they hold in reference to this Bill. It is perfectly true that it came upon us somewhat as a surprise. No one can blame the hon. Gentleman who has charge of the measure for availing himself of the unexpected opportunity at this period of the Session of submitting it to the judgment of the House and the consideration of the country. The Front Opposition Bench has been adequately and fully represented for the last hour, giving every attention to the progress of the discussion. But the only Representative of the Government on the Treasury Bench was a highly-respected subordinate official (Mr. Hibbert), who, at the mere mention of the absence of the Government, has taken wings and flown. I assume that the Bill has been brought before us more with the object of ventilating the subject than anything else. I hope, when it again comes before Parliament, it will have some drafting qualifications which have been pointed out by this debate to be needed. From morning to night, if this Bill passes, every public-house in England, Scotland, and Ireland would be closed on Sunday. I desire to ask some Member of Her Majesty's Government to give some information with reference to Ireland, which is in a somewhat different position in this important question from the rest of the United Kingdom. We are all aware that there is at present in Ireland a Sunday Closing Bill in operation—I believe beneficial operation. It has worked, on the whole, well, and in a way to insure respectful consideration for any Bill submitted for its prolongation. I think Ireland is entitled to some clear expression of opinion as to what the Government intend to do in reference to that Act, which will expire this Session if it is not renewed. I regret that no Member of the Cabinet is present, as this is a question which merits the attention of the Government. It is hardly possible to conceive a more important measure dealing with a more important subject, and the House has a right to hear the opinion of the Government upon it.

MR. HIBBERT: I am sorry that there is no Cabinet Minister present to take part in this discussion; but, at the same time, I must draw the attention of the House to the uncertainty which prevails with regard to the Business which comes before it on a Wednesday. I may say that when I entered the House at about 2 o'clock it was expected that the Committee on the Arrears Bill would occupy the whole of the day, and that it would not even come to a conclusion at a quarter to 6. There is no doubt that my right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary, who, perhaps, should have been in his place while this Bill was being discussed, was misled by this anticipation in the same way as I. But I may be able to reply to the question which has been put by my right hon. and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Gibson). My right hon. and learned Friend says it includes Ireland. Well, my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Stevenson) says that it is not intended to include either Ireland or Scotland, and that if it does, as a matter of fact, include those two countries, he is quite willing to agree to the insertion of a clause to exclude them if it be considered desirable. As to what the Government propose to do with respect to Sunday closing in Ireland, I believe it is the intention of the Government to place the Irish Act in the Continuance Bill. I am not aware that it is intended to bring in a separate Bill on the subject; I think the Act is to be included in the Continuance Bill at the end of the Session. While I am on my legs I hope I may be allowed to state my own individual opinion of the Bill which is now before the House, and, in doing so, I must not be understood to give the opinion of the Government. I must say that my own individual opinion is in favour of Sunday closing, although I do not know that I entirely endorse the Bill as it is drawn. To my mind, Sunday closing is a matter very much of local feeling, and, I may state that, even in the present Session, we have had a Bill brought in from Cornwall to apply Sunday closing to that county. That measure is almost unanimously supported by the people of Cornwall, and I do not see why a Bill should not be allowed to pass, giving Sunday closing to that county. I do not see the least objection to this question being dealt with in a piecemeal manner, for, after all, it is a question of local feeling. The feeling in favour of Sunday closing is very strong in the North, and I have no doubt that, if an Act of this character were passed, difficulties in putting it into force would occur in the Metropolis and in other towns in the South of England which would not occur in the North. Under these circumstances, I do not know whether it would not be wise to deal with the question in a different manner to that suggested by my hon. Friend (Mr. Stevenson). At the same time, the working-classes, by a very large majority — certainly in the North of England—are in favour of Sunday closing. I believe if they were polled to-morrow, it would be found that an immense majority in the North of England were in favour of it; and, therefore, I do not think that I can agree with the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) that the question is one of taking away the freedom of the working-men. It might interfere with a certain portion of the working-classes; but I believe that the great majority of them are in favour of a measure of this kind. Before I sit down, I wish to add also my own opinion, that it would be much better if, instead of having to make alterations in the Bill when it has passed the second reading, the measure could be introduced with Amendments which are desired inserted in it. It would be advisable, if the Bill does not pass this year, for my hon. Friend to take the opportunity which will be offered him before the commencement of next Session of making what alterations he proposes in it.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: I think the most satisfactory way of dealing with this matter is to bring in a Bill in the shape in which it is intended to pass it. At present, a Bill is brought in, and a great number of hon. Members, in supporting it, say—"I am not going to support this Bill as it stands, but with considerable modifications, some of which may go to the very root of the matter." This is a Bill for the total closing of public-houses on Sunday; but if you are not going to close them altogether this Bill does not deserve its title. It is introducing a Bill with the very best intentions, but under false pretences. I am sorry that anything of a Party nature should be introduced into this matter, as if supporters of this Bill were on one side of the House and opponents on the other; but I think we should know what is the opinion of the Government on the matter, and I think that someone might have walked the few yards over from Downing Street to take part in this debate. [An hon. Member: They are in the House.] At working men's clubs liquor is served at legal and at illegal hours; and if you draw the line too tight in your endeavour to close public-houses, you will have more drink sold at such places instead of less. I am sure that this is not the wish of hon. Members on either side of the House. I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Colonel MAKINS: I beg to second the Motion. I think the course of this debate shows how very difficult it is for any private Member to bring in a Bill dealing with so large a subject as this. A measure so large as this, affecting, as it does, or as it pretends to do, the whole of the community, must always be brought in by the Government, who have the best opportunity of finding out what the feelings of the whole community on the subject are. I do not agree with my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. J. G. Talbot) in imputing insincere motives to the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Stevenson). I believe he recognizes, as we do, the presence of a very great evil; and it is only with regard to the particular method by which he proposes to deal with that evil that we disagree with him. In the Bill which is now before us I think the hon. Gentleman overshoots the mark, the result of which will be rather to increase the evils which they desire to obviate than to assist in removing them. I think this is not a question to be dealt with in a private Member's Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. J. G. Talbot.*)

Mr. CALLAN: I am sorry that the late Attorney General for Ireland (Mr.

Gibson) was not in the House during the whole of this debate, especially as he has referred to the absence from the Treasury Bench of the prominent Members of the Government. Had he been here at an earlier hour, and had he occupied a seat further back, so that he could have obtained a better view of the House, he would have found a Cabinet Minister lurking behind the Speaker's Chair. It is quite evident that the right hon. Gentleman who should have been here, and to whose Department this really belongs, is the Home Secretary, who was behind the Speaker's Chair during the progress of a portion of this debate; and it is equally evident that a Coercion Bill has much more fascination for him, when that Coercion Bill applies to Ireland, than when it applies to England. We have heard a great deal about the public opinion of the country. We have heard it said that the odds were 10 to 1 that the labouring classes would support this Bill if it was put to the vote. I have taken some trouble to go over the Petitions that have been presented. I do not know how many Boards of Guardians there are in England; but I find that there are only Petitions from 20. One Petition is the most extraordinary Petition ever presented to this House. It is a Petition from "the inhabitants of London," and is signed by 43 persons. Then I find a large number of Petitions have been got up by would-be Pharisees, and supported by the votes of the United Kingdom Alliance—a body that extends its beneficent functions to the payment of election expenses. I find that they are principally from Independents, Wesleyans, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists. I do not find a single Petition here from any Church of England body—oh! yes; I do, here's one from the Convocation of Bible Christians.

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked when the Government proposed to take the Army and Navy Estimates, and which were to be taken first; also, when the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill would be taken, and the Indian Budget submitted?

COLONEL ALEXANDER asked whether there would be a Sitting on Saturday for taking the Scotch Bills?

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill would be taken to-morrow?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that in the absence of the Prime Minister he could not undertake to state all the arrangements as to Public Business; but it was proposed to take the Report on the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill to-morrow night, and the third reading at the Morning Sitting on Friday; and the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill to-morrow night, after the Report on the Arrears Bill, if time permitted. The Government would state to-morrow whether there would be a Sitting on Saturday for the Scotch Bills; it was probable, however, that there would be a Sitting.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, he should oppose a Saturday Sitting.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, he would repeat his Question to-morrow, in the hope of obtaining some definite information from the Prime Minister.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) [SALARIES AND EMIGRATION].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. BIGGAR asked if it was competent to leave out a portion of the Bill?

THE CHAIRMAN said, no Notice had been given of the Motion.

MR. BIGGAR said, he objected to that portion referring to emigration.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member might raise the question on Report.

MR. BIGGAR: Then I object to the whole thing.

THE CHAIRMAN: But the Question is put.

MR. BIGGAR said, he must insist upon his right to object.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the effect of the hon. Member's opposition would be to postpone the consideration of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill.

Mr. BIGGAR: For that reason I will not oppose it, then.

In reply to Mr. Callan,

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that the Government did not intend that the Land Commissioner under the Arrears of Rent Bill should be a Judicial Commissioner.

Mr. HEALY: May I take it as a fact that the Government have decided to support the emigration scheme of the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone), or a modification of it?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I think the hon. Member is sufficiently clever to draw his own inference.

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Salaries of any Officers who may be appointed under the provisions of any Act of the present Session for making provision respecting certain Arrears of Rent in Ireland; and also the payment, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, of any moneys which may be required, for the purpose of assisting Emigration from Ireland, and which sums, though primarily charged on the Irish Church Temporalities Fund, that Fund is insufficient to defray.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at one minute before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 20*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Duke of Grafton, after the death of his brother.

Public Bills — *First Reading* — Medical Act (1858) Amendment* (201).

Committee — Vagrancy, *now* Casual Poor (161-200).

Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (No. 4)*.

Third Reading—Baths and Wash-houses Acts Amendment* (180), and *passed.*

EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I should like to ask a Question of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of which I have given him private Notice, with reference to the statements made by the President of the Council in the French Chamber. I wish to ask the noble Earl, Whether he can give the House any indication of the policy which Her Majesty's Government propose to pursue with regard to an armed occupation of any portion of Egypt? The two statements of M. de Freycinet to which I refer are, if correctly reported—first, that the French Government had resolved upon armed intervention in Egypt; and, secondly, that the French and English Governments had come to an agreement, which they were about to submit to the Conference, for the guardianship of the Suez Canal. As regards the latter, we were assured in this House, by Her Majesty's Government, that they looked upon the Suez Canal as a matter outside the Conference. I shall, therefore, be glad to hear what the noble Earl has to say now upon the point.

Earl GRANVILLE: I have to state that on Monday next my right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) will ask for a Vote of Credit in the House of Commons, and on the same day, with your Lordships permission, I will make a statement to your Lordships on the policy of Her Majesty's Government in respect of the affairs of Egypt.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.—QUESTION.

The Earl of CLANWILLIAM said, he also wished to ask the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty a Question, of which he had given him private Notice. It was, Whether he has received despatches with reference to the bombardment of Alexandria from Sir Beauchamp Seymour; and, whether his attention has been called to a paragraph in the "Standard" newspaper, which states that the noble Earl has expressed his sense of the services rendered by the "Condor," under Lord Charles Beresford, and that he will receive some special mark of recognition for those services? I wish to ask if the noble Lord can give us any information on the subject?

The Earl of NORTHBROOK: My Lords, the Admiralty have received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour to-day a despatch giving a preliminary report of the proceedings of Her Majesty's Fleet at

Alexandria on the 11th. That despatch will be published in *The Gazette* in the customary manner. It does not enter into the services rendered by the *Condor*, and only mentions by name one officer, Captain Hunt-Grubbe, who was the senior officer in command of the ships engaged with the Northern forts. There is not the slightest foundation for the paragraph which my noble and gallant Friend has read from *The Standard* newspaper of this morning as to the recognition of the services of the gunboat *Condor*, under the command of Lord Charles Beresford, for this simple reason, that no despatches have yet been received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour as to the particular services of Commander Lord Charles Beresford, or of the other officers who, equally with him, were engaged in the attack on the forts at Alexandria.

VAGRANCY (*now* CASUAL POOR) BILL.

(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

(No. 161.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he regretted very much that he did not ask their Lordships to reject the Bill on the Motion for second reading. As far as he could make out the Bill, it seemed to him to be suitable for dealing only with cases in the Metropolis and some large towns, and wholly unsuitable to the Unions in the rural parts, where it would have the effect of largely increasing the cost of Poor Law administration. He wished to know in how many Unions throughout England there now existed in the workhouses sufficient appliances to enable the Guardians to keep casual paupers within the casual ward for a period of five days, as was proposed to be done under the Bill? He believed that few of the workhouses at present possessed the requisite appliances for that purpose, and he thought, so far as that class of paupers was concerned, the country Unions would be obliged to lay out large sums of money for the purpose of building casual wards. They had heard a great deal of late years of the increasing burdens imposed on the shoulders of the taxpayers and the ratepayers of the country, and he thought it would be a serious matter to further increase these burdens by calling on the Unions to increase the accommodation for casual paupers. The effect the Bill would be to drive casual paupers from those Unions where there were appliances for enabling the Guardians to detain them five days, to Unions where there were no such appliances. The Guardians in the last-named Unions would not consider themselves able to maintain the casuals five days; therefore, the provisions of the Bill would not apply. Beyond that, it was undesirable, in his opinion, that casual paupers should be mixed in the ward with the other inmates of the workhouse.

EARL STANHOPE said, that the Bill, at first sight, might appear a somewhat harsh and cruel measure, but it was really founded on benevolent motives. It had for its object to enable the Guardians if they pleased—it did not compel them — to retain casual paupers five days instead of three days when they came to the workhouse twice in the same month. He was willing, however, if it were the wish of the Committee, to consent to the alteration of the maximum period for a pauper to be detained to four days instead of five, if the latter period was thought to be too long. All Poor Law reformers had asked for some such measure as this; the Government approved the general principle of the Bill; and he believed its adoption would not really entail any burden on the ratepayers for additional accommodation The real effect of the Bill would be that tramps walking through the country would not proceed so rapidly through the country, as the Guardians would have the power to detain them for a longer time. It was also expected that it would render the vagrant's life less pleasant, and lead to a decrease of expense, inasmuch as its deterrent effect would keep the tramps from going to the workhouses, and treating them as mere common lodging-houses. The result, he hoped, would be a decrease in the number of vagrants, and that less accommodation would consequently be required than was the case at present.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY also objected to the Bill, because he feared its operation would create expense to the ratepayers. He would be glad to hear the opinion of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject, as he had some knowledge of county matters.

House in Committee (according to order); Amendments made: The Report thereof to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 200.)

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD UNIVERSITY STATUTES).

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in rising to move—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the proposed Statute for the University of Oxford, framed by the University of Oxford Commissioners, concerning the nomination of examiners, and now on the Table of this House,"

said, it was in their Lordships' recollection that four or five years ago an Act was passed by that House having for its object the appointment of Commissioners in order to make certain reforms in the Universities and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. In that Act Parliament confined itself exclusively to questions of endowment, to the nature of, and the adaptation of the income of the University to the wants which had recently arisen, and of the income of the various Colleges to the wants of the University. There was neither discussion nor proposal on the part of the Government in favour of affecting in any way the constitution, or the powers of the University itself. The Commissioners, however, acting, as he supposed they were legally entitled to do, on certain words that were in the Statute, had passed a Statute differing from all the other Statutes which they had passed in this, that it directly affected the powers of the University itself. They had passed a Statute for the purpose of taking the appointment of examiners out of the hands of the University itself, and placing it in the hands of a Board designated by the Statute of the Commissioners. That might seem a slight matter to appeal to Parliament upon; but, in reality, it was a matter of the very largest importance for the University and the interests of the University, because the examinations were the tests that were applied throughout all its teaching. It was towards the examination that everything which took place in the University tended; all the efforts of the teachers, all the efforts of the students, had the examination as their end and aim; and the persons who had the moulding of the examination had the moulding of the studies of the University as well. Those who could control the examination could control the character and direction of the studies, and teaching of the University. The University was, therefore, naturally very jealous of the power and independence which it had for a very long time past enjoyed with respect to the management of the teaching within its walls. That teaching never had been interfered with. That right which was inherent in the University it had enjoyed ever since it first existed. It was not affected by the alteration made in its Statutes in 1854, nor was it attempted to be affected by the Statute of 1877. And it must be distinctly understood that it was not necessarily on behalf of the present system of appointment that the University was now appealing. It might be a fair question for consideration whether the present mode of appointing the examiners was the best or was not. What he contended for was that the body, which was the right judge of that, was the University itself, and that it was not expedient that Parliament should interpose its authority to place the University in that matter under the control of a body external to and independent of the University itself. Now, the mode of appointment was this. The Vice Chancellor appointed one examiner, a proctor appointed another, and another proctor appointed a third. To that mode of appointment objection was taken. It was said that the proctors were too young for the work, and that they had a tendency to make the appointments without sufficient reflection. That might or might not be proved; and if any change were consequently to be made, it should be carried out by those who knew the general feeling existing in the University. There was, however, a certain advantage in young men having the appointment, because it kept the studies of the University in sympathy with all the newest discovery and literature on those subjects. But the certain advantage there had been in placing the choice of examiners in the hands of a changing body was that the studies of the University had been kept in accordance with the common sense of the University. If they placed the whole direction of the examinations and the teaching in the hands of a fixed Board, of course the effect was that they gave an additional weight and power to cliques and schools of thought, and made it possible for a state of things to arise in which the teaching of the University should run on particular subjects in grooves, in accordance with the prepossessions of particular men. A system like the present, which changed the appointing power with the changing officers of the University, kept the selection of the examiners in accord with the general feeling and common sense of the University. It was very like a principle which they found in many of their institutions. He took, for example, Select Committees of their Lordships' House and of the other House of Parliament. It was often urged that the powers exercised by those Committees ought to be exercised by experts, who would, no doubt, know more of the particular subjects referred to them than the Committees. Those Committees consisted merely of average Members of both Houses, who were usually ignorant of the technical matters submitted to their judgment. Yet Parliament deliberately and pertinaciously adhered to that mode of decision, because, by doing so, it kept out of the hands of cliques and schools engineering and other technical subjects, which might otherwise fall under their absolute control. The same principle had actuated the University with regard to its examinations. But what he wished most anxiously to impress upon their Lordships was that the University pleaded for its independence. They did not wish for any particular mode of appointing examiners. The University was willing to consider whether this was the best mode or not; but the question had never been raised for the consideration of Convocation by the Hebdomadal Council since it came into existence. There was no ground for saying that the University would not make such reforms as were desirable. The opposition to this Statute proceeded from men of all schools of thought and from men of great eminence. He would not balance the eminence of the one set of men against the eminence of the other, for there were many eminent men on both sides of the question; but a very competent authority, Mr. Robinson, of the Hebdomadal Council, had stated that the University itself should deal with the question. With regard to the changes the Commissioners had introduced, he objected to the power of appointing examiners being taken out of the hands of the University altogether. They proposed that the appointment of examiners should rest in the hands of a Board of which one-half would be named by the Board of Faculties, which consisted chiefly of Professors appointed in a variety of ways, but independent of the University itself. He would state what changes the Commissioners proposed to make. Taking the School of *Literæ Humaniores*, it was clear that this new system would create an entire change in that School, and would probably impair or entirely destroy the character of the training in ancient language and literature, and substitute for it a group of special studies brought together in one examination, which in the end might prove unworkable. This might be seen from the constitution of the Faculty of Arts, which comprised two Professors of Greek and Latin, one each of a variety of other subjects, including Ancient History, Arabic, Celtic, Chinese, Comparative Philology, Fine Arts, Logic, Political Economy, and Sanscrit, English History, Poetry, two of Modern History, three of Moral Philosophy, and other sciences. Was that a proper Body, out of which to appoint a Board to choose examiners in Latin and Greek, which had always been the staple teaching of the Universities? He did not wish to enter into the question of the mode of the application of the Statute; but it showed the kind of danger to which the University studies would be exposed, if the management of them was taken out of the hands of the University and they were allowed to be dealt with by an external body of Professors who were entirely independent of the University, for there was no reason why these Professors should act in sympathy with the views of the University in any subject whatsoever. Where it was sought to take away the powers of an ancient and great Corporation, it was necessary at least to show that those powers had been abused, or that there was in that Corporation a preponderance of discontent at the way in which its powers had been exercised, or that some great public advantage would result from the alteration. He believed that the proposed Statute would paralyze the power of the University over its own Body as regarded its studies, and that such an eventuality was contrary to the intentions of those who introduced the Act of 1877, and, therefore, he asked their Lordships to assent to the Petition of the University and to accede to the present Motion.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the proposed Statute for the University of Oxford, framed by the University of Oxford Commissioners, concerning the nomination of examiners, and now on the Table of this House.—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN, in opposing the Motion, said, he wished to point out that the Statute had not been suggested by the Commissioners, but by the Hebdomadal Council, the Body from which the legislation of the University proceeded.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The Hebdomadal Council has petitioned against the Statute.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that at a meeting on the 14th of December, 1880, the Hebdomadal Council resolved, by a majority of 10 to 8, to take into consideration the Statutes sent up to them by the Commissioners. Although it was quite true that the Hebdomadal Council had since passed a resolution that any Statute which was brought forward should contain a power to make alterations therein without the necessity of applying to Parliament, they had not receded from their original position. The Statute was opposed on two grounds—first, that the Commissioners were going beyond their powers; and, secondly, that the Statute would tend to the deterioration of the University. He presumed that the House would hesitate very much before they rejected the Statute of the Commissioners, confirmed as it had been by the Privy Council, as exceeding the Powers of the Commissioners, and therefore he need only consider whether it was an undue interference with the University itself. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) was under a misapprehension in saying that, up to the present time, the Commissioners had not dealt with any of the administrative acts or rights of the University, for, on reference to the Statute, it would be found that the Commissioners did interfere with acts of administration which it had been competent for the University to perform. For instance, the Commissioners created the Boards of Faculties, and intrusted to them certain duties which the University might have intrusted to them if it thought fit. Was it not natural to suppose that when certain Professors were placed on the Boards of Faculties those Professors should be allowed to exercise some influence on the University examinations? The present system of examination was not now objected to for the first time; objection had been made to it for the last 30 years. The noble Marquess said that Convocation had never rejected any measure for dealing with this subject, since the Hebdomadal Council had been in existence. It was notorious that any measures presented to Convocation with the view of effecting a change would be certain to be defeated in Convocation; and it was because the Hebdomadal Council knew that it would be useless, that no measure had been proposed. Had there been any chance with Convocation, the Hebdomadal Council would not have gone to the Commissioners. It was alleged by the noble Marquess that no complaint was made against the present system. That mode of argument was always used against interfering with any system. The noble Marquess had also called attention to the fact that there had been no complaints from the University itself against the present system; but he (the Earl of Camperdown) was not prepared to allow that there had been no complaints. Did not the noble Marquess consider that the Petitions presented from a large number of the Heads of Houses and from a large majority of the Professors were complaints against the present state of things? Those eminent persons would not petition against the present system unless they considered that in many respects it had broken down. He would ask their Lordships why the University should not have the best system of examination that could be devised? If so, what smaller change could have been proposed than that proposed by the Commissioners? The examiners were now appointed in rotation by the Vice Chancellor and the Senior and Junior Proctors. With all due respect for those persons, it should be remembered that they were not chosen for the special purpose of appointing examiners. He did not think that the Proctors were the most likely persons to know who would make the most capable examiners in the different Schools. It seemed to him that the various Professors would be much more likely than the Proctors to know who were the most capable men. Of course, if their Lordships chose to reject the Statute, they had it in their power to do so; but, if they did, they would be virtually perpetuating a system which had been at various times condemned by every public body that had had the subject under consideration. Another consequence of rejecting the Statute would be, that vast power would be placed in the hands of the noble Marquess, who was not only Chancellor of the University, but a member of the Universities Committee of the Privy Council and the Leader of the Conservative Party in that House. In the first instance, this change was proposed by the Commissioners, who thought it desirable that a Statute should be brought forward. The University objected, and brought the matter before the Universities Committee of the Privy Council. The question was argued by able counsel before four members of the Committee, of whom the noble Marquess was one. It was natural to suppose that there was a division of opinion in the Committee, and that the noble Marquess was in a minority of 3 to 1. Now he came down to this House to try whether he could, by a Party vote, overthrow the opinion of the Commissioners, of the Hebdomadal Council, and the decision of the majority of the Universities Committee of the Privy Council. He (the Earl of Camperdown) hoped their Lordships, before throwing out this Statute, would inquire thoroughly into the merits of the case, and satisfy themselves that the Bodies he had referred to were all in the wrong.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he very much regretted that the noble Earl who had opposed this Motion (the Earl of Camperdown) had endeavoured to give it a Party character. The question raised was by no means a Party one, and he would call the attention of their Lordships to the fact that the Petitioners on both sides embraced Members of both Parties, while some of the strongest opposition out-of-doors to the Statute had been experienced from extreme Members of the Liberal Party. He would, therefore, ask the House to consider this matter dispassionately, entirely apart from Party feeling, and on the merits, not of the particular Statute, but of the great question they had to decide, which was, whether the University of Oxford was to be degraded from its ancient position of acting as a self-acting and independent Body, and to be placed in a different position from Cambridge or any other University? He admitted that the Hebdomadal Council wished for certain alterations; but they wished the University to have the power, which Convocation had at present, of altering the mode of electing and nominating the examiners. He did not see why the University of Oxford should be deprived of a power which was possessed by every other University in the Kingdom of appointing their own examiners in such manner as they thought proper. If this Statute were passed, the University would be left the power of introducing new examinations not covered by the Statute, to which they could appoint examiners as they thought fit. The power of changing any one of these examinations, and of instituting and of introducing new Schools was left to the University; and, in those cases, the Statute did not hinder them from appointing examiners. They could abolish the present Schools, although they were hindered from appointing examiners. The University of Oxford had from time immemorial had this right; and it seemed to him that it was a right which was inherent in the University to have the direction of the Statutes itself, and to have the means of appointing such persons to investigate the Statutes and in such a way as it thought proper.

THE MARQUESS of LANSDOWNE said, that the opposition to the Statute did not seem to rest so much upon the merits of the question as on the fact that it was an invasion of the existing rights of the University, and he thought that the defence of the present system had been put forward in an extremely half-hearted manner. He trusted, however, it would be understood that those who were in favour of the Statute supported it, not because there was any allegation that the Body now responsible for the nomination of these examiners had in any way abused the trust committed to them. No such charge was made. All that they contended for was this—that it was necessary, in the interests of the University itself and of the public, that the machinery for the selection of these examiners should be the best possible machinery, and the existing machinery was not the best possible machinery. There never was a moment when it was more necessary than at present that the examiners should be selected. He thought that the Body responsible for the selection ought to fulfil three conditions. It should, in the first place, be a Body commanding the confidence of the University and the public. It should be guided by some continuous and consistent policy, and, as far as possible, it should hold the balance fairly between the different sections of opinion in the University. The contention of those who were in favour of the Statute was that the existing Body did not fulfil those conditions. For the last 30 years the present system of nomination had been complained of. The Commissioners who had inquired into this question had come to the conclusion that the present system of its choice of the examiners was not an efficient one, and, at all events, infinitely inferior to the mode embodied in its new Statute. It had been frequently complained of by the University itself, and he found that it had been actually admitted by high University authorities that some alteration had become necessary; and he would point out that the proposition was not exactly, as stated by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), by a fixed Board, for the Vice Chancellor and two Proctors, who at present appointed the examiners, would have a preponderating influence on the Board proposed as the appointing Body. They would form half of the Board in number, and the Vice Chancellor would have a casting vote. He was bound to say that he concurred with the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) up to this point—that he should have been very glad if this necessary reform had been carried out spontaneously by the constituted authorities of the University, and not by an external Body, because it had always been the policy of Parliament to interfere as little as might be with what might be called the domestic concerns of the University, avoiding as far as possible what the noble Marquess had termed an invasion of the province of the University. An additional reason for abstention from such action was to be found in the fact that the University had never, as a rule, shown itself unwilling to introduce salutary and useful reforms when the necessity for these reforms could be demonstrated. But, on the present occasion, their Lordships had absolutely no guarantee that any such change as was believed to be necessary would be carried out by the University of its own accord. The noble Marquess said the present system was capable of improvement; but that did not give any security whatever to those who believed that the present system stood in urgent need of alteration. It seemed to him, after having listened carefully to the noble Marquess, that this was a most desirable alteration, and that it would be a matter for regret if their Lordships should think fit to rescind the Statute. It proceeded in the first instance from the University. It had been thoroughly considered before the Universities Committee of the Privy Council. An amendment of the existing state of things had been recognized as desirable for a great many years past; and he thought it would be deplorable if their Lordships were to throw out a useful piece of machinery merely upon the ground that it did not happen to have been carried out in a way which some of their Lordships might prefer.

THE EARL OF DERBY said, he should not have troubled their Lordships with any observations, but for the fact that he had served on the Universities Committee of the Privy Council, by which the questions before their Lordships had been considered. He did not claim to be an authority on the subject; but he claimed to have approached it with complete impartiality, and to have founded his opinion solely on the arguments adduced before the Committee. He quite agreed that the matter was not one which could be looked at from the point of view of Party. In fact, it was not at all fitted for treatment as a Party question, being concerned only with the subject of academical administration, he might almost say of academical detail. Their Lordships, no doubt, had a right to disallow the Statute; and, if it were obviously unjust or oppressive, it would certainly be their duty to interpose; but there were strong reasons of expediency against the adoption of such a course of proceeding. It was not, however, their business to revise every detail of the work of the Commissioners, nor to reverse decisions arrived at by those functionaries, after long and careful consultations *in situ* with the persons chiefly interested. It was argued that the Commissioners had in this instance overridden the opinions of the majority of the Colleges of the University. But if the independence of the University was to be so far respected that no reform which did not find favour with the Governing Body was to be pressed upon that institution, what, he asked, was the use of giving the Commission the power of overruling the local authority? And if those powers were not to be exercised, it would surely be necessary to show that they had been exercised wrongly, and not merely in a way disagreeable to those affected by them. The Commissioners, he maintained, were entitled to be considered right, when they were not obviously in the wrong. The Statute had been adopted by them after full consideration, and if they had acted within their legal right, he did not see why their judgment should be disturbed. There was no reason to suppose that they would act otherwise than on a clear consideration of the real merits of the case. Whatever might be the numerical preponderance against them, he was quite sure that there would be a great intellectual preponderance in their favour. If for no other reason, their opinion was entitled to respect, inasmuch as they were appointed by Parliament; and, if they had acted within their legal rights and without prejudice or private feeling, there was no reason for adopting the Motion. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) had spoken of the possibility of reform on the part of the University itself. If, however, the present proposals were rejected, surely but little hope could be entertained that those who were now opposing the suggested reform would at some future time institute some reform of their own. Their Lordships, therefore, would have to consider whether they would withhold their assent from the proposed Statute, which undoubtedly had the approval of a large majority of the University, and thereby delay the settlement of the question for a considerable time, perhaps for many years.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, as a Member of the Commission, he only wished to say that nothing that he had heard in the course of the debate had altered the convictions that he entertained on the subject.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he felt bound to express the gratification he felt at the moderate and temperate manner in which the subject had been discussed by their Lordships. He was himself one of the University Commissioners, though not, indeed, when this Statute was passed; but during the time he was a member of that Body, the expediency of some change in the mode of appointing examiners was a good deal discussed, and he was enabled to gain a considerable knowledge of the views generally entertained upon the subject. In the whole of the discussion their Lordships had listened to he was able to discover but one single argument in support of the Motion of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) which, to his mind, was of the smallest force, and that was that a number of eminent men at Oxford, belonging to different schools of thought, had objected to the proposal of the Commissioners, on the ground, apparently, that it was desirable to keep the power in the hands of the University. But while he had a great respect for many of those names, they were, in his opinion, counterbalanced by names of at least equal authority on the other side, and when he applied his own judgment to the question, he failed to discover any valid reason for objecting to the new Statute. He had heard one thing in the discussion with great satisfaction—namely, the statement of the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) that the matter was one which ought not to be regarded from any Party point of view. He rejoiced to hear that sentiment—nothing could be more just—and he hoped all their Lordships would remember that they were asked to keep their minds perfectly open on the subject, free from all political bias. Their own Leaders had invited them to do so, and nothing could be more creditable or wise than that advice, which, he was sure, would be followed. He wished, therefore, to call the attention of their Lordships to the first University Commission, which sat in 1852, in April, which recommended, in principle, what was now proposed to be done. That Commission stated that they considered there was a want of stability and consistency in the examinations, and they thought the appointment of the examiners should be placed in other hands, and that the Proctors should no longer have any authority in the matter. Their proposal, therefore, went further than the one now before their Lordships. Among the Commissioners who made that recommendation was the most rev. Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took a great interest in all matters connected with the University. He (the Lord Chancellor) held in his hand a letter from him, addressed to his noble Friend (the Earl of Camperdown), expressing his regret at being compelled to be absent on that occasion. The letter proceeded—

> "You are quite at liberty to remind the House that I was a member of the University Commission in 1852, which recommended the same change in the examination system, and I have always regretted that no steps have been taken to carry into effect those recommendations during the 30 years which have since elapsed."

In the winter of 1853 the Board of Heads of Houses and Proctors considered the subject. They recommended that the examiners should be nominated by a Board consisting of the Vice Chancellor, the Proctors, and two other persons to be nominated—almost precisely the scheme proposed at the present time. Considering the 16th clause of the Act of 1877, which was passed at the instance of the noble Marquess himself, it was astonishing that he should entertain any doubt that this subject was within the powers of the Commissioners. The Hebdomadal Council, of their own accord, requested the Commissioners to do the very thing which they had done; and they had never receded from the position so taken up, except that they desired that the University should be able to alter any provision of the Statute, if any change made by the Commissioners should be found inexpedient; but a general power for the University, without the concurrence of the Queen in Council, to repeal Statutes made by the Commissioners, would be in the teeth of the Act of Parliament. The noble Marquess spoke as if, under the present system, there was a variable Body well adapted to reflect the various phases of opinion, and that it was proposed to have a fixed Body unsusceptible of those influences; and he thought it was a mistake that certain members of the Board were to be nominated by Professors on the Boards of Faculties unconnected with the study of Latin and Greek. But the College Tutors had equal influence with the Professors in the Boards of Faculties; and it was not to be imagined that because a man understood Arabic or Hebrew, he was ignorant of Latin and Greek, or incapable of choosing proper examiners; and the examiners to be appointed were not for the classical schools only, but also for the schools of Mathematical and Natural Science. But what had been done by the Act of 1877? He found by the Act of 1877—

> "That it was expedient that provision should be made for enabling and requiring colleges to contribute more largely to the funds for university purposes and for the better instruction of students in arts, and science, and learning, where the same were not adequately taught in the university."

The Act was passed with a view to the advancement of Arts and Science and other branches of learning, and the Commissioners were to make provision for it by altering or repealing the Ordinances of the University, and by substituting any Statutes for the same end. That being so, it was absolutely astonishing to see the noble Marquess taking the course which he had done. Were they going to say that the Body newly endowed at the expense of the Colleges—the Professorial Body—should have no power or voice in the teaching of the University, but that the whole power should be given to the Colleges only; and that, too, not merely as regarded classics, but as regarded all other schools of learning? The University had already provided for the appointment of examiners in Theology by a Board, which included all the Professors in the Theological Faculty. Surely the Professors in the other Faculties ought not to be refused that voice in the selection of examiners which the Professors in Theology, in their Faculty, already possessed. He hoped their Lordships would exercise the independence they had been invited to do, and not accede to the Motion of the noble Marquess.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in reply, said, he thought that the present debate must have convinced their Lordships that the question as to the best mode of selecting examiners, one of great complexity and difficulty, was not before the House. It involved the question whether the University should be and should remain the judge of its own education, although no malfeasance had been shown against it. No one had shown that there was any agitation in the University for this change by the Governing Body, and there was nothing to show that the Governing Body would not, if asked, take the matter into consideration, and make such changes as upon argument and discussion appeared necessary. But whatever changes were made ought to be such as the University itself could repeal or modify. What the Hebdomadal Council and Convocation prayed was that, in this matter, the ancient independence of the University should not be taken away. The Statute took out of the hands of the University the power of making modifications and alterations when occasion arose. It took away from the University that independence which was the greatest stimulus to action, and was one step towards that universal centralization — one of the dangers against which they had constantly struggled. He trusted that their Lordships would not imagine that the question to be decided was as to the particular mode of appointing examiners. He did not think that the present system was perfect, nor that the proposal of the Commissioners was perfect. Those questions he would not go into. All he desired was that their Lordships should by their votes affirm that those were questions of which the University should be the judge, and that not having been convicted of any miscarriage of its own powers and privileges, it should not have them taken away.

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Resolved in the *negative.*

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

VISCOUNT BURY, in moving—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that Her Majesty will cause to be laid on the Table, Copy of the report of a committee which has lately inquired into the Channel Tunnel scheme; also copies of any other papers which may exist on the same subject,"

said, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Morley) had promised, some time ago, that Papers on the subject should be laid upon the Table. The general tenor of the Report of the Committee on the subject, which had been made some time since, was to the effect that if the Tunnel were constructed, a considerable fortress would have to be built at the English end, at an enormous cost, and it would necessitate the stationing at the Tunnel mouth of several thousand troops, which would add considerably to the military expenditure of the year. It was known that these opinions had been expressed by the Committee, and also that the Commander-in-Chief had expressed a strong opinion against the construction of the Tunnel, and that Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Lintorn Simmons, who had been Inspector of Fortifications—in fact, all the high military authorities—had expressed strong opinions of the same character. He was quite sure that his noble Friend would agree with him that, in a matter of this enormous importance, it was desirable that if the Tunnel were to be proceeded with, it should only be after the fullest information had been laid before the public. He therefore ventured to claim the fulfilment of the promise which the noble Earl had made at an earlier period of the Session, that these Papers should be laid on the Table.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that Her Majesty will cause to be laid on the Table, Copy of the report of a committee which has lately inquired into the Channel Tunnel scheme; also copies of any other papers which may exist on the same subject."—(*The Viscount Bury.*)

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, he had never promised that the Papers should be laid on the Table at any particular time. What he had said, and what he now repeated, was that the Papers when they had been fully considered by the Government would be laid before Parliament. At the present moment the Papers were being prepared, in order that they should be considered by the War Office and the Government; and after that was done those which were not of a strictly confidential character, and which it would not be injurious to the Public Service to publish, should be laid upon the Table of the House. It would be inconvenient for the Papers to be laid on the Table in a fragmentary form; but, at the same time, there was no desire on the part of the Government to conceal anything which could possibly be made known to the public on the subject, which was, as the noble Viscount had stated correctly, one of the greatest importance.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned at a quarter before
Seven o'clock, till To-morrow,
a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 20th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Justices' Jurisdiction * [247].

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Select Committee—Report—Conveyancing [No. 276].

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NOTICE OF MOTION.

—∞○∞—

FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (VOTE OF CREDIT).

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise, Sir, to give a Notice of importance. On Monday next, it is my intention to propose a Vote of Credit for the purpose of enabling Her Majesty to strengthen her Forces in the Mediterranean. Supposing that Vote to be granted we shall ask the House immediately thereafter to proceed with the Tax Bill for the year, in which we shall propose a modification intended to make a provision for meeting the charge which the Vote of Credit will entail. Of course, it will be open to hon. Gentlemen to make any observations on this modification they may please. Having given this Notice, I wish to make a strong appeal to the House with respect to the multitude of Questions relating to Egyptian affairs now put down on the list to be addressed to the Government, in the hope that with the prospect before them they will not put these Questions. I hope it will be understood that I do this not upon any ground of inconvenience to the Government, because that is a limited and insignificant matter, but because I am quite convinced with my Colleagues that putting Questions of that kind, in great multitudes and from many quarters, not merely when it is done in restrained terms by Gentlemen who have been responsible for the conduct of public affairs, but when it is done in the extensive manner—on which I do not pronounce any blame—which has of late, perhaps naturally, grown up, leads to inferences being drawn and impressions created which tend to weaken the action of, I might almost say, public law and authority with regard to this important question, and is undoubtedly very injurious to the public interests. I am desirous to make this appeal, rather than fall back upon what becomes an exceedingly odious task if it is to be many times repeated—namely, the right of the Minister to say that a reply to this and that Question would be injurious to the public interests. In making this appeal—which I hope is not an invidious one—I beg to except from it any Questions which may be put with regard to any account which may have appeared in the newspapers, or reached this country in regard to any new fact of great public interest or importance which may be said to have occurred. I ought, perhaps, to mention to the House that a despatch reached the Government to-day, from which it appears that the Sultan has agreed to join the Conference. He has accepted, and, therefore I presume, may be at present considered actually a participant in the Conference; but the terms of the despatch do not contain any direct reference as to the sending of troops to Egypt. I mention this as a matter of fact. Of course, it would not be right to withhold intelligence of that kind; but I trust that as regards argumentative Questions and Questions of inference, the appeal which I have made may not be without effect. I may say that on Saturday I shall give Notice of the precise amount of the Vote of Credit.

MR. BOURKE: As I have the first Question on the Paper with respect to Egypt, I beg to say that after the observations of the right hon. Gentleman I will willingly accede to his request, provided, of course, it is not wished by the Government that I should ask the Question; but as I believe it is one which would be rather a help to the Government than the reverse, I leave it on the Paper now, and will put it to the hon. Baronet, on the understanding, of course, that I do not press for an answer if he does not desire it?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: If the right hon. Member will ask the Question when it is reached, it is the wish of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that it should be answered.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I beg to ask the Prime Minister a Question with respect to the Vote of Credit of which he has given Notice. I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that, on Saturday, he will inform the House of the amount of that Vote. I wish to ask whether in doing so he will convey information to the House as to how the Vote will be applied—whether it is intended for the Suez Canal or for the general occupation of Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think the amount of the Vote is the only point upon which it is usual to give Notice. Explanations as to the purpose for which the Vote is to be taken will arise upon the statement that the Government may make when they introduce the Vote.

QUESTIONS.

WAYS AND MEANS—INLAND REVENUE —DOG LICENCES (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that dog licences are payable in Ireland on each 31st March; whether petty sessions' clerks are bound to transmit the amounts in their hands before the 1st May in each year; whether, notwithstanding this, the local authorities entitled to the surplus in relief of taxation do not usually receive it for twelve months afterwards; whether it is the fact that in some years the net surplus for Ireland has amounted to over £17,000; whether the surplus is ever invested by the treasurer; what is the cause of the long delay between the despatch of the tax by the petty sessions' clerks and the transmission of the surplus from the treasurer back to the local authorities; whether steps will be taken to have the surplus paid on the 31st March last sent to the several counties and cities by the treasurer at once; whether there is a considerable falling off in the Irish Dog Tax in recent years; whether, in the county Cork alone, the falling off amounts to a thousand pounds per annum; whether this is due to the decrease in the number of dogs, or to the want of vigilance on the part of the Constabulary, owing to eviction duty and patrol work; and, whether, as the surplus obtained through the dog tax goes largely in relief of taxation paid by tenant farmers, an explanation will be asked from the police authorities as to the falling off in the receipts?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, dog licences in Ireland are payable before the 31st of March in each year, but a considerable number are issued at other times during the year, which is not complete till the 31st of December. The next three Questions I answer in the affirmative. The surplus has always been invested temporarily, and the dividends paid over to the local authorities. The year ends on the 31st of December. The accounts are made out up to that date, and the suggestion contained in the seventh Question cannot be adopted. With regard to the rest of the Questions, I find that there was a decrease in 1880 from the previous year of £3,500, but since then there has been a slight increase. In the County Cork in 1881 there has been an increase over 1880 of £207 18*s*., representing 2,079 dogs. The decrease in 1879-80 may be attributed partly to the fact that a number of persons had their dogs destroyed in consequence of the bad harvest of 1879. I do not think it necessary to call on the Constabulary for the explanation suggested in the final Question.

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION—RE-ORGANIZATION.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether the Government have come to any conclusion as to renewing or modifying the powers now exercised by the Charity Commissioners with regard to Endowed Schools, as to which he stated that the matter was under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government; and, whether it is intended to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of Canon Robinson, one of the Charity Commissioners?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, the re-organization of the Endowed Schools Commission which had been in contemplation cannot be accomplished during the present Session. It is, therefore, intended to renew the present Act for a period of one or two years. It is also intended to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the lamented decease of Canon Robinson.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT—ROSSKEEN SCHOOL BOARD—AGREEMENT WITH TEACHERS.

Mr. FRASER-MACKINTOSH asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to a new form of Agreement, which the School Board of Rosskeen, in the county of Ross, is compelling its teachers to sign, under pain of dismissal; and, if so, if he could state whether that Agreement prescribes, as part of the payment of teachers, such fees as they themselves may collect, the Board being, under no circumstances, liable to make good arrears of fees not collected by teachers; whether such contract is in conflict with the provisions of section fifty-three of the Education (Scotland) Act; whether the Agreement proposes to enforce on the teacher's collecting, as part of his emoluments, "such fire-money and other extras as the Board may authorise;" and, whether it is legal to impose such charges or compel the teacher to collect them?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to the form of agreement adopted by the School Board of Rosskeen, and I find it opposed in certain particulars to the Education Act and to the regulations of the Scotch Education Department. I have communicated with the School Board on the subject.

INDIA — CHURCH OF ENGLAND — APPOINTMENT OF CHAPLAINS AND BUILDING AND REPAIRING GRANTS FOR CHURCHES.

MR. BAXTER asked the Secretary of State for India, If he will suspend the appointment of Chaplains in that country, and direct that no grants not already promised be given out of public revenues for the building or repair of churches until the Government of India has had an opportunity of reporting on the complaints which have been made on this subject and the changes which may be desirable in the present system?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that this subject had been engaging the attention of the Government of India, but they had not yet been able to come to any definite conclusion upon it. Under these circumstances, he did not think it would be a convenient course that he should give an undertaking to the effect asked for by his right hon. Friend.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS — DECISIONS GIVEN AT THE SITTINGS IN THE UNION OF ARMAGH.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that, out of 237 cases in which judicial rents were fixed in the Union of Armagh, at the recent sitting of the Sub-Commission, appeals have been lodged in 167, or 70 per cent of the whole; whether the per centage of appeals from the decisions of Messrs. Foley, Meek, and Davidson exceeds that from any of the other Sub-Commissions; and, whether, in view of the proceedings of this Sub-Commission, he will make any representation on the subject to the Chief Commissioners?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the number of appeals lodged and the percentage of the appeals is stated with substantial accuracy by the hon. Member in his Question. The percentage of appeals from this Sub-Commission is higher than the percentage of any other Sub-Commission. The result of these appeals has not in any case been decided, so that it yet remains to be seen how far they were made on sufficient grounds. That must also be my answer to the last part of the Question.

MR. HEALY inquired whether, in view of those repeated attacks in the form of Questions upon the Sub-Commissioners, and also in view of the fact that Notice of a Motion on the subject had been given in "another place," the Government would afford any opportunity for discussing the general character of those attacks?

[No reply.]

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will favourably consider the case of Mr. Lawrence Daly, who has undergone more than three months' imprisonment on the alleged suspicion of having incited to the nonpayment of rent, his prolonged imprisonment being the cause of great injury to the working of his farm, and of much suffering to members of his family who are dependent on his labour?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency considered Mr. Lawrence Daly's case on the 18th instant, and decided that he could not at present order his release.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will be so good as to direct the release of Mr. James Seery, a suspect now confined in Naas Gaol, he having undergone nearly seven months' imprisonment, and his district, Ballinea, in the county of Westmeath, having then been, and being now, in a peaceable condition?

MR. TREVELYAN: James Seery is detained on reasonable suspicion of inciting to murder. His Excellency had his case under consideration on the 21st ultimo, and then decided that he could not order his release.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will favourably consider the case of Mr. Michael Daly, now a suspect in the gaol of Enniskillen, his imprisonment having lasted for more than three months, and his absence from his farm at this season of the year being a cause of great loss and injury to him and to his family?

Mr. TREVELYAN: His Excellency has just considered Mr. Michael Daly's case, and decided that he cannot at present order his release.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—SALARIES OF NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Mr. BELLINGHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a resolution recently passed at a meeting of the National Teachers' Association at Drogheda, to the effect that—

> "Notwithstanding the partial amelioration of the teacher's condition effected in late years, his annual salary is still only one-half that of the English, and less than half of that of the Scotch teachers;"

and, if such be the case, whether Her Majesty's Government could propose any steps to remedy such inequality?

Mr. TREVELYAN: No, Sir; the resolution referred to has not been received in my Office, and, consequently, has not come under my consideration. I may point out, however, that a great deal has been done within the last few years to ameliorate the condition of these teachers, and that the question of the equalization of salaries is one of great magnitude and difficulty, affecting many branches of the Public Service.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MAGISTRATES AT BELFAST—MR. HARREL.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Mr. Harrel, who is now acting as special resident magistrate in Belfast; and deciding cases between the people and the police was lately the chief detective officer of police in Belfast; if it is true that there is no Roman Catholic stipendary magistrate in Belfast at present; if the Government in the year 1865, after the report of the Special Commission presided over by the present Baron Dowse and the present Mr. Justice Barry, agreed that two resident magistrates not connected with the people of Belfast, one a Protestant, and the other a Roman Catholic, should be permanently appointed for Belfast; if the Government will at once appoint a lawyer as one of the resident magistrates for that town; if the Government also agreed to appoint a certain number of Protestant police officers for Belfast; if the present magistrate, Mr. Harrel, was one of the Protestant policemen so appointed, and as riots are again proceeding in Belfast, will the Government remove Mr. Harrel, or direct him not to adjudicate in party cases; and, if the Government will at once appoint a Roman Catholic magistrate for Belfast?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Harrel is not acting as special Resident Magistrate in Belfast. He was sent there as he knew the town well for a few days during the July anniversaries, but has since returned to his station in the County Mayo. There are no special Resident Magistrates in Belfast at present. I cannot find any record of the Government having pledged themselves to the arrangements mentioned in the Question with regard to the Resident Magistrates and police officers in Belfast; but it has been usual for some years past to have a Protestant and Roman Catholic Resident Magistrate stationed there, and the Government has no present intention of departing from that custom. There are at present three Protestant and one Roman Catholic Sub-Inspectors stationed there. The two Resident Magistrates whose station is Belfast are, and have been for some time, employed on special duty elsewhere, and I cannot give any pledge of appointing a lawyer as one of the magistrates in any redistribution of districts; but the matter will be carefully considered.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUSPENSION OF SITTINGS.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any truth in a rumour which has been circulated, to the effect that it is proposed to suspend the sittings of the Sub-Commissions under the Land Act, at the conclusion of the present circuits, for a period of several weeks' vacation; and, whether, in view of the fact that the proper season for the inspection of land is when it is carrying the crops, during the long days of summer and autumn, and when the capabilities of land, which is submerged in winter time, can be estimated with the crops or stock upon it, and with the object of preventing, as far as possible, the repetition of inspections of land under the most unfavourable conditions, he will represent to the Land Commissioners the expediency of continuing the sittings of the Sub-Commissions throughout the summer and autumn months, and fixing the period of vacation during those winter months when it is impossible that a satisfactory inspection of land, or true estimate of its value, can be made?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Land Commissioners calculate that the present circuits of the Assistant Commissioners will terminate about the 15th of August, and it is intended that the next circuits shall open about the 18th of September. The Assistant Commissioners must get some holiday, and I think it best that they should take it all at one time. Otherwise it would be necessary to make it a rule during a considerable part of the year for the Sub-Commissioners to sit two instead of three together, or else to consolidate the Sub-Commissions in successive groups, which would cause great inconvenience.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked what would be the objection to their taking the holiday in winter time?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he thought that would be rather hard on the Sub-Commissioners. Moreover, they were so mixed up with legal proceedings in Ireland, that it would be better for them to take their holiday during the legal vacation.

MR. TOTTENHAM: Does the right hon. Gentleman not think it harder still for parties who are waiting to have their cases heard?

THE SOUTH AFRICA ACT, 1877—RENEWAL.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is intended to renew "The South Africa Act, 1877," which expires in August next?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir; it is not.

IRELAND — PRISONERS DETAINED UNDER THE STATUTE 34 EDWARD III. — MESSRS. O'LOUGHLIN AND HOGAN.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether His Excellency has again examined the testimonials as to the character, and the prayers for the release, of Mr. O'Loughlin, of Lisdoonvarna, who, together with Mr. Hogan, of Ballyvaughan, county Clare, has been confined in Galway Gaol for the last three months, under an Act of King Edward III.?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency is causing further inquiries to be made into Mr. O'Loughlin's case; but they have not yet been concluded.

INLAND NAVIGATION (IRELAND)—THE RIVER SHANNON—INCREASE OF TOLLS.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Memorials concerning the recent increase of tolls on the River Shannon have been considered; and, if so, with what result?

MR. COURTNEY: The question referred to in these Memorials has been considered; and, although it has not yet been definitely decided, I can say that the tolls will be fixed at no higher figure than that sufficient to restore and maintain the solvency of the trust.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—AMERICAN CITIZENS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that there are still several American citizens confined under the Protection of Person and Property Act of 1881; whether many of them have been now detained over twelve months; whether it is the intention of the Government to try them for the offences of which they have been "suspected;" and, whether Mr. Henry O'Mahony, of Ballydehobb, county Cork, who was arrested on the 4th June 1881, has yet been released; and, if not, whether, considering the length of his imprisonment, the Lord Lieutenant can order his discharge?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, there are some persons who are American citizens still detained under the Protection of Person and Property Act, one of whom —Daniel M'Sweeney—has been so detained for over 12 months. His Excellency has caused it to be intimated to these prisoners that he is ready to order their release on condition of their leaving the country; but he cannot, consistently with his duty, allow them to be at large in Ireland at present. It is not intended to put them on their trial. These remarks also apply to the case of Mr. Henry O'Mahony, who was re-arrested on the 10th of December, 1881. He had, during his first detention, been nearly four months in custody.

EGYPT—PROTECTION OF THE SUEZ CANAL—PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether an agreement has been arrived at with any Foreign Power with respect to the protection of the Suez Canal; if so, what are the terms of such agreement or convention; whether it is true that the French Government desire to provoke a deliberation of the Conference with regard to the Suez Canal; whether an agreement in that sense has been concluded with the British Cabinet; whether Her Majesty's Government still intend that the deliberation of the Conference shall be limited to the Egyptian Question, and will not extend to the Suez Canal, and that the whole subject of the neutralization and control of the Canal is a matter that shall never be referred to the Conference; and, whether it appears to Her Majesty's Government to be wholly outside of the purpose of the Conference?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: This Question, Sir, appeared on the Paper on Tuesday; but it was not asked, in consequence of the adjournment of the debate being moved. Though it will not be in my power to answer, after the appeal of my right hon. Friend, any further Questions growing out of this matter, which will be debated on Monday, I think it is, perhaps, desirable to answer this Question now. Her Majesty's Government took naval measures for the protection of the Suez Canal, as has been frequently stated in this House. At the meeting of the Conference on the 27th of June, a reservation as to *force majeure* appended by the English and French Ambassadors to the declaration against isolated action was added for the purpose of leaving perfect liberty of action to their respective Governments in the presence of any emergency whatever, including danger to the Suez Canal; and on the 28th of June Lord Dufferin was instructed to mention to his colleagues the object with which the reservations had been added. On the 17th of July the following communication was made by England and France to the Powers:—

> "Our proposals respecting the restoration of order in Egypt are already before the Conference. The security of the Suez Canal, although connected with that subject, is a separate question, and is not equally embarrassed by political considerations. Setting aside any question which might arise as to the possible duty of any of the Powers individually, if sudden and grave danger should arise in the absence of any provision for united action, Her Majesty's Government think it desirable that any action to be taken should receive the sanction of Europe, and, if practicable, of Turkey. France and England propose, in consequence, to the Conference to designate the Powers, who should be charged, in case of need, to take the measures specially necessary for the protection of the Canal. In order to save time, the Powers so designated, and who should have accepted the *mandat*, should be authorized to decide on the mode and the moment of action. This action would be exercised in every case on the principle of the self-denying protocol."

Mr. BOURKE: But no agreement has been come to between France and England, I understand.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: This is a declaration to the Powers in the name of France and England.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Have Her Majesty's Government any guarantee that the arrangements out of which that declaration grew with the De Freycinet Cabinet will be maintained by any French Ministry which succeeds the Cabinet of M. De Freycinet, who has resigned?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: After the appeal of my right hon. Friend, I certainly must decline to answer that Question.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can state the terms of the joint Note lately presented to the Porte with respect to Turkish intervention in Egypt; and, when an answer is expected?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes, Sir, it is as follows:—

> "Impressed with the necessity of applying a prompt remedy for the troubled state of Egypt and of restoring confidence in that country, the great Powers, assembled in Conference, have decided to appeal to the sovereignty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan by inviting him to intervene in Egypt, and assist the Khedive by sending forces sufficient to re-establish order, put down the usurping faction, and put an end to that state of anarchy which is desolating the

country, has led to the effusion of blood, the ruin and the flight of thousands of European and Mussulman families, and compromised at once national and foreign interests. While assuring by their presence respect for the rights of the Empire, and the re-establishment of the Khedivial authority, the Imperial forces will allow, at the same time, according to the method to be determined hereafter by common consent, of the adoption of wise reforms in the military organization of Egypt, without prejudicing by their intervention the prudent development of the civil, administrative, and judicial institutions of Egypt, so as not to conflict with the Imperial firman. In addressing themselves to His Majesty, the great Powers of Europe have full confidence that during the sojourn of the Ottoman troops in Egypt the normal *status quo* will be maintained, and that there will be no interference with the immunities and privileges of Egypt guaranteed by previous firmans, or with the regular working of the administration, or with the international engagements and the arrangements which result from them. The sojourn in Egypt of the Imperial troops, the commanders of which will have to act in concert with the Khedive, will be limited to a period of three months, unless the Khedive should ask for its prolongation for an additional term, to be fixed by agreement with Turkey and the Powers. The expenses of the occupation will be defrayed by Egypt, and the amount will be determined by agreement between the six Powers, Turkey, and Egypt. If, as they hope, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan responds to the call made to him by the great Powers, the application of the clauses and conditions above enumerated will form the subject of a subsequent agreement between the six Powers and Turkey."

A telegram has been received this day from Lord Dufferin, stating that the Porte has expressed its readiness to join the Conference.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If his attention has been called to statements by the correspondent of the "Standard" that the English Church at Alexandria received a shell from the English Fleet; to statements of the correspondent of the "Daily News" that a shell from the English Fleet penetrated the General Hospital; and to statements of the correspondent of the "Times" that—

> "Shells from the 'Inflexible' burst right over the centre of the city," that "the next house to the Palace of Menasce had been hit by a shell and was in flames," and that "the Free Schools, built at an expense of £14,000 by the European community, have one wing completely battered away;"

whether he has seen the statements of the correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph," who visited the scenes, that—

> "In the Arab quarter all the shells missing the Pharos Fort had fallen. Here the houses are in chaos. There has been terrible destruction everywhere about the locality. My Arab informant stated to me that in this quarter the people awaited the result of the bombardment quietly for some time, thinking the shells would not reach them. In a short time, however, the destructive missiles flew in among them, and they fled in great fright, leaving dead, wounded, and property behind them. There was great slaughter here, many persons besides soldiers being killed. * * * I learned from another Arab that the shells fired over the Isthmus had fallen wildly, killing many people near Fort Napoleon, and wrecking the houses;"

whether he has seen the statement in the "Times" of the Manager of the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, who maintained his post along with sixty or seventy Europeans during the bombardment, that shells from the English Fleet fell in the city and frequently passed over the city; and, whether he will cause an inquiry to be undertaken into the reason for such inaccuracy of fire, which, directed against forts on the water's edge, is thus alleged to have extended into and beyond the habitations of the people of Alexandria? The hon. Member said he should continue to ask any Questions in regard to the conduct of foreign affairs under Her Majesty's present Administration whenever he thought fit to do so, leaving it to the option of Her Majesty's Government not to answer Questions.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in common with all readers of newspapers, I have seen many statements made by special correspondents within the last few days, but of the accuracy of those statements I have no knowledge. Some of them, I observe, are quite contradictory of each other. We have certainly no information which induces us to believe that shells from our guns set fire to any part of the town; but we expect, as I said the other day, full and detailed accounts in the Admiral's despatches.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER — HOUSE OF COMMONS — CONNECTION WITH THE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE.

Mr. GRAY asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he will consider the desirability of placing the House of Commons in telephonic communication with the Telephone Exchange, and also of placing one of the Exchange telegraph instruments in the House for the convenience of Members?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I shall endeavour, during the Recess, to make arrangements in the direction aimed at by the hon. Member. The only difficulty is the want of a suitable room for the purpose.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS AT MAGHERAFELT.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the Sub-Commissioners Messrs. Greer, Headlake, and Ross, while investigating the cases of the tenants against the Salters' Company at Magherafelt, stayed at the house of a Mr. Young, employed by the Salters' Company; whether he is aware that the tenants considered that this must tend to prejudice their case; and, whether he will cause the Land Commission to give instructions that Sub-Commissioners should avoid having relations with either party to the cases which may be brought before them?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Having referred this Question to the Sub-Commission alluded to, I have received a report from Mr. Greer, stating that they have not investigated a single case on the estate of the Salters' Company, no such cases ever having been listed to that Commission. The Sub-Commissioners are staying in lodgings in the house of a Mr. Young, where they were recommended to go by the County Court Judge, who also occupied them. They did not consider it desirable to put up at the hotel, as it was filled with solicitors, valuators, and other persons interested or concerned in the cases before them. Mr. Greer adds that he has never spoken to Mr. Young, and would not know him if he saw him. With regard to the final paragraph of the Question, the Land Commissioners inform me that they have determined in their own case, when they go circuit to hear appeals, to decline absolutely all hospitality offered to them, and they have earnestly recommended each of the Sub-Commissioners to adopt the same rule.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—ARREST AT LOUGHREA.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John Vine, photographer, of Athenry, county Galway, who had come to Loughrea, county Galway, for the purpose of seeing some friends, was arrested as a "stranger" by Head-constable Payne, Loughrea, at eleven o'clock last Sunday night, and was remanded for a week to Galway Gaol, and upon what evidence, and by what magisterial power, this process was accomplished, seeing that the Crime Prevention Bill had not yet passed into Law; whether his attention has been called to the following statement in the "Freeman's Journal" of the 14th instant:—

> "The condition of Loughrea is deplorable. The markets, which were very good, have latterly dwindled down to nothing. The country people are afraid to come in, as the police are arresting every stranger on suspicion;"

and, whether, in order to guard against such effects as those described, the Irish Executive will issue instructions as to the Police administration of the Crime Prevention Act?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have learned by telegraph that John Vine was arrested under the ordinary law and remanded on suspicion of being about to commit a felony; but I have not yet received any adequate information on the subject.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he hoped that in his further communication the right hon. Gentleman would inquire whether Mr. Vine was not a most respectable inhabitant of Athenry.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—APPROVAL BY AUSTRIA OF COURSE TAKEN BY ENGLAND.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he still adheres to his statement, purporting to be founded on conversations between Count Kalwoky and Sir Henry Elliot in Vienna, and between Count Karyoli and Lord Granville in London, that Austria had declared that the action of Her Majesty's Government at Alexandria was perfectly legitimate; and, whether the substance of those conversations will be included in the Papers shortly to be laid before Parliament?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I feel some wonder that my hon. Friend should ask me this Question, as he knows, from previous experience, that if I saw reason to qualify my statement I should have done so without waiting for a Question. As, however, he asks me the Question, it is necessary that I should read to the House the despatches which have passed on the subject. On July 10 Sir Henry Elliot wrote as follows:—

> "I have called upon Count Kalnoky to inform him that, in consequence of the Egyptians continuing to arm the forts of Alexandria, Sir Beauchamp Seymour was to announce this morning that, unless they were temporarily surrendered to him for the purpose of disarmament, he would open fire in 24 hours. His Excellency replied, without hesitation, that he thought Her Majesty's Government perfectly right in the step that was being taken, and nothing could be more complete or cordial than the manner in which he declared the action to be perfectly legitimate, as it was impossible for us to permit the threatening preparations to be carried on without interference."

On the following day, July 11, Count Kalnoky repeated to Sir Henry Elliot that he fully understood the reasons for the action taken, and considered the decision of Her Majesty's Government perfectly justifiable. On the 14th of July Lord Granville addressed the following despatch to Sir Henry Elliot:—

> "The Austrian Ambassador told me this afternoon that he had received from Count Kalnoky an account of the language which he had used to your Excellency in regard to the bombardment of the forts at Alexandria by the British Fleet. Count Kalnoky described himself as having stated that the Austrian Government were disposed to consider the bombardment of the forts an act of self-defence, caused by the provocative and menacing attitude of the Egyptian authorities, and as an incident which might be without any detrimental influence on the diplomatic situation, provided England limited her action to the disarmament of the forts in accordance with her declared intention. Count Kalnoky added that in the absence of any sufficient authority at Alexandria, where the orders of the Sultan were ineffective, sufficient reason could be found to explain and justify action in self-defence, which, under other circumstances, would not have been legitimate. The Austrian Government were the more inclined to adopt this view, as it seemed the best and most practical mode of settling the matter, and coincided with the general desire of the Powers to endeavour to effect a pacific solution of the general question."

EGYPT—STATE OF AFFAIRS AT ALEXANDRIA.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, so long ago as last December or January, representations were made from Cairo to Her Majesty's Government, to the effect that, in the opinion of many of the English and other Consular officers in Egypt, any attempt at forcible intervention in that Country would be met, unless full precautions were taken, by a massacre of the Christian populations of Cairo and Alexandria?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; we can find no such representations.

MR. GORST asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether there are not 2,100 Royal Marines now on shore in Egypt; whether another battalion is not going out which will raise the force of Royal Marines in Egypt to nearly 3,000 men; and, whether these men are to be placed under the command of a General Officer of their own corps; and, if not, from which branch of the Naval or Military services an officer will be selected to take the command of this large force of Royal Marines?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There are now 1,000 Marines on shore at Alexandria, forming part of the Force under the immediate command of Major General Sir Archibald Alison. They are commanded by a Lieutenant Colonel of Marine Artillery, and a Lieutenant Colonel of Light Infantry. The rest of the Marines in Egypt belong to the ships of the Fleet, and are ready for embarkation to keep the ships efficient. It is not intended to send out a General Officer of Marines.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he will lay upon the Table immediately a Paper giving the instructions, in regular order, sent to Admiral Sir F. Beauchamp Seymour, with reference to Egyptian affairs, in the course of the present year? He said he understood the hon. Gentleman to say, two days ago, that he had communicated from time to time all the orders which had been sent to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and that they had appeared in the newspapers. It was obviously inconvenient to refer to them in that form.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: With every desire to meet the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman, the Government are bound to consider that these instructions really form a part of the general policy of the Government in regard to the Egyptian Question. We, therefore, think it desirable that the instructions should be presented at the same time as the other Papers.

Mr. GIBSON: That will be in the Recess.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he had understood the hon. Gentleman to say that from time to time these instructions had been communicated. Was that so or not?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: To the best of my belief, they have been all stated at the Table of the House; but I cannot give any categorical answer.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, he had given Notice to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the following telegram from Alexandria, which appeared in the "Times" of the 19th instant, was correct:—

> "The 'Orontes,' which was supposed to have troops on board, arrived this morning, but through some extraordinary blunder at Malta she has come without a single soldier;"

but, in deference to the wish of the hon. Gentleman, he said he would not ask the Question.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON said, that, unless the Question came under the category of argumentative inquiry, he desired to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as stated in the "Daily News" of the 19th instant, that—

> "The Egyptian Ministry hesitates to take the necessary steps to inform the people that Arabi is a rebel and an outlaw."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, it would be difficult to answer this Question without going into debateable matter, and, therefore, I must decline to answer it.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether or not it is the intention of the Government to lay upon the Table the Reports of Sir Beauchamp Seymour of the steps taken by him, and of such forces as the Government had placed under his orders, for the preservation of British life and property at Alexandria on the 11th of June; and, if so, when?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There will be no objection on the part of the Government to laying these documents on the Table.

Mr. PASSMORE EDWARDS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has seen the following translated extracts from two influential Italian newspapers, which appear in the "Times" of this morning:—The "Diritto," the reputed organ of an Italian Cabinet Minister, says:—

> "The damage caused by the bombardment amounts to hundreds of millions, almost all belonging to Europeans. It is now certain that the English bombs were for two days hurled into the middle of the city. What need, then, for seeking elsewhere the cause of the fires? We mention this in order that, before the moment when we shall have to talk about the damages, Europe may be enlightened as to the facts of the case;"

the "Popolo Romano" says:—

> "If England retires from Alexandria when the Powers have decided what action shall be taken, the political consequences of the bombardment may be small. But they will, nevertheless, continue to be most serious from a monetary and material point of view. Upon this head there will, without doubt, arise the question of the damage done to European property, which some one will certainly have to make good;"

and, whether the Government are prepared to consider any claims which may be made by Foreign Citizens or Foreign Governments in compensation for the property it is alleged we have destroyed at Alexandria?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked what the Government proposed to do with reference to the bombardment of Sfax?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The last Question had better be addressed to my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with due Notice. With respect to the other Question, certainly the Government would never think it necessary to take any notice whatever of the two anonymous paragraphs.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been drawn to the "Times" correspondence of this day (Monday), in which it is stated that the Government were advised several weeks ago by their accredited Military agent at Alexandria that, with the view of avoiding the perpetration of any atrocities, it would be necessary that a landing of troops should be effected whenever the bombardment of the town took place; and, if so, what was the date of that communication, and what reply was returned?

Mr. CHILDERS: My right hon. Friend asks me to answer this Question. In reply to the noble Lord, I have to state that there was no accredited Military Agent at Alexandria before Sir Archibald Alison's arrival. Major Tulloch, an officer on the Staff at Portsmouth, has been attached to the Staff of Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour in consequence of his local knowledge of the neighbourhood of Alexandria. But I must decline altogether to give any information as to the opinions or confidential Reports of that officer.

MR. CHAPLIN: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay Major Tulloch's Report on the Table?

MR. CHILDERS: No, Sir. Major Tulloch was neither the adviser nor the agent of the Government, and I should not notice here or place on the Table his opinion on such a subject.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether a clear and distinct statement of the danger to the European colony to be expected after the bombardment of the forts was in the hands of the Cabinet several weeks ago, on the part of the British residents in Alexandria; and, why the warning of the British residents was disregarded?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am sorry the hon. Gentleman has put his Question. At the same time the answer is a very simple one. The representations made by the hon. Gentleman are extremely vague. He does not distinctly indicate the Reports he refers to; but there was a Report on the 30th May, from a committee of British merchants, who represented that the force in the port of Alexandria was so small as not to be able to give protection to the British subjects who were then ashore. Since then, and long before the bombardment, all the British subjects in Alexandria, or nearly the whole of them, were removed from Alexandria, and after that Report was made, an application was made by Sir Beauchamp Seymour for an additional force, which was complied with, and the force was largely augmented.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked what steps the Government had taken for the relief and support of the refugees at Cyprus and Malta?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I think this Question has already been answered. Provision has been made, and is being made, on the subject, and the proper Department is in communication with the authorities of both those Colonies, or rather with the Colony of Malta and with the Island of Cyprus, whatever the proper designation of it may be.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—SEARCH WARRANTS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether general warrants of search have been issued to all the inspectors and sub-inspectors of police in all the twenty counties to which the search of domicile Clause in the new Coercion Act has been applied by the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation; and, how many of these warrants have been issued?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in answer to the first paragraph of the Question, I can say that such is not the case. In answer to the second paragraph, I think I must decline to make any statement.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—CATTLE STEALING.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the present state of the Law enables Mrs. Lawder, of Lawderdale, parish of Fenagh, county Leitrim, to obtain compensation for the herd of cattle, value £168, lifted off her farm on the night of the 6th instant; and, if not, whether the Government contemplate any alteration in the present Law, in order to compensate owners of cattle for their losses; whether the Government intend taking any immediate steps to check the growing practice of cattle stealing; and, if he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return of the number of head of cattle stolen within the last twelve months, specifying the counties in each case, and the number that have been recovered through the aid of the Police, or otherwise?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the present state of the law does not enable the owner of cattle or any other goods which have been stolen to obtain compensation from any person except the robber. The Inspector General of Constabulary informs me that the official Returns do not show an increase in the number of cases of cattle stealing. The number of cases reported in the six months ended the 30th of June, 1881, was 83. The number reported in the six months ended the 30th of June, 1882, was 72. It would be impossible to give an accurate Return of stolen cattle recovered in the past 12 months through the aid of the Constabulary without reference to the various districts; but I have desired a Return to be made out and sent over by to-night's post, which I can let the hon. and gallant Member have to-morrow, showing the number of cases of cattle stealing reported from each county in each of the last 12 months.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked that the Return might be supplemented by a similar Return from the counties of England?

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS — CONTINUATION OF APPOINTMENT.

Mr. LEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is now able to state if it is intended to continue the appointment of the Sub-Commissioners appointed in November last for one year?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, there were nine Assistant Commissioners appointed in November last for one year, and the Land Commissioners inform me that, in their opinion, their re-appointment at the end of the year will be necessary.

IMPRISONMENT FOR CONTUMACY BILL AND CONTUMACIOUS CLERKS BILL—IMPRISONMENT OF THE REV. S. F. GREEN.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has observed that, under the "block system," it has been impossible for the House to have an opportunity of considering the Imprisonment for Contumacy Bill, which has come down from the Upper House; whether he can suggest any mode by which that Bill can be considered; and, whether, failing any such opportunity, he will recommend to the Crown the exercise of the Royal prerogative, in order to determine the imprisonment of a clergyman, not charged with any offence against the Criminal Law, which has now lasted for sixteen months?

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will extend the facilities asked for the discussion of the Imprisonment for Contumacy Bill to the discussion of the Contumacious Clerks Bill, so that the whole question may be disposed of?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I must answer the Questions separately, because, although they refer to the same subject-matter, I think the two Bills mentioned are materially different in the purpose they have in view. In reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Oxford University (Mr. J. G. Talbot), I believe this Bill to which he refers has come from the Upper House, and which, although it alters the general law, alters it with the special view to the case of a particular individual—the Rev. Mr. Green—apparently under the idea of releasing that gentleman from prison, on the ground that, whatever may have been the merits or demerits of his original conduct, he has suffered severely for that conduct, and it would be a becoming act to release him. In these circumstances, I see it stated by my hon. Friend that the Bill has been blocked. Without presuming to censure any Member, I would make a respectful appeal to any-one who may have blocked it, and would represent that it hardly seems satisfactory that, where the question is the continuance of imprisonment — which, on the one hand, is thought just and proper, and, on the other, harsh and improper—it should be decided virtually without discussion by the simple blocking of a Bill, and the prolongation of the imprisonment thus obtained. I cannot help hoping that clemency may touch the heart of any Gentleman who may have blocked that Bill, and that he may be induced to allow the House to deal with it. I know enough of the good temper and good feeling of the House to be sure that they would not mind the inconvenience of dealing with the Bill at a late hour in order to give an impartial judgment upon it. As to the second part of the Question, I may say it is not within my recollection that the Prime Minister has ever intermeddled in any way in regard to the exercise of the Royal Prerogative. So far as I know the method of all Governments, it is desired to keep out of the political arena all questions of this nature; and, therefore, I am not prepared to give any answer to that part of the Question. With regard to the other Bill, it aims at an alteration of the law, I believe, on the same subject-matter; but it has not the same direct reference to the case of this gentleman as the first Bill has. It certainly does not come to us in the same way, commended not only by the assent of the other House, but by the fact that this Bill, being an ecclesiastical subject-matter, was introduced by the heads of the Episcopal Body, and, therefore, has very special claims upon our attention. I should be very glad if my hon. Friend can obtain a discussion of his Bill; but I am afraid, if I were to entangle myself by giving any promise as to the discussion of the Bill, I should have a good many other claims made upon me in the same direction.

SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN said, the block of the Bill from the House of Lords stood in his name, and he should be happy to remove that block if any assurance were given that the Bill should come on at a time when it could be properly discussed.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD had also blocked the Bill, so that it might not be smuggled through. His only desire was that it should be fairly discussed.

MR. J. G. TALBOT understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that Ministers did not interfere in matters of this kind.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Question related to the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy, and all cases of that nature were dealt with departmentally, and not by the Cabinet as a whole.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, that, as he understood the Premier to refer to the Home Secretary as the proper authority to be appealed to in regard to the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, he would on Monday put a Question to the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

SIR MASSEY LOPES asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he can now state what steps have been taken with reference to the unanimous acceptance of the House, on 13th May 1881, of the Resolution declaring it advisable—

> "That the functions of the Executive Government which especially relate to Agriculture and Commerce should, as far as possible, be administered by a distinct Department, and be presided over by a responsible Minister of the Crown?"

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the hon. Baronet is quite justified in putting this Question, for undoubtedly the Government were under a pledge to proceed with this as with many other subjects during the course of the present Session, and they would have been quite prepared to do so. We had, indeed, before Lord Spencer left for Ireland, a general outline of our proposal; but a measure for altering the functions of a Department I must consider as falling within the same category, practically, as a Bill of the Government; and I am sorry to say that in the present state of Business we have been obliged to drop everything except what is of immediate necessity, or where there is little difference of opinion, as the Corrupt Practices Bill, which represents almost the universal desire of the House. We should not feel justified in asking the House to consider this matter during the present Session.

MR. MONK: May I ask whether my right hon. Friend would be prepared to make any recommendation to the House before the end of the Session?

MR. GLADSTONE: My answer would be to say that this subject must, so far as the Government is concerned, drop along with so many of the other engagements which we have been obliged to abandon.

IRELAND — GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR DURING THE WINTER SEASON.

MR. T. C. THOMPSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering the precarious state of the weather, the Government are preparing to afford labour to the working classes of Ireland during the ensuing autumn and winter months?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I cannot say that it is the intention of the Government to afford labour to the working classes of Ireland during the ensuing winter, and I am almost surprised that this Question should have been put to me.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL, CLAUSE 5—THE INVESTIGATION AS TO THE TENANT'S POSITION.

MR. MOLLOY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the great number of tenants, estimated at 350,000, whose claims will have to be heard under the Arrears Bill, he will endeavour, on Report, to amend that part of the fifth clause which requires a double investigation, viz.: firstly, the inquiry to be made by fit persons appointed to "investigate and report," and secondly, the investigation of such reports by the Land Commission itself; and, whether such double investigation could be avoided?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the hon. Gentleman's figures are very far in excess of the estimate which the Government, on close examination, are prepared to make. I believe that the figure of 200,000 is really about the basis of the question, and it is a matter in some degree of speculation what number out of this 200,000 are in arrear, and are consequently more or less in a condition *primâ facie* to fall within the operation of the Bill. But with respect to the question of the double investigation, I think the hon. Member may dismiss his apprehensions. It is by no means intended that there shall be a double investigation. On the contrary, the supposition is, the work will, in the first instance, be properly and thoroughly performed; but it is absolutely necessary to reserve power of a re-investigation, in order to insure that it will be properly and thoroughly performed. If the Commissioners make judicious appointments, I have no doubt the double investigation will be a rare occurrence; but, at the same time, it is necessary to reserve power that it should be ordered.

DETECTIVE POLICE FORCE (IRELAND) —RESIGNATION OF COLONEL BRACKENBURY.

Mr. GIBSON: I should like to ask the Chief Secretary if there is any truth in the report of Colonel Brackenbury's resignation?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is true that Colonel Brackenbury has resigned, but not for the reason alluded to in *The Daily News*. The resignation has nothing to do with anything relating to the Irish policy of the Government. In questions of employment there are always two parties. In this instance the Government is one, and Colonel Brackenbury is the other. As Colonel Brackenbury has resigned, but on no public grounds whatever, I think the Government are not only absolved from making a statement, but they have no right to make a statement. We are actively engaged in making the arrangements arising from this resignation.

POST OFFICE—THE LETTER CARRIERS.

Mr. SCHREIBER asked the Postmaster General, What will be the annual cost of the increased pay and allowances at length granted to the letter carriers and auxiliary letter carriers of the United Kingdom; and, when it will be in his power to publish the details of the new scheme for the information of those whom it affects?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that no time will be lost in bringing the new scheme into operation. The work will necessarily take some time, but I hope it will be completed in the course of a few weeks. Until the application of the new classification has been finally determined it is impossible to give a precise estimate of the expense involved. I may say, however, that the cost of carrying out the new scheme, so far as it affects letter carriers, porters, and the other persons to whom I referred in answering a Question on Tuesday last, will certainly be not less than £60,000 a-year.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS OF 1881.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD asked whether the Secretary to the Treasury would take measures for having the Finance Accounts of last year laid before the House as speedily as possible. They were already more than a month behind the usual time of publication?

Mr. COURTNEY said, he would make inquiries on the subject.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

Colonel MAKINS asked whether the Prime Minister, when he stated that the Corrupt Practices Bill had the unanimous approval of the House, was aware that there were 25 pages of Amendments on the Paper with regard to the Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was aware that there was a large number of Amendments on the Paper; but he understood they were directed in perfect good faith towards the improvement of the Bill.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked whether the right hon. Gentleman intended to proceed with the Bill that night?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, not unless it could be taken at a convenient hour.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked what the right hon. Gentleman considered a convenient hour?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Half-past 12.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he begged to give Notice that if the Bill was called on after 11 he would move that the Chairman do report Progress.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EAST INDIAN FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What arrangements he proposes to make in order to secure, in accordance with the declarations made in former Sessions, the discussion of the Indian Budget at a reasonable period of the Session?

MR. GLADSTONE said, that this was another of the engagements that remained necessarily unfulfilled in consequence of the deplorable position in which the House stood with regard to its duties. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India, however, would do his best, and the Government would assist him to bring it in before the dregs of the Session. He hoped those hon. Gentlemen who put these Questions, which he was continually obliged to answer by pleading the impotence of Parliament, would give their best assistance when they came to the proposals for relieving the House.

MR. J. N. RICHARDSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, seeing that the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill was introduced into this House by private Members, at the instance of and by the recommendation of the Government, and that every opportunity has been sought for pressing it forward, he will afford facilities for getting this measure passed into Law during the present Session?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid, having been obliged to state already that we have been unable to redeem direct engagements, it follows *à fortiori* that we cannot take cognizance of indirect engagements. I heartily wish well to my hon. Friend in his undertaking; but I am afraid I can say no more.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When he proposes to take the Estimates, and in what order; when he will take the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill; and, when it is intended to bring on the Indian Budget?

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to taking the Estimates in exact order, I think it would be more convenient that we should not bind ourselves absolutely; but Notice will be given of the order in which we wish to take them. I have already stated that the House will proceed to deal with the Custom and Inland Revenue Bill immediately after the Vote of Credit.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, preference would be given to the Navy Estimates.

MR. GLADSTONE: I believe there is a distinct pledge on that subject.

MR. H. H. FOWLER asked the Prime Minister whether, having regard to what he had characterized as the deplorable state of Public Business, and of the desirability of the early adjournment of the House, and of a Sitting of the House in autumn, he was prepared to propose some arrangement to expedite the Business of the Government immediately in hand.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that when the time had arrived when, in accordance with precedent, a proposal of that kind should be made, he would be prepared to make it. On Monday he would move that the Government should have Tuesday evenings.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would tell them what was Government Business? Was the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill one of the measures to be carried through?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would make a statement on the subject on Monday.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that the Prime Minister had just stated that he would ask that Tuesday evenings be taken for Government Business. There was a Notice of Motion with regard to the distressed agricultural population of Oude and Behar standing for next Tuesday evening. His hon. Friend the Member for Waterford County (Mr. Blake) had secured that evening for it, the question was most important, and many Members of the House took an interest in it. Would the right hon. Gentleman refrain from taking next Tuesday evening from private Members? If he understood the right hon. Gentleman, he stated that a Vote for increasing Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean would be taken on Monday next, and that on that Vote the House could discuss the policy of the Government with regard to Egypt. Would not the Premier consider it advisable to give the House some other opportunity of criticizing the past policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt when the criticisms upon it would not be liable to the misrepresentation that they were brought forward at a time that would interfere with the drafting of Supplies to Her Majesty in an urgent matter of foreign policy? The hon. Gentleman was repeating the same Question, amid some signs of impatience from the House, when—

MR. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Member must confine himself to asking the Question, and must not repeat it.

MR. O'DONNELL stated that, as the question was somewhat difficult and complicated, he was trying to explain it.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that the question was, no doubt, difficult and complicated; but when the hon. Gentleman repeated it with a view to make it clear, it had only become still more difficult and complicated. The most legitimate, convenient, and constitutional opportunity for discussing the past policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt would be on the Vote on Account on Monday. He did not think the Motion of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake), relating to Behar and Oude, afforded a sufficient reason for departing from a proceeding called for by the general convenience of Public Business; but his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India would be happy to give his best attention to any statements with which he might be favoured by the hon. Member or his Friends.

MR. O'DONNELL gave Notice that he would oppose any Motion for the appropriation by the Government of Tuesday evenings.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he understood there was to be a Sitting on Saturday. Could the right hon. Gentleman give the House any information as to the Business that would be taken on that day?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he regretted that the President of the Board of Trade, who had charge of the Electric Lighting Bill, was not present. But it was the intention of the Government to propose a Sitting on Saturday, and the Business to be taken on that day would, he believed, be the Scotch Educational Endowments Bill, the Scotch Entail Bill, and the third reading of the Electric Lighting Bill. If there were other measures to be proceeded with, they would be only of secondary importance, and not involving questions of a disputatious character.

MR. MACFARLANE begged the right hon. Gentleman to bear in mind that during the last two months and more all the nights of private Members had been taken away. He hoped, therefore, private Members would not have their rights further interfered with.

MR. GLADSTONE said, it was entirely a matter for the general consideration and convenience of the House. He did not undervalue the consideration of the rights of private Members.

FRANCE—REPORTED RESIGNATION OF M. DE FREYCINET.

MR. BUXTON asked whether the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could give any information as to the reported resignation of M. de Freycinet?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I believe the report is true that M. de Freycinet has resigned.

MR. BOURKE: Is it untrue that M. de Freycinet has reconsidered his determination to resign?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The only telegram I have received was one which came about 3 o'clock, in which it was repeated that he had resigned. I have not received any official telegram since that time. I have seen various rumours to that effect in the newspapers, but nothing of so positive a character.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—BLOCKING BILLS.

MR. CARBUTT wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy a Question, of which he had not been able to give him private Notice. He would be glad to know if, seeing the House was asked to facilitate Scotch Business by having a Saturday Sitting, the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy would return the compliment, and not block English Business that did not apply in any way whatever to Scotch affairs?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Sir, I have no intention of blocking any Business whatever in which I have no distinct and immediate concern.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—◦:0:◦—

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) [SALARIES AND EMIGRATION].

Resolution [July 19] *reported.*

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I do not wish to raise any controversial point; but the Prime Minister has stated that he would be prepared, on the consideration of the clause relating to the appointment of the fourth Commissioner, to state the name of the person so appointed. As this Report relates, among other matters, to the salary of the fourth Commissioner, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can now tell the House who that Commissioner is to be?

MR. GLADSTONE: In the regular course, unless there be some special reasons, it is better not to enter into the particulars of the clause upon this Report; indeed, that is not usual. It will, however, be competent for the right hon. Gentleman, on the Report of the Bill, to comment at once on the name to be announced, and on the particulars of the clause.

MR. GIBSON: I would, of course, acquiesce at once in the course indicated by the Prime Minister, if it were not for the great surprise with which the announcement that a fourth Commissioner was to be appointed came upon hon. Members. The Bill had been before the House for several weeks, and there was never a whisper of a suggestion that a new Commissioner was to be appointed, until it incidentally dropped out in a remark of the Prime Minister the previous day. I quite think, in these circumstances, that we ought to know the name of this Commissioner, and have at least two or three hours' notice before being called upon to discuss the appointment in connection with the clause. I am informed, rightly or wrongly, that it is an hon. Member of this House, and I do not wish now to say anything for or against the appointment; but unless the Government wish again to take us by surprise, it is absolutely necessary that we should have the name of the gentleman.

MR. GLADSTONE: I think, after what has been said, that the best way would be, when we come to the clause to-day, to mention the name of the fourth Commissioner, but without asking the House to adopt the name. It would be quite practical to re-commit the Bill to-morrow, before the third reading, for the purpose of dealing with this clause, and that would give the right hon. and learned Gentleman a little more time to consider the question.

MR. J. LOWTHER: If there is to be a second re-committal of the Bill, it will scarcely meet with the concurrence of the House. The Prime Minister will at once realize that it would not be fair to the House or to the person selected that his name should be suddenly sprung upon the House, or that the House should suddenly be called upon to form a judgment upon the appointment.

MR. HEALY: I must join the Front Opposition Bench in protesting against all this mystery. Why cannot the House of Commons know at 6 o'clock what the Prime Minister admits must be told at 10 or 11? What reason have they for keeping it a secret? Are they ashamed of the gentleman's name? If not, why not tell us now? The matter is of quite as much interest to us, and perhaps of more interest than it is to hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway. Strange rumours are about. We are told that it is a person who sits on those Benches. I should like to ask, is the name of the gentleman the name of an hon. Member representing a county in the South-West of Ireland, who generally sits on these Benches? If the Government refuse to allay the laudable curiosity we feel regarding this matter, I think we would be justified in refusing to proceed with this particular Business.

MR. GLADSTONE: As I have explained, my only reason for wishing to delay mentioning the name is that I thought it would be more convenient to consider the matter in connection with the Bill itself rather than on the Report dealing with salaries. In compliance, however, with what appears to be the desire of the House, I may say that the name of the gentleman who accepts the office of fourth Commissioner is Lord Monck.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that as so much of the personal matter had been disposed of, he desired to know something about the emigration proposals of the Government. They were placed in a very unfavourable position. Unless they knew what the Government intended, they would find themselves agreeing to what they really objected to, and should be deprived of two opportunities of impeding the progress of this matter.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that the Chief Secretary for Ireland was in possession of the views of the Government, and would, when moving the clause, explain them fully to the House.

Resolution *agreed to.*

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 241.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered."

Mr. HEALY said, that the Secretary of State for War had promised in Committee to amend the Bill on Report so as to wipe off all arrears up to the 1st November, 1881. The effect of the Amendments introduced, however, was that the tenants, instead of having the benefits of the Bill brought down to the 1st November, 1881, had them stopped short on the 1st May, 1881, when the hanging gale was due. The Government had taken no steps whatever to give effect to their pledges. He regretted that he should be obliged to intervene on the question that the Report should be considered; but he considered Irish Members had reason to complain that the matter to which he had referred was not on the Paper.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he had no personal interest save that which every man had in the peace and contentment of the country, nor had he any interest in opposing the views of the Government; but he certainly thought their conduct with regard to this clause was most ill-advised. If the benefits of the Bill were not brought down to November it would disappoint the reasonable expectations of the people.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, he thought the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was under some misconception. The pledges given by the Government during the progress of Committee were most scrupulously carried out. No doubt some matters the Government stated they would consider, and they had considered them, though they were not prepared to recommend any Amendment. With reference to Sub-section 3, it was perfectly true that the Secretary of State for War stated that the Government intended to deal with the rent of the year 1881, so that on the payment of that year's rent by the tenant, he would obtain a clear receipt for it, and all antecedent years. But he had a distinct recollection that his right hon. Friend also stated that the clause, as it stood, carried out completely that intention; therefore the Government did not now propose any Amendment to it. They were completely in accord with the hon. Member for Wexford on this matter; but the Government believed that the clause expressed their intention. It was open to hon. Members to have proposed an Amendment if they perceived any ambiguity in the clause. He would state why the Government thought the clause did not need amendment. It was provided that the rent for 1881 must have been paid as a condition of obtaining the benefits of the Act. In the case of tenants in arrear it was not likely, irrespective of this Act, that rent paid in 1881 would be credited to that year: most likely it would, by joint consent, be credited to the earliest of the arrears. But it was considered right to give the tenant by this Bill the benefit of payments made in 1881, as against the rent for the year 1881. That was a matter of policy, in order that the rent of 1881 might be paid out of the produce of 1881. The question then arose how to carry that out. There were tenancies where it was the custom to pay the half-year's rent the day it was due, and there were others, which formed the majority, where it was not paid until six months afterwards, so that there was always a hanging gale. Recognizing these customs, this Act, in the first class of cases, caused any rent paid in May or November of 1881 to be regarded as rent paid for that year. But in those cases rent paid in January, February, March, or April, would not be so regarded, because it was not deemed likely that the rent would be paid in advance. If, on estates where the hanging gale was the custom, rent was paid in May, 1881, no one would think that it was intended for the year 1881, because the May rent would not customarily be due until the subsequent November; therefore in such cases rent paid prior to November could not be properly attributed to 1881. But any rent paid in November, or paid subsequently until the rent of 1881 had been satisfied, would be credited to that year. It would then be for the tenant and landlord to arrange in respect of future years whether they would keep up a hanging gale. He must say he thought the hanging gale an exceedingly bad practice, and one which ought to be abolished. This Bill would afford an opportunity for its abolition in cases within the Bill. That was the meaning of the Government. It was very difficult to embody that meaning fully in the clause of a Bill; but the Government would have been glad to have received assistance to remove any ambiguities if they existed. They had not received any such assistance, either from the direct Opposition or those below the Gangway; and he presumed it was because the clause did clearly convey the meaning he had expressed.

Mr. SEXTON said, he thought the Amendment which the hon. and learned Gentleman had introduced into this sub-section would somewhat improve it, although, in his opinion, the sub-section as it stood would operate against the general policy of the measure, as far as it operated at all, and would tend to perpetuate the system of a hanging gale. The general understanding of the Bill was that the tenant should pay one year's rent and that the rest should be annulled. Now they were told, however, that, except in the few estates where the rent was paid on the day it fell due, the State should pay the landlord one year's rent and the tenant should pay him a year and a-half's rent. The meaning of the Amendment, if it had any, was injurious to the tenant and contrary to the original statement of the Government.

Mr. MULHOLLAND said, he believed that in its amended form the sub-section would fully carry out the undertaking given by the Government when the Bill was in Committee.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he considered that this rider went in contradiction to the lines of policy laid down by the Government. If the Government put three hanging gales instead of two on the heads of the tenants, they would make the Bill useless in four out of five of the large estates in Ireland.

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the Question was that the Bill be now considered. He did not understand that there were any objections raised to the consideration of the Bill; but it would be more convenient to the House to discuss details when they came to the parts of the Bill upon which they arose.

Mr. HEALY said, that he had taken the course he had done because there was no probability of his obtaining another opportunity.

Mr. SPEAKER said, that upon Report the House required that Notice be given of new clauses; but it was open to the hon. Member to move Amendments without Notice.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) moved, after Clause 12, to insert the following clause:—

(Holding valued as part of larger tenement.)

"Where a holding, as defined by 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881' is not separately valued, but forms part of a larger parcel of land valued as one tenement, under the Acts relating to the valuation of rateable property in Ireland, such holding shall be deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to be valued under the said Acts at such proportion of the sum at which the whole of the said tenement is valued as the rent of the holding bears to the rent of the whole of the said tenement."

Clause *brought up,* and read the first and second time, and *added* to the Bill.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) moved, after Clause 12, the following New Clause:—

(Suspension of proceedings.)

"Where any proceedings for the recovery of the rent of a holding to which this Act applies, or for the recovery of a holding for non-payment of rent, have been taken before or after an application under this Act in respect of such holding, and are pending before such application is disposed of, the court before which such proceedings are pending shall have power, on such terms and conditions as the court may direct, to postpone or suspend such proceedings until the application under this Act has been disposed of."

Clause *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read the second time."

Mr. GIBSON said, it was unreasonable to provide that a person might stay process by simply making application, and without having done anything else in pursuance of the Act.

MR. WARTON said, there was not a word to require that any preliminary condition should be complied with.

MR. HEALY said, the clause should be made mandatory and not optional, or else a Judge might be met with who, like Chief Justice Morris, would ignore the Land Acts as "new-fangled law;" and the power should be given to the Land Commission as well as to the Court in which the proceedings had been taken.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that the clause raised an important point. As the Bill stood, it was not necessary for the tenant to pay the rent for 1881 till just previous to the day of his application to the Court. But what if that application were not heard for the next two or three years? The Prime Minister said that the landlord would have his ordinary remedies; but the ordinary remedies were ejectment or eviction. He thought that the clause required considerable alteration, and he would therefore, later on, move, "that the Court must have proof that the tenant had paid a year's rent."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he would agree to insert an Amendment providing that the Court should have proof of the payment of the year's rent for 1881.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. BRODRICK said, that the Government had sprung upon the House a clause which would take away the ordinary remedies of the landlord, and would put about 200,000 Irish holdings beyond the reach of the law for some time to come. He would, therefore, move an Amendment making the clause have reference only to those holdings as to which applications to the Court were already pending.

Amendment proposed,

In line 2, after the word "rent," to insert the words "on account of rent accruing due on or before the last gale day of the tenancy in the year 1881."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he must oppose the Amendment. As far as the Court was concerned, the clause was permissive and not compulsory. He would, however, be willing to accept some words to make the intention of the clause more clear, if it was thought necessary to do so.

MR. SEXTON said, he approved of the clause as it stood, and thought it reasonable that the landlords should be debarred from taking any proceedings until the applications to the Court had been heard.

MR. BRODRICK asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. BRODRICK begged to move the introduction of words defining more strictly the arrears to be dealt with.

Amendment proposed,

At end of Clause, insert the words, "providing that the proceedings which might be suspended should be on account of rent in respect of the year 1881, and antecedent arrears."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, he saw no necessity for the Amendment. But, if the conditions were made mandatory on the tenant, they ought to be made mandatory on the Court. Would the Government consent to leave out the words "have power?"

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, it had been stated, over and over again, that it was not the intention of the Government to touch the arrears after the gale day in 1881. It would be much better, he thought, to leave the clause as it was, putting the responsibility on the Court; but, since that had not been done, he would accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy).

MR. GIBSON said, that if the words "have power" were left out the concession would not rest on reason, and it would be unfair and unjust to the landlords. The whole clause was unwise, and the change now suggested would make it absolutely indefensible.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) contended that the clause would not work any injustice either to the landlord or the tenant.

MR. GIVAN said, he regretted that the Government had shown themselves disposed to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick). Its effect would be to lead the Land Commissioners into inextricable difficulty; and, under certain conditions, it would enable a landlord to render the clause nugatory.

MR. SEXTON said, he would like to hear the opinion of the Government as to this difficulty, for it seemed that the mere fact of the inclusion of the rent for May in last year in any writs issued by the landlord would have the effect of taking the case of the tenant out of the purview of the Land Court.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): No.

MR. SEXTON: But it appeared to be so, because, although it had been denied, he maintained that the landlord, if he took proceedings for six months' rent, would prevent entirely the action of the Land Commissioners.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson), Amendment made in proposed New Clause, by leaving out the words "have power," and inserting "if the provisions of Section 1, Sub-section A, have been complied with."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, be added to the Bill."

MR. GIBSON said, having already stated his objections to the clause, he should divide the House as a final protest against it.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 142; Noes 49: Majority 93.—(Div. List, No. 281.)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) moved the insertion of the following New Clause:—

(Evidence.)

"Evidence required for the purposes of this Act shall, whenever practicable, be taken upon oath, and the affidavit of the landlord, or his agent, and the tenant may be accepted as prima facie evidence of all or any of the preliminary conditions. Affidavits for the purpose of this Act may be taken before any person authorised by this or any other Act to administer an oath."

New Clause *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read the second time."

MR. GIBSON said, that the Government might prevent a great deal of useless litigation and save considerable expense if the joint affidavit of the landlord and tenant was, so far as practicable, accepted as conclusive in matters under this Act.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether the amount of the arrears was to be taken as absolutely settled by the joint affidavit of the landlord and tenant, because in that case there might be some danger of collusion between the landlord and the tenant.

MR. CHILDERS said, that the Treasury must have full power to appear and to defend its interests. The Government were alive to the danger referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, and intended to accept, not perhaps the words, but certainly the spirit of an Amendment on the Paper.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL moved to insert the following Clause after Clause 13:—

(Operation of a release from arrears.)

"After a tenant has obtained release from arrears by the operation of this Act, such release shall be a bar to any proceeding instituted by any creditor of the tenant other than a registered mortgagee, before the twentieth day of August one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, to recover, by sale of the tenure, any debt or debts owing by the tenant of the date of the last gale day of the tenancy in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one."

This was a clause, he said, framed to meet the objections put forward yesterday to the proposal which he then made on the same subject, and which received a moderate amount of support. He hoped that the objections then urged did not now apply, and that the clause would commend itself to the House. All that was wanted under his clause was, to give the creditor less than was proposed under the Bill, and even then he would be in a much better position than before, because the Act would give him a solvent instead of an insolvent debtor. No doubt the proposal might be a shock to our commercial ideas; but he thought it was desirable that the tenant should have the rest, which his clause, if adopted, would give.

Mr. MOORE said, he had never heard a more astounding proposition than that of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy. He should be inclined to say, with all deference to the hon. Member, that the proposal was nothing short of dishonest.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member does not impute dishonesty, I presume, to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy.

Mr. MOORE said, he certainly would not think of doing so; he referred simply to the proposal. He had every confidence that the hon. Gentleman's opinion was honestly held; but the practical effect of this clause would be to carry out a policy of dishonesty. The landlords had a substantial bonus under this Bill. Was it not preposterous to deprive other creditors, including the shopkeepers, who had fed and clothed the farmer in his times of distress, of the chance of obtaining anything that was owing to him at all? A more unjust proposal was never made in the House.

Mr. DALY said, if the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had wished to ruin the Irish tenants under this Bill he could not have been more successful. The proposal was unfit for the contemplation of any sane man.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA thought that a more absurd proposition than this had never been gravely put before the House. He was utterly unable, in a limited time, adequately to express the surprise with which he regarded it.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) expressed a hope that the House would now go to a division on this clause. The subject was fully discussed yesterday, and he was sure every hon. Member present had his mind made up upon it. The effect of it would simply be to drive every creditor to register his mortgage. The speeches so far had been all against the Amendment, and the Government had already intimated that they could not accept it.

Mr. M'COAN said, he could not fall in with the suggestion of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, because he did think that the subject had yet been exhaustively discussed. If this proposal were rejected the Bill would simply be ousting one creditor, the landlord, and bringing to the front a host of others—shopkeepers and money-lenders—for whom the Land Act of last year and this Bill would have created a security which they had not when the debts were incurred. He observed that the opposition to the clause had proceeded altogether from hon. Members representing towns, while he believed there was an almost unanimous feeling amongst rural Representatives in favour of the proposal.

Mr. BLAKE said, he considered that the discussion had not been exhausted. One of the objects of the Bill would be frustrated unless the hands of the money-lender were kept off the tenant until he had had time to recover himself. The Amendment did not seek to extinguish debts, but only called upon creditors to make some slight sacrifice until farmers were placed on their legs again.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, although he was of opinion that the subject was well worthy of a long debate, he could not hope to defeat the Government, and, considering the state of Public Business, he begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Mr. SEXTON said, he objected to such an unsatisfactory method of dealing with the subject. In his opinion, the Amendment was an important and a moderate one. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had twice had this Amendment on the Paper, and this was the second time he proposed its withdrawal. He was sorry the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had not had the courage of his opinions, or that he had allowed it to be cooled down by loyalty to his Party. He (Mr. Sexton) supported the Amendment, because he objected to giving, as was proposed in the clause, the advantage of a greater security and a greater value than existed at the time that liabilities were incurred, especially as that greater security had arisen out of an act of policy on the part of the Government. The fact that there were so few tradesmen who would distrain was a strong reason why the Amendment should be accepted and the tenants protected against the worst class of their creditors. The benefits of the Bill ought not to be frittered away by individual creditors.

Mr. MARUM said, that, as the clause stood, it would be the least bar to the creditor. Those who opposed the entire policy of the Land Act were quite right in supporting the Amendment; but those who treated rent as an exceptional debt, and looked on it differently to other debts, could not, in his opinion, consistently support it.

Mr. D. DAVIES said, that the persons who would really benefit by the Bill were the outside creditors, for whom it created a new security. The Bill was like a locomotive when it ran off the line—no one could say where it would stop. He did not like any part of it.

Mr. T. C. BARING said, that the Bill was a reality or a sham. If it was brought in to free the utterly poor agricultural tenants of Ireland from debts they could never otherwise get rid of, this clause ought to be accepted. If this clause was not accepted the Bill was a sham. He could not think that the landlord was the only sinner in Ireland, or that the tenant would be in better hands when he got into those of the gombeen man.

Mr. VILLIERS-STUART said, now that the landlord's first claim was removed, the tenant would be more than ever at the mercy of the other creditors. He would vote for the clause.

Question put.

The House *divided* :—Ayes 30; Noes 70: Majority 40.—(Div. List, No. 282.)

Clause 1 (Settlement by Land Commission of arrears of rent).

Mr. WARTON moved, in page 1, line 18, to insert the words—

"The tenant has paid the whole or such portion of his rent as may be accepted by the landlord as equivalent to the whole of."

The words were introduced from another portion of the Bill, and would make the clause consistent.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, after the word "That," to insert the words "the tenant has paid the whole or such sum as the landlord may be willing to accept as the equivalent of the whole of."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he thought the clause as it stood expressed the intention of the Government, and he was unwilling to accept any Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. BRODRICK moved to insert the words "by the 30th of November, 1882," in line 20.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he accepted the Amendment. The Prime Minister had given an undertaking to that effect in the earlier discussions upon the Bill. The result would be to give a tenant the whole of 1882 in which to pay.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. GIBSON (for Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) moved to insert, in line 20, the words "or without wilful default." The object of the Amendment was to distinguish between those classes who, through no fault of their own, but from adverse seasons and other causes, had fallen into arrear, and those classes who, by the pernicious teaching of the Land League, had refused to pay rents which for years past they had been perfectly able and willing to pay.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 20, after the word "unable," to insert the words "or without wilful default."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that the Government must decline to accept this Amendment, as they had declined to accept it before. However much might be said about the immorality by which a man had got into trouble, the short and simple story unfortunately was that the small tenant found himself on the wrong side of the account. This Bill took him up when in that state, and did not stop to inquire minutely whether his inability was partly due to bad seasons or partly to want of sobriety and industry. The object of the measure was, when they found an impoverished tenantry, to see whether, without absolute injustice to the landlords, they could not be relieved from the crushing burden of their arrears.

Mr. T. C. BARING said, that the question now raised was not as to the moral delinquency of the tenant, but as to his wilful default in refusing to pay when he had money in his pocket or in the bank. There had been more money saved and put into the banks in Ireland during the last two years than for many years previously, and they had a shrewd suspicion in London that that money would have gone to pay the landlord but for the iniquitous proceedings of certain Gentlemen in that House whom he need not now particularize. It was a scandal that the taxpayers should be called upon to discharge the obligations of such wilfully defaulting tenants.

Mr. SEXTON said, he was bound to complain that the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) should have taken that occasion of reviving the heated and extravagant accusations against the Land League of which the House had been so frequently the theatre. If the Land League had not taught the poor tenants to combine, they might have perished like flies without the House troubling itself either with a Land Act or an Arrears Bill. This Amendment was a preposterous one, inasmuch as it proposed that they should not only inquire into the present inability of the tenant, but whether he might not have been able to pay two years ago.

Mr. WARTON said, that the question really raised by the Amendment was not whether the tenant was able to pay at some previous time, but whether or not his inability now to do so was due to wilful default. The modest Member for Pembroke (Mr. Allen), sitting behind the Ministry, a few days ago brought forward an Amendment requiring it to be shown that the tenant's inability arose from failure of his crops or the loss of his stock; but, being afraid of embarrassing the Government, the hon. Gentleman drew back, apparently "scared at the sound himself had made." The allegiance of hon. Members opposite towards the Government was becoming weaker every day, because the time was approaching when they would have to meet their constituents. ["Question!"] He protested against the principle of finding money out of either the Church Surplus Fund or the Consolidated Fund to enable dishonest tenants to clear off their arrears. Those who voted against this Amendment would be wilfully supporting not needy or indigent, but dishonest tenants.

Mr. GIVAN said, he should oppose the Amendment, which, he contended, would lead to a retrospective inquiry into the circumstances of the tenant. He would remind hon. Members that the Bill was for the relief not only of the tenant but his family, and they ought not to be made to suffer, as they might do, if the Amendment was agreed to.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. VILLIERS-STUART said, the object of the Amendment of which he had given Notice was to draw a line between arrears incurred in the years prior to 1877, which were good years, and arrears incurred since, otherwise the effect of the clause would be demoralizing and discouraging to habits of industry and thrift. Moreover, those who had allowed debts to accumulate under the present law should be compensated when the law was altered. He begged to move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 2, after the word "aforesaid," to insert the words "and no action or other proceeding shall be maintained for or in respect of all or any part of antecedent arrears of rent due to the landlord on or before the last gale day of the tenancy, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, except in the event of a sale by the tenant of his tenancy, in which case such last-mentioned antecedent arrears, not exceeding in the whole a sum equal to three years' rent of the tenancy, shall thereupon become payable to the landlord by the tenant out of the purchase money received by him for the sale of his tenancy, and except also in the event of the tenant becoming entitled to compensation to be paid by the landlord under the provisions of 'The Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870,' and 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' or either of those Acts, in which case the landlord shall be entitled to set off such last-mentioned arrears, not exceeding in the whole a sum equal to three years' rent as aforesaid, in part payment of any such compensation: always Provided, That no arrears which accrued previously to one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one shall be recoverable under this Clause."—(*Mr. Villiers-Stuart.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, the only part of the Amendment with which he thought the House would agree was the Proviso contained in the last two lines providing that no arrears which accrued previously to 1871 should be recoverable under the clause. The rest of the Amendment violated the fundamental principles of the Bill as well as of social life, and he thought the House would not accept it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, he begged to move an Amendment to the effect that all antecedent arrears should, to the extent of two years' rent of the holding, be considered a loan from the landlord to the tenant, repayable, without interest, in such instalments as the Commissioners might direct, and the remainder, if any. The distinction between this Amendment and others that had been disposed of was that in this case the landlord was to be the creditor, and in the others the Government. The high-handed manner in which the Prime Minister dealt with the Irish Church property and applied it to the needs of thriftless or incompetent tenants, reminded him forcibly of the stories told of Robin Hood, and his dealing with property he took from the abbeys—

> "Poor men's goods he spared, abundantly relieving them with that which by theft he got from abbeys and rich old carles."

Substitute for "abbeys" and "rich old carles" the words "Irish Church" and "poor landlords," and the parallel would be complete.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, line 5, after the word "rent," to insert the words "shall, to the extent of two years' rent of the holding, be considered a loan from the landlord to the tenant, repayable, without interest, in such instalments as the Commissioners may direct, and the remainder, if any."—(*Mr. Donaldson-Hudson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GIBSON said, that he understood the reason why the Attorney General for Ireland did not reply to this Amendment was that the subject was discussed at considerable length in Committee. His hon. Friend had taken a great interest in this question, and, having been precluded from moving his Amendment in Committee, was entirely within his right in now bringing it on. He must say that the hon. Member presented a really new aspect of the question in a very reasonable way. Under the circumstances, he would, however, suggest to his hon. Friend that he should be satisfied without taking a division.

MR. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, that he would take the advice of his right hon. and learned Friend, and ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) moved to insert in page 2, line 5, after "extinguished," the following words:—

> "And any judgment, decree, or security for the rent of the holding, and any judgment or decree for the recovery of the holding on account of the non-payment of rent, shall be vacated so far as regards any rent due in respect of the holding before the last gale day in the year expiring as aforesaid, but shall not be vacated so far as regards any rent subsequently accrued due, or any costs due in pursuance of such judgment, decree, or security."

The Amendment was made for the purpose of meeting the suggestion that, notwithstanding the provision of the Bill that on an order for payment to the landlord of two years' arrears, all antecedent arrears should be extinguished, yet collusive arrangements might be made to set that provision aside. This Amendment, therefore, proposed that everything, whether judgment, decree, or security, which might be in the hands of the landlords should be entirely wiped out.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, line 5, after the word "extinguished," to insert the words "and any judgment, decree, or security for the rent of the holding, and any judgment or decree for the recovery of the holding on account of the non-payment of rent, shall be vacated so far as regards any rent due in respect of the holding before the last gale day in the year expiring as aforesaid, but shall not be vacated so far as regards any rent subsequently accrued due, or any costs due in pursuance of such judgment, decree, or security."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GIVAN said, the Amendment failed, in some respects, to carry out the intentions of his Amendment or of that of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He moved to omit from the Amendment of the Attorney General the words "any rent subsequently accrued due or," and also the words "any cost." He did not think that the landlords ought to receive the rent accruing due subsequently to the last gale day in 1881, or the costs due in pursuance of any judgment obtained on the eve of this Bill.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, after the second word "regards," to leave out the words "any rent subsequently accrued due or."—(*Mr. Givan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the said proposed Amendment."

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY suggested that those legal gentlemen who sympathized with the tenants in Ireland should show their sympathy by reducing the costs charged to them if such costs were not statutable charges.

Captain AYLMER said, he thought that great difficulties would arise if the word "security" were retained, and as he did not see any value in it, it had better be omitted.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, his Colleagues and himself had considered the matter. They were of opinion that the word "security" was necessary. As to the Amendment of his hon. Friend behind him, it would have a result which he was quite sure his hon. Friend did not intend. His own Amendment provided that a judgment which the Court declared had been properly obtained for rent which had accrued subsequently to November, 1881, should not be vacated. This Bill did not deal with rent which had accrued subsequently to November, 1881. Therefore, he hoped the House would not agree to the Amendment of his hon. Friend that the provision as to a judgment for rent accrued subsequently to November, 1881, should be struck out.

Amendment to the said proposed Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *inserted.*

Mr. GIBSON said, that in Sub-section 2 the words—

> "For the purpose of this Act, the saleable value of the tenant's interest may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable, be taken into account in ascertaining whether a tenant is unable to discharge such arrears"

were inserted. The Commissioners had been told already in an earlier part of the Bill that they were to consider the tenant's position, and that they were to take care that his holding should not be lost, and that he was not deprived of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof. The words which he had quoted cut down that and left the tribunal quite free to consider to what extent, if at all, the tenant had any saleable interest whatever. It was absurd. He proposed to strike out the words "may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable," and give them a positive direction that in every case the Commissioners should take into account the saleable value of the tenant's interest. He would not trouble the House with dividing on the Amendment; but he thought it right to bring it forward, not only in consequence of the vast importance of the subject, but in order that the Government might, if they thought it right, say a final word in regard to it.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, lines 6 and 7, to leave out the words "may, if the Commissioners think it reasonable," and insert the word "shall,"—(*Mr. Gibson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the Government had not changed their opinion in regard to this question. The Government wished to direct the attention of the Commissioners to a consideration of the saleable value of the tenant's interest, and they wished specially to lay down that the Commissioners should be able to consider it. The real question for the Commissioners to decide was whether the man whose pecuniary condition was before them was a proper object for State bounty or not. The object of the Bill was not to ruin any man who came within its scope; and if his saleable interest was saleable, but so small that he would be left no longer master of his holding, the Government were of opinion the Commissioners ought not to take the tenancy into consideration. The Government could not accept the Amendment.

Captain AYLMER said, he thought the clause should be made decidedly imperative.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Modification in case of evicted tenant when restored to holding).

On the Motion of Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Amendments made, in page 2, line 41, after "rent," by inserting—

"Or whose tenancy has been purchased for the landlord at any sale under and by virtue of any writ of execution founded upon a judgment obtained by the landlord for an arrear of rent due in respect of such holding;"

in page 3, line 3, after "evicted," by inserting "or his tenancy had not been sold;" in line 14, by leaving out "but otherwise shall proceed in manner directed by," and insert "and on compliance by the tenant with the other conditions of;" in line 15, after "1860," by inserting "the court may order his restitution;" in line 19, after "him," by inserting "within six months from the time of eviction and."

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 20, after the word "tenancy," to insert the words "for a period not exceeding three months."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, he thought the extension was insufficient, having regard to the fact that a considerable number of evictions were going on, and that an enormous number of applications would be made under this Bill, inevitably causing a block in the business of the Court. He moved that the period be extended to six months.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "three," and insert the word "six,"—(*Mr. Healy,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'three' stand part of the said proposed Amendment."

MR. PARNELL said, he should support the further extension of the period.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the Government had made a very important concession by extending the period for three months. The enlarged period was to give the tenant a further opportunity of seeking the benefits of the Act, and he thought that such an extension of time would prove a great boon. The object was to prevent surprise and enable justice to be done. The Court to conduct the business of the Bill was now in working order, and there was no reason why the very day after the passing of the measure the tenants should not commence proceedings.

Amendment to the said proposed Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *inserted.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Powers of Land Commission).

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, Amendments made, in page 3, line 31, after "all," by inserting "such;" in line 32, after "1881," by inserting "as are referred to in the First Schedule to this Act;" in line 34, by leaving out from "Act," to "Act," in line 37, inclusive.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Delegation of powers of Land Commission).

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, Amendments made, in page 4, line 10, by leaving out "such," and inserting "an;" in line 10, by leaving out "if any," and inserting "on matter of law;" in line 11, after "Land Commission," by inserting "on and in such conditions and circumstances;" in line 12, after "rules," by inserting "or appointments."

On the Motion of Mr. GREGORY, the following words were added at the end of the Clause:—

"The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury may be represented on any inquiry under this Act by any person nominated by them for such purpose."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Rules for carrying Act into effect).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) moved, in page 5, line 19, after "prescribed," to insert—

"(7.) The mode of collecting, suing for, recovering, and accounting for charges and instalments of charges, and the procedure for the sale of tenancies to raise the amount of such charges, and for dealing with the proceeds of such sales under this Act."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY inquired who was to compensate the rate collectors—would the Guardians have to do so, or who? They were poor men, and would certainly need to be paid to stimulate them to do the work which would be thrown over.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the Government were proposing an Amendment upon this point.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, Amendment made in page 5, line 20, by leaving out "(7)" and inserting "(8)."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Arrears of rent how dealt with).

On the Motion of Mr. TREVELYAN, Amendments made, in page 7, line 23, by leaving out "Court," and inserting "Land Commission;" in line 27, by leaving out "as the equivalent," and inserting "in full discharge;" in line 29, after "and," by inserting "that;" in line 31, after "make," by inserting "to the landlord;" in line 36, after "half-yearly," by inserting "on the first day of January and first day of July;" in line 39, by leaving out from "provided," to "holding," in page 8, line 5, inclusive; in page 8, line 8, by leaving out from "and," to "accordingly," in line 15, inclusive, and inserting—

"The charge declared by the order as aforesaid shall have priority over all charges affecting the holding, except quit-rent and crown rent, and sums payable to the Commissioners of Public Works, and shall be payable by the tenant of the holding for the time being, and shall be levied and collected in manner hereinafter provided; and in the event of the tenant failing to pay any half-yearly instalment of the said charge for the space of twelve months after the same shall have accrued due, then and in every such case the amount of such instalments, together with the entire of the unpaid residue of such charge, with interest as ascertained by the Land Commission, shall forthwith be payable by the tenant, and the amount thereof shall be raised by sale of the tenancy in the prescribed manner.

The half-yearly instalments of such charge shall be from time to time collected by the collector authorised to collect poor rate in the electorial division in which such holding is situate; and for the purpose of such collection every collector shall have all such powers and authorities as he shall for the time being possess for collecting and recovering poor rate, and shall and may collect and levy the same accordingly from the tenant with and by the same, notwithstanding that such tenant may not be liable to pay poor rate.

For the purpose of such collection the Land Commission shall, in each half-year, transmit to the clerk of every union, within which any holding or holdings charged as aforesaid shall be situate, a warrant under the seal of the Land Commission, setting forth the arrears of the tenants within such union liable to pay such charges or the instalments thereof, and the amount due by each respectively; and such warrant shall be judicially noticed in all proceedings in court, and shall be conclusive evidence of the arrears due by such tenants respectively, and of their liability to pay the same.

Every such collector shall pay and account for the sums collected or collectable by him under this Act to the guardians of the union in which such holding is situate in the prescribed form; and the guardians shall transmit the amounts from time to time received by them as aforesaid to the Land Commission under the prescribed regulations.

In the event of such default by the tenant for the space of twelve months as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the county court of the county in which the holding is situate, on the application of the Land Commission, to order a sale of such tenancy which shall be sold, and the proceeds of such sale dealt with by the said county court in the prescribed manner.

If the proceeds of any such sale fail to realise the amount ascertained by the Land Commission as aforesaid, together with the cost of sale, the amount of the deficiency shall be paid by the landlord of the said holding, and shall be a charge upon his estate and interest therein, and shall be collected and levied in the prescribed manner: Provided, That on any transfer of the tenant's interest in the holding by sale, the principal sum and interest, if any, remaining due to the Land Commission, shall be paid out of the purchase money to the Land Commission;"

in line 16, by leaving out "Court," and inserting "Land Commission;" in line 26, by leaving out "by the Court."

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 42, after the word "period," to insert the words "Whenever, in the case of any tenant evicted for non-payment of rent since the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, the landlord agrees to reinstate such tenant on the terms in this section set forth, this section shall apply as if such tenant had not been so evicted from his holding."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. PARNELL moved as an Amendment that the words "for non-payment of rent" be omitted from the proposed Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, in line 1, to leave out the words "for non-payment of rent."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the said roposed Amendment."

MR. SYNAN said, he should support the Amendment.

MR. MARUM pointed out that the Amendment did not imply any action against the wish of the landlords.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the clause went as far as the Act of 1881 with regard to evicted tenants, and the Government were not prepared to go any further.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the practical question, however, which the Government had to consider was whether the process of tranquillizing Ireland would or would not be accelerated by restoring to their farms all persons who had been evicted. This Bill ought to be the signature of a truce between the contending parties, and, in his opinion, the greater the number of the combatants who were restored to the *status quo ante* the more likelihood there would be of a permanent peace.

COLONEL COLTHURST hoped the Government would accept the Amendment. He should support it on behalf of the unfortunate tenants who had been terrorized by "Captain Moonlight."

MR. CHILDERS pointed out that the omission of the words "for non-payment of rent" would not carry out the views of the hon. Member for the City of Cork.

Amendment to the said proposed Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. SYNAN said, he proposed to insert, after "rent," the words—

"Or in case the holding of the tenant has been sold and purchased by the landlord, and possession taken thereof by him."

It would greatly help to restore order if all tenants were placed on the same footing.

Amendment proposed,

In line 1 of the said proposed Amendment, after the word "rent," to insert the words "or in case the holding of the tenant has been sold and purchased by the landlord, and possession taken thereof by him."—(*Mr. Synan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. PARNELL, at the risk of being told again that the tenants had followed his advice, urged that the Amendment was well worth consideration, asking what objection there could possibly be if the landlord and tenant were agreed, and suggesting that many landlords would not thank their Friends in the House for resisting the Amendment. There were many signs that landlords and tenants were more willing to settle their disputes than they were three months ago, and in the interests of the country it was desirable that they should be allowed to do so. He therefore urged the Government to reconsider the matter, and do something to restore peace and contentment in Ireland.

MR. MARUM said, he did not think the Amendment went far enough, because there were cases in which men would have bought their tenancies, but they feared to do so.

MR. MOORE said, that many of the tenants in question had acted fraudulently, and all had been ill-advised. He had, therefore, no sympathy with them, although he knew of cases in which they had been powerless against influences stronger than themselves. The Bill, however, was a message of peace; and he asked the House to let bygones be bygones, and to make the necessary sacrifice, and not continue the fight longer—if only that no further outrages might be committed.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he supposed that the sacrifice which the hon. Member had recommended was a surrender at discretion to the Land League. The House would probably be convinced by the conclusive arguments of the Solicitor General for Ireland, who had emphatically announced the determination of the Government to resist this proposal, and would regard the Amendment as an attempt to maintain in their holdings tenants who either from contumacy or from inability refused to pay their rents. In his opinion, the money of the British taxpayer ought not to be used in support of collusive arrangements between landlords and tenants.

MR. CHILDERS said, he wished to treat the Amendment fairly and upon its merits. In those cases where the landlord desired to reinstate the tenant there would be no objection; but they must object to a tenant being reinstated where after ejectment he had built a hut in the neighbourhood of the holding for the purpose of preventing the landlord taking possession. Under the circumstances, as the Amendment went to the smaller matter, the Government were willing to accept it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Amendment, as amended, be agreed to."

MR. J. LOWTHER remarked, that the Secretary of State for War had thrown over the Solicitor General for Ireland, and had surrendered at discretion to the Land League.

MR. CHILDERS said, that at the time his hon. and learned Friend had spoken the distinction he had noticed was not observed. This was a very much smaller and more restricted Amendment than the one which had been objected to before.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, surrender to the Land League meant in this instance surrender to the hon. Member for the County of Cork, who had denounced the Land League.

COLONEL COLTHURST observed, that one of the arguments he had used was that these poor people were compelled by agents of terror to put themselves in the unfortunate position in which they now were.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, the following Schedule *agreed to:*—

First Schedule.

Powers of Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, referred to—

Section 48 (3), (5).

Section 49.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Bill be re-committed in respect of New Clauses and Schedules relating to Emigration, the appointment of an additional Land Commissioner, and exemption in respect of public charges upon Arrears of Rent extinguished, and an Amendment relating to payment for collection of Loan Rent-charges."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. GREGORY appealed to the Government to re-commit the Bill generally, so that he might be in a position to move a new clause that he had upon the Paper relating to exception being made in respect of charges upon arrears of rent.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Bill could not be re-committed generally; but the Government would not object to the subject referred to by the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) being introduced.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Bill be re-committed in respect of New Clauses and Schedules relating to Emigration, the appointment of an additional Land Commissioner, and exemption in respect of public charges upon Arrears of Rent extinguished, and an Amendment relating to payment for collection of Loan Rent-charges.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provision therein, pursuant to the Resolution reported from the Committee on Arrears of Rent (Ireland) [Salaries and Emigration] this day, and then agreed to by the House.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I have to point out to the Committee that, by the Instruction from the House, the first point to be dealt with has reference to the expenses, and the next to the question of emigration.

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise to move the following Clause:—

(Power to appoint an additional member of the Land Commission.)

"In addition to the three persons named as Commissioners in the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,   , is hereby constituted a member of the Irish Land Commission at a salary of three thousand pounds a year, and for a term of two years from the passing of this Act.

"Save, as aforesaid, the provisions of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, which relate to the members of the Irish Land Commission, other than the Judicial Commissioner, shall apply to the said   , and to every person appointed as hereinafter provided to a vacancy in his office, as if he had been named in the said Act a member of the Land Commission other than the Judicial Commissioner.

"If and so often as during the said term of two years any vacancy occurs in the office of the said   , by the death, resignation, inability to act, or otherwise, of the said   , or any person appointed in his place, Her Majesty may, by warrant under the sign manual, appoint some fit person to fill such vacancy; but the person so appointed shall only continue in office until the expiration of the said term of two years: Provided, That any act or matter which under the said Act shall be done or performed, or may be done or performed by three Land Commissioners sitting together, shall and may after the passing of this Act be in like manner done or performed by three of the Land Commissioners."

I have already indicated the nature of the clause, and the reason for it. The

Bill adds very considerably to the labour of the Land Commission, and, therefore, it has been deemed necessary to strengthen that Commission. The Government have sought to do so by the choice of a person who has already received some marks of confidence, both from the Crown and the Legislature, in connection with the Irish Church Act; and our impression is that he enjoys, and very deservedly enjoys, a large amount of public confidence in Ireland. He has also had the advantage of a legal training, having been called to the Bar, and, in addition to being acquainted with the mode of conducting business, he is thoroughly respected in every relation of life. We do not, however, think we should be justified in asking the House to continue the appointment of a fourth Commissioner for a longer period than two years, because there is no reason to suppose that the plethora of work which now exists will continue for any length of time. I have already mentioned that there is another object in making the appointment, brought prominently forward by the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), who pointed out that, from the necessities of the case, two Commissioners only have during the last month or two been hearing appeals, thereby to some extent dissappointing the assurances with respect to the hearing of appeals given by the Government to the House at the time the Land Act passed through Parliament. The intention of Parliament certainly was understood to be that, as a rule, three Commissioners should sit. That was another object we have had in the clause we now propose, so that after that time it would be always practicable to have one Commissioner in Dublin hearing appeals, and at the same time to keep up the full strength of the Court.

New Clause (Power to appoint an additional member of the Land Commission,)—(*Mr. Gladstone,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. GIBSON: I must say that I regard this clause with a considerable amount of hesitation and anxiety, seeing that it proposes largely to increase the patronage of the Government in Ireland. There never was a time in the history of that country when such an immense and stupendous amount of patronage was created in one year as has been created by the present Government within the last few months. I pass by the judicial patronage, because it is, no doubt, within the strict right of the Government to give the appointments to their own political friends, and I do not mean to say that they have not appointed men who will perform their judicial functions satisfactorily; but, last year, the Land Act, and this year, the necessity of obtaining the assistance of a considerable number of Resident Magistrates, threw into their hands an immense amount of patronage. In addition, we now have, at the last moment, a clause presented to enable the Government to appoint, for a period of two years, a new official of the highest class, at a salary of £3,000 a-year. I think that the matter is one that should be closely and jealously scrutinized, and the Committee should not be content until the Government have proved the necessity for creating this new appointment at the last stage of the Bill. It was obvious, at the earliest moment the Bill was introduced, that there would be a considerable amount of work entailed by the Bill, and that numerous inquiries would have to be carried on under it. That fact was pointed out during the debate, but it was not deemed worthy of the notice of the Government until the very last moment. It was only yesterday intimated that they had the smallest intention of dealing with the *personnel* of the Land Commission, and changing it to any extent.

MR. GLADSTONE: I stated that when the duties were largely increased it would be necessary to consider what increase should be made in the strength of the Commission.

MR. GIBSON: I have followed closely the discussion of this Bill, and I at once accept any statement made by the Prime Minister. Any statement he says he has made I am quite sure he has made; but it certainly was not present to my mind until yesterday that it was proposed to appoint a new Land Commissioner, which is the statement I am dealing with now. The only particular ground now alleged by the Prime Minister for that proposal is the fact that, beyond the increase of business, it is necessary because there has been a certain amount of irregularity in the hearing of appeals, which has occasioned some comment among the classes affected by it. Now, in my opinion, it is not necessary to appoint a fourth Commissioner to cure that evil. I have closely examined the Land Act this morning, when I saw this provision, and I think that the Act might be easily worked under the existing powers of the Land Act by constituting a Sub-Commission to do the ordinary routine office work during the necessary absence of the three Commissioners. The Government have exercised their discretion in another way; but I do not think there is anything of a special character in the ordinary routine work under this Bill which might not be done by a Sub-Commission. They are all matters which a superior clerk of adequate training would be able to perform without calling into existence a new official of this high class. However, the Government may have had present to their minds all the difficulties with which they had to cope, and they have elected to appoint another Commissioner for two years, with a salary of £3,000 a-year, and they have selected for that position a very well-known Nobleman, Lord Monck. Now, there is nothing so distasteful as personal criticism; but I think it hard, in legislation which deals with all the landed property in Ireland and with all the landed proprietors of Ireland, that a tribunal should be constituted altogether of one political aspect. If ever there was a tribunal which ought to be constituted by the Government with impartiality and, if possible, with some neutral elements, it is a tribunal which has to decide on the property of those the majority of whom are your political opponents. Instead of that, you have deliberately, in the Land Act and now, so selected your tribunal that every man of them is a decided supporter of the present Government. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Yes, every man of them, and they have all indicated—certainly Lord Monck has indicated throughout his career—the strongest political sympathy with the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and he has in every way, by speech and by writing, advocated every decision and action on the part of the Land Commission. I admit that Lord Monck is a Nobleman of capacity, a man of high honour and of high character, who has been employed in important service by the State; but that does not prevent him from being fairly and legitimately criticized. And I must say that if the Government thought it necessary to appoint a new Land Commissioner, I think they might, for the sake of novelty, at all events, have appointed someone who was not so absolutely in accord with their own politics and all their own views on that subject, and who has not committed himself to such entire identity on all points with the decisions which have been pronounced.

Mr. SEXTON said, he thought there could be no doubt that the Land Commission was now overworked, and required strengthening; and if, instead of one, two or three Commissioners were added to it, and it were sub-divided, so as to enable as many of the tenants as possible to avail themselves of the advantages of the Court as early as possible, he should not have objected to the proposal as far as abstract principle was concerned. Lord Monck was not a Tory, and, therefore, his appointment was something very dangerous in the eyes of the right hon. and learned Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson). That right hon. and learned Gentleman would have approached the subject more rationally if, instead of considering to what political Party Lord Monck belonged, he had thought of how the case stood as between the landlord and the tenant class in Ireland. To say that a man was a Tory or a Whig had nothing whatever to do with the question. The Land Commission, which had to adjudicate between those two classes in a time of great excitement, consisted of three gentlemen, two of whom were landlords. Mr. O'Hagan was not; but now a third landlord was to be appointed, and there would be on the tribunal three persons who were landlords against one who was not. He admitted that Lord Monck had conducted the Church Temporalities Commission in a way which gave general satisfaction; but that was an experiment involving no political feeling or passion, and his fitness for discharging the duty of conducting an inquiry into the Church Temporalities might afford no conclusive proof that he was also fit to discharge the duties of the present position. The fact that Lord Monck sympathized with the Government would not induce him (Mr. Sexton) to regard that Nobleman with favour. Some time ago Lord Monck presided at a meeting of magistrates in Dublin, and on that occasion he made a speech which he (Mr. Sexton) regarded as singularly unworthy of the high magisterial position he held, and as tending to excite hatred between class and class. He, therefore, did not think Lord Monck was a Gentleman fitted for the administration of the Land Act, especially after the bias he had displayed in regard to the disputes between landlord and tenant. He only expressed his own opinion upon the point; but he certainly thought the Government might easily have got a person who would have commanded greater confidence on the part of the people of Ireland.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member opposite has urged that because Lord Monck has taken a very severe view of the state of crime that has existed in Ireland, he is unfit to discharge the duties of a Commissioner to administer the Land Act and the Arrears Bill. I cannot conceive why, because Lord Monck has taken a view of that subject in accordance with the view generally entertained on the subject of crime in Ireland by persons of the education and of the station of Lord Monck, he should be disqualified from administering these Acts. He may be strict in his views as to the propriety of maintaining law and order; but I cannot see how that circumstance is to interfere with his efficiency in working under the present Act and the Land Act. The appointment of Lord Monck has also been found fault with on the ground that he is a partizan of the present Government. All I can say is that he has not been appointed to this office on the ground that he is a partizan of the Government.

MR. GIBSON: He is one of four.

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not admit that he is one of four. Mr. Vernon never described himself as a partizan of the Government. I remember perfectly well being introduced to Mr. Vernon in Ireland, but he was not introduced to me as a supporter of the Government.

MR. GIBSON: He is a supporter of the present Government.

MR. GLADSTONE: I believe that Mr. Vernon supports the principles of the Conservative Party. Lord Monck has described himself as an independent politician, although, doubtless, he has said that in certain matters he is prepared to give his adhesion to the Party to which I myself have the honour to belong. I wish to point out that Mr. George Alexander Hamilton, who was a very decided Tory, was one of the Church Commissioners named under the Irish Church Disestablishment Act, not because he was a Tory, but because he was a man of large financial experience, and we knew his competency, and we were glad to name him, Tory though he was. The present Government would have been very glad to have selected a Tory to fill the position now filled by Lord Monck, if they could have found one possessing the necessary qualifications to discharge the duties of the office. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Perhaps hon. Members do not understand what are the necessary qualifications for discharging these duties. If we had merely to look for a man possessing learning, ability, and character, no doubt we could have found one among the Tory Party in Ireland; but we wanted a man who would work the Land Act in the spirit in which the Legislature has conceived and passed it. In the case of Mr. George Alexander Hamilton, we had the most entire confidence in him, and believed he would work the Act in the spirit in which it had been passed by the Legislature. Her Majesty's Government would have been very glad to have found some gentleman who could have discharged the duties of the office, who was altogether dissociated from themselves, provided he possessed the essential qualifications to which I have referred; but we have failed to find such a man, and, in these circumstances, we have determined to select Lord Monck to fill the post.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, they had now on that side of the House stated their objections to this appointment; and, considering the amount of Business they had to dispose of, it would now be much wiser not to waste further time on the discussion at the present moment. It had not been anticipated that the Government had really any serious intention of enlarging the strength of the Commission.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the blanks in the Clause be filled in with the name of the Right Honourable the Viscount Monck," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

MR. TREVELYAN, in moving the following New Clause:—

Part III.

Emigration.

(Power of guardians to borrow for emigration.)

From and after the passing of this Act, the board of guardians of any union in Ireland are authorised to borrow money for the purpose of defraying or assisting to defray the expenses of the emigration of poor persons resident within their union, or any electoral division thereof, in manner provided by "The Poor Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1849," as amended by subsequent Acts, subject to the following modifications (that is to say):

(1.) The provisions of the said Act in relation to the repayment of the advance by annual instalments shall not apply;

(2.) The advances may be made by the Commissioners of Public Works out of any moneys granted to them for the purpose of loans in place of the Public Works Loans Commissioners;

(3.) Every such advance made by the Commissioners of Public Works shall bear interest at the rate of three and-a-half per centum per annum, or at such other rate as the Treasury may from time to time fix, in order to enable the advance to be made without loss to the Exchequer;

(4.) Every such advance made by the Commissioners of Public Works, and the interest thereon, shall be repaid within such period from the date of the advance, not being less than fifteen years nor more than thirty years, as the Treasury may from time to time fix;

For the purposes of this Act "The Poor Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1849," means the Act of the Session of the twelfth and thirteenth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter one hundred and four;

said, that, after the words that had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross), he intended to introduce this important question very briefly indeed. He regretted that he had not a little more time to discuss it at greater length. He regretted also that it was not introduced by some gentleman whose practical benevolence in carrying out the work of emigration had already established him as one of the pioneers in that great undertaking. It was only by a sort of Parliamentary anomaly that the duty fell to his lot to discharge. He would now very shortly state to the House the object of this important clause. By the Poor Laws Amendment Act of the year 1849 Government aid was given to emigration, and loans were authorized to be made to Boards of Guardians for that purpose. These loans were for seven years, and were repayable by seven annual instalments. At first these loans were taken up to a very considerable extent. During the first three years after the passing of the Act no less than £80,000 was advanced to various Unions, and about 16,000 people were assisted to emigrate. After that the borrowing almost entirely ceased, and emigration under loan almost died away, until Parliament last year endeavoured to revive it. A clause in the Land Act authorized £200,000 to be advanced to public bodies for emigration purposes. The Law Advisers of the Crown had come to the conclusion that the words "public body" did not include the Guardians of Unions. Now, Guardians of Unions were probably the only public body in Ireland who did seriously care to assist emigration, and the proof of this was in the annual Report of the Local Government Board, from which it appeared that during the last 27 years the Guardians of Unions had out of the rates assisted 18,000 persons to emigrate —a cost to the rates of £60,000. Now, the Government, seeing that Parliament evidently desired that this £200,000 should be utilized for the purpose of emigration by means of loan, proposed in this clause to give general powers of borrowing to the Unions, and thus to carry out the undoubted intention of Parliament. But this was not enough. Besides the Unions who could borrow, there were other Unions which specially required to be assisted by means of emigration and who could not assist themselves. These were Belmullet, Newport, Swineford, Clifden, Oughterard; and these Unions contained a population of upwards of 131,000. In these Unions, of which two were in Mayo and three in Galway, there were something like 20,000 agricultural holdings, of which 14,400 were valued under £4, and only 890 were valued over £8. To give the Committee a notion of the poverty of these bodies, he might say that the valuations per head of the population were as low as 13*s.* 4*d.*, 16*s.* 2*d.*, 15*s.* 2*d.*, 14*s.* 11*d.* and 14*s.* 6*d.*, or let them say an average of 15*s.* per head. As a contrast to these Unions he would instance Tallycarbet parish, Tyrone, where there were 1,974 people to the valuation of £4,600. That was at the rate of £2 5*s*. per head. Another parish in Tyrone—namely, Inishkeen—had a valuation of £2 6*s*. per head; and when the Committee considered the difference between £2 6*s*. and 15*s*., they had the full measure of the extent to which these Unions were below the standard of comfort. In Marri parish, County Down, however, the valuation rose to as high as £4 5*s*. per head; and taking Ireland as a whole, the valuation was £2 12*s*. 6*d*. per head of the population. In the five Unions he had specified the people in olden days found it the greatest difficulty to keep body and soul together. They just tried to get along because they were contented with the lowest standard of comfort; but even in those days a partial failure of crops and loss of stock would plunge these districts into the greatest misery. In the last 10 years there had been a great change. There had been some tendency to aim at something like human comfort, and this had brought the people to live on credit—and once they began to live on credit they began to go down hill. Three bad seasons completely broke them down. The credit on which they lived was practically extinguished, and the population was in a state of destitution—he might say of despair—whether they looked at individuals or at the community. In Clifden Union alone there were 800 people at this moment actually homeless, actually without homes of any sort or kind. Some little time ago, when the harvest in Ireland promised to be better than it did now, though he earnestly hoped it could not yet be said to have failed, it was calculated by the officers of the Local Government Board that next winter the cost of maintaining the outside pauper population in Clifden would be £6,400, or at the rate of 12*s*. in the pound; and in the Belmullet Union the local Inspector reported that he expected to see the rates as high as 19*s*. in the pound. An hon. Gentleman said a few nights ago, and said it no unfriendly spirit, and still less in a way which implied a want of humanity, that there never was more money in the West of Ireland than now. People told him (Mr. Trevelyan) that it was quite certain there was never less money. The earnings of the people in the English harvests had been very low for some years past, and it had been a very common thing for relatives to actually pawn the most necessary domestic articles in order to pay the return fares of the harvest men to Ireland. He thought the hon. Member of whom he spoke must have been listening to someone who distrusted the people, and who went about saying that poverty in Ireland was a got-up thing. It was quite true that women in Ireland might be seen drinking tea now who did not do so 10 years ago, and that there might be certain articles of finery now worn in the streets; but an observer, who had every possible means of judging of the condition of the people, and who had lived in the district, told him (Mr. Trevelyan) that many of these people—

> "Have already pawned everything of value they possess. I would be almost afraid to say how many beds I have seen in the Clifden pawnshops alone, belonging to these poor people, but I am sure there must be three or four hundred."

Now, the Government, during the past two years, had actually paid £20,000 in relief of distress, under the Relief of Distress Act, in these Unions, and it was much to be questioned whether the principle of making constant grants of aid in relief was not highly injurious—whether it did not engender distrust of the administration of the Poor Law, and cherish the hope that if they could only contribute to make the rates sufficiently high the Government would be bound to help them. He was not going to unnecessarily worry the Committee, at this time of night, but it was worthy of remark what the maintenance per head in workhouses cost. In the five Unions he had spoken of the maintenance per head was £8 13*s*. 1*d*., £10 13*s*. 1*d*., £8 1*s*. 9*d*., £7 19*s*. 8*d*., and £8 16*s*. 8*d*.—that was to say, whether to the ratepayers or Consolidated Fund, it would cost less to emigrate the person once for all than to maintain him for a year at the public expense at home. Under these circumstances, the Irish Government, knowing that the State must assist these people, preferred to do it by the aid of emigration. The Government honestly believed that the people preferred that course themselves. The official accounts confirmed and supplemented the testimony. Their Inspector said—

> "As to the feeling of the people in regard to emigration, it is greatly changed. Three years ago, when I first took charge of this district, the subject was one which had to be mooted and approached with great caution. It was 'exile'

> 'expatriation;' but now I have only to say that hardly a day passes that I do not get letters from people asking me if I know of any means by which they could get employment, gain a livelihood, or be emigrated; and each day I am obliged to make the same reply—namely, that I know of none."

Of the last passage, perhaps, he might read the concluding words. The Inspector said—

> "To sum up, I have to say that throughout Belmullet, Newport, Swineford, Clifden, and Oughterard, there is a general demand for emigration among the poorer classes; that the people are prevented from emigrating by their not being in a position to obtain the necessary funds; that if steps are not taken to meet this demand for emigration, the resources of the Poor Law will soon be inadequate to provide for the wants of the destitute people; and that the charge upon the occupiers will become so large that persons in that position who are now solvent will be pauperized in consequence of their having to provide for the destitute."

Under these very exceptional circumstances, the Irish Government had come to the conclusion that if the money was not provided now it would have to be found by the public in the course of the ensuing winter, and if applied to the relief of the poor rates, it would only increase and perpetuate the evil which, if applied to emigration, it would do much to remedy. The way had been shown by the private exertions of a group of public-spirited men, including the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone). The Irish Government had come to the conclusion which had been embodied in the clause; the principal details had been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government. The clause provided that the Boards of Guardians of any Unions might borrow money from the Board of Works for emigration purposes alone. The loan was to be for the term of not less than 15 years, nor more than 30 years, and was to be advanced at the rate of 3½ per cent where the loan was for a term not exceeding 20 years, and 3¾ per cent if the loan exceeded 20 years. They proposed to submit these loans to the provisions of the Treasury Minute of 1879, which, roughly speaking, governed all loans which were made now, and were made to individuals. This clause was, he thought, sufficiently guarded by provisions, which he need not enter into here, of the Poor Law Amendment Act—provisions which were then very effectual in limiting the amount of these loans. That part of the clause which laid down the condition of loans was to extend to the whole of Ireland; but in certain Unions the Board of Works might make a free grant in aid of the loan. The sum to be granted should not exceed £100,000, and the sum to be granted to any one Union should not exceed £5 for each person for whose emigration the Guardians were making provision. The grants could only be made on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant, stating that he was satisfied of the inability of the Guardians to make any adequate provision for emigration, having regard to the numbers anxious to go. Then power was given to the Lord Lieutenant to make rules for the guidance of Boards of Guardians in making arrangements for the shipping and transport of emigrants from their Unions. The Lord Lieutenant would have the power also to make arrangements for the reception of the emigrants abroad. This would enable the Lord Lieutenant, in cases where the Boards of Guardians had not the necessary experience or administrative power, to avail himself of the machinery that had been set up and worked by the gentlemen who had hitherto conducted this beneficent undertaking, to such extent as he thought it to the interest of the public he should avail himself. [Mr. PARNELL: What gentlemen?] The association of gentlemen who had Mr. Tuke at their head. The Lord Lieutenant would be enabled to obtain assistance by their advice and their local knowledge, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) thought it would be a great waste if the energy and devotion which Mr, Tuke and those around him had shown were not utilized. The Lord Lieutenant would be enabled to take care that people should not leave their native shores in a state of destitution and discomfort, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) took it that the sums which the Government would give could, with those coming from other sources—from, for instance, the gentlemen who had hitherto conducted these operations—provide that emigrants could leave these shores perhaps with greater comfort even than they had hitherto enjoyed. It would be for the Lord Lieutenant to see that families should leave together; that whether they were on the ocean or in the new country they might still keep up the family life which they had enjoyed, and, he (Mr. Trevelyan) hoped, under happier circumstances; that when they reached America they should not find themselves turned adrift in the great cities on the coast; but, on the contrary, should be met by friendly hands and passed on by them until they found themselves in regions where congenial work could be obtained, and where a permanent and happy settlement could be effected—in fact, that all those conditions might be observed by which the great trial and the great misfortune of leaving a native country might be, as far as possible, mitigated and turned into a blessing. The scheduled Unions were those five Unions whose condition he had described; but the Local Government Board, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, they proposed, should be able to enlarge or contract that Schedule within the limits of the districts scheduled in the first instance by the Board of Works' Notice of November, 1879. That Schedule he imagined to be tolerably familiar to hon. Members who had followed the debates in this House since the time that the late Irish distress began to take a permanent form. This the Government believed to be sufficiently elastic as to meet the objects in favour of which they believed there was at this present moment an overwhelming feeling, and against which they could not help thinking there was a less rooted opposition than perhaps at any time in the recent history of Ireland. He begged to propose the new clause which stood in his name.

New Clause (Power of guardians to borrow for emigration,)—(*Mr. Trevelyan,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. RATHBONE said, that after the speech they had just heard all must agree with him that so far from what happened yesterday being what a right hon. Gentleman had called a public calamity, it was a most fortunate occurrence, for it would have been impossible for any private Member to have spoken with the authority, or the knowledge, he might, perhaps, be almost permitted to say with the same ability, with which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had just addressed the Committee. Of course, it was much more desirable that a measure like this should come from a Government who were to carry out the work, rather than from a private Member, and he felt that the Committee owed the right hon. Gentleman a debt for having so thoroughly mastered the subject. The right hon. Gentleman had, with great clearness and effect, described the necessity for facilities for emigration, and he (Mr. Rathbone) would only supplement what the right hon. Gentleman had said with one single fact, and that was that not only had these districts to deal with a state of things which had long existed, but, in addition to all the difficulties that the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned, they had to deal with the failure of those industries in consequence of which the people were only able to eke out a most miserable existence. The kelp industry had so greatly failed of late that the wretched existence which many so formerly lived was now no longer possible. In speaking of the question of the impoverished districts of Ireland—the Clifden Union—the right hon. Gentleman had said there were 800 persons absolutely homeless; but, if emigration had not stepped in, the condition of things would have been very much worse. Mr. Tuke's organization had emigrated 1,300, and placed them in happiness and comfort on the other side of the Atlantic. One of the most valuable merits of the plan of the Government was its limitation. They often heard wild talk of emigrating 1,000,000 of people from Ireland; but it would be a very great curse if they attempted any such thing. In many parts of Ireland he believed emigration was going on as fast as it was desirable it should. It was proceeding rapidly by natural causes. He fancied they would all agree that no man wished one single individual, or one single family, to leave the country in which he could live decently and in comfort; and, what was more, they could not induce an Irishman, especially among the classes it was proposed to deal with, to leave his country against his wish. It was not, therefore, their object to induce a single person to emigrate; it was only to assist those who, by the necessities of the case, must emigrate or starve. The right hon. Gentleman had dealt so fully with the subject, that he (Mr. Rathbone) need only deal with it very briefly. The efforts of Mr. Tuke's association had established two facts—

namely, the great demand from these districts for emigration, and the necessity to give some assistance to the districts for the purpose of emigration. He (Mr. Rathbone) had long been connected with Irish emigration schemes; but he had never taken any part in any scheme in which the greatest care was not exercised that the people did not leave the country without decent clothing and provisions, and without steps being taken that they should be met on the other side of the water, and not thrown on the large cities on the seaboard where wages were high, but where, unfortunately, spirits were cheap. Within these rules he had never found any expenditure of money upon public objects which had returned such satisfactory results as the expenditure upon a careful and judicious system of emigration, and, as the right hon. Gentleman had just pointed out, the choice which lay before them was a simple one. They would have to emigrate these people; they could not possibly live on the small holdings which they possessed. With the consent of the Committee, he would read a very short extract from the report of two gentlemen, one a very well-known Catholic clergyman, and the other a Liverpool merchant, who were sent over to investigate the state of matters in the West of Ireland in January, 1880. After stating that the immediate cause of the distress had been a succession of bad harvests, combined with a great and unexpected fall in the prices of cattle, and all other products of the land, just at the time when the same causes prevented the agriculturists in this country employing the Irish labourers, the report went on to say—

> "But behind that there exists a system so rotten that the recurrence of the existing distress is inevitable so long as that system lasts. The population in places is far too dense to be supported on the poor patches of boggy land, interspersed with rocks and stones. There are large districts where the average holdings are three to five acres of the poorest land imaginable, and as every cabin or such holding seems to swarm with children, it is below the mark to put the average number of mouths to be fed from the produce at six; and, in fact, they could not exist were it not for the money earned by the father and sons in this country and Scotland at harvest. Last year this source of income entirely failed them . . . . . but if the land were given to the people for nothing, they would be in a worse plight ere long, because a check on the sub-division of their holdings (which the landlords now exercise) would be withdrawn. In many of the poorer districts a man when asked how much land he holds says £2 10*s*. or £3 worth. How much farther from the brink of starvation would the abolition of that rent place him? The foundation of any improvement lies in emigration, which would benefit those who left the country and those who remained."

Those were the words of an Irish Catholic clergyman; and he believed the same language was used by everybody connected with these extremely distressed districts of Ireland. The questions for the Committee to decide were these. Would they pass the people of these districts through a degrading process of pauperism, and reduce them to a state of demoralization which would insure them but a scant welcome in any country they might go to; or would they, before they became pauperized, take them from their miserable farms and place them in the position of honest labourers in America? The Government offered them the latter alternative, and, in the hope that it would be passed by the Committee, he should give the clause his hearty support.

Mr. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, he wished to bear testimony to the great and valuable services which had been rendered by Mr. Tuke. With reference to emigration from Ireland, he thought the reason why the plan of last year proved to be inoperative was because the money which the Government proposed to allow was so very moderate in amount, and because the scheme was so fenced about with stringent conditions that no company or parties of sufficient respectability thought it worth their while to take it up. Now, with reference to the present proposal of the Government, he begged to impress upon the Committee the fact that the present moment was particularly propitious for making the arrangements necessary to insure that the people who took advantage of the clause should be received on the other side of the Atlantic with decency and comfort, because it was too late this year for emigration to Canada or America. He trusted that this would be secured, and, moreover, that the Government would make arrangements with the Governments abroad that work should be found for the emigrants on arrival. He agreed with those who said that emigration from Ireland should be conducted on the principle of "family emigration;" and he did so not because he believed the elder members of Irish families would practically benefit the countries they went to—and he spoke with some knowledge of American and Canadian settlements—but because he wished to lessen the dissatisfaction and pain that would result from the members of families being separated. He had heard the Colony of Minnesota referred to by hon. Gentlemen as one in which the Irish people who went there had starved and perished miserably; and, in connection with that subject, he might mention that when he visited the Colony last autumn he found, on inquiry, that the matter stood in this way. The senior members of that community who went over there just before the commencement of the winter found that no work was to be obtained at that season. However, their fellow-countrymen who had already settled in the Colony, with Irish kindness and hospitality, maintained them through the winter; but, when the spring came, not being accustomed to hard work, they were unwilling to undertake the task of supporting themselves. But the younger members of the families were willing to do the work which offered, and were now doing well. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would not hesitate to avail themselves of the services of Mr. Tuke and the gentlemen who assisted him in his continued and laborious endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the people in the poorer districts of Ireland. He also urged on the consideration of the Government the great necessity that the Irish emigrants who went to America should be well cared for in point of clothing, and have, if possible, a trifle of money in their pockets on arrival; because there was no doubt that this question of Irish Emigration was regarded with great attention by the denizens of the Western States of North America, who, whilst they were willing to receive those who would work, naturally feared that the importation of a number of half-starved and ill-clad people who could not support themselves would not in the end be for the benefit of the country to which they were sent. Therefore, he trusted the Government would take care to insure that the emigrants should have at least two decent suits of clothes, some money in their pockets, and work on arrival in America.

MR. GORST said, he must congratulate the Government on their return to the simple and rational practice of placing the emigration arrangements proposed in the clause before the Committee in the hands of the Boards of Guardians. The Committee would be aware that under the Act of last year the Boards of Guardians were excluded, and the emigration was intrusted to public bodies who might be approved by the Land Commissioners. When the Emigration Clause in the Act of last year came before the Committee, his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) moved an Amendment, the object of which was to place the emigration about to take place in the hands of the Boards of Guardians; but his noble Friend upon that occasion was strongly opposed by the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant and the Prime Minister, who introduced convincing arguments to the Committee to prove that the Boards of Guardians were the very worst bodies to whom the emigration could be intrusted. Those arguments would be interesting to the Committee on the present occasion—hon. Members need not be alarmed, he was not going to read them—but he would simply observe that experience had changed the opinion of the Prime Minister and the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, who now recommended the employment of the very bodies whom last year they denounced. He thought it was only just to his noble Friend to point out that, although the arguments he used last year did not convince the Government, their force was now acknowledged, the proposed emigration being now in the hands of the most proper persons to deal with it—namely, the Boards of Guardians.

MR. MOORE said, he did not know what the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) meant by placing emigration in the hands of the Boards of Guardians. If he meant that some power of selection was left to these bodies, he had no objection to that arrangement; but, as he read the clause, it was the Lord Lieutenant who might from time to time make provisions that arrangements should be made for securing the satisfactory emigration of persons for whom means of emigration was provided under this Act by prescribing rules for the guidance of the Guardians, Now, in relation to such matters, he believed the Boards of Guardians were wholly ignorant; and, moreover, he feared they would not be sufficiently liberal in their views or anxious in their endeavours to have the emigration scheme satisfactorily carried out. On these grounds he strongly objected to their having anything to do with it, except, perhaps, by way of exercising the power of selection already alluded to.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he was sure the Committee would agree with him when he said they had now approached one of the most difficult branches of the Irish Question. In the first place, he wished to say that, considering the magnitude of the evil with which it was intended to deal, he regarded the proposals of the Government as very inadequate in their scope; and, further, that he looked upon the sum of money which they proposed to set aside in aid of emigration as entirely insufficient. He had ventured to state, when the Land Law (Ireland) Bill was under consideration in that House, upon the clause having reference to emigration, that, from its restricted character, it was foredoomed to absolute and utter failure. That prediction having been fulfilled, he was anxious that if the matter of emigration were touched at all, it should be touched effectively—that whatever steps were taken should be of a kind which not merely excited some curiosity and pointless conversation on the subject, but which went to the root of the difficulty once for all. He need not trouble the Committee by stating the unfavourable views which had from time to time been taken by Irish Members on the question of emigration generally; but he might be pardoned for saying that he belonged to the number of persons who knew something of the condition and resources of Ireland, and who still adhered to the opinion that, taking any large county of Ireland as a whole, there was no such thing as over-population there. He was, on the other hand, ready to admit that there were overcrowded districts in various counties, and the county which he represented was one which suffered in that respect to a certain degree, but was not, on the whole, over-populated. They had always advocated a scheme of migration as opposed to a scheme of emigration; but, so far, they had not succeeded in convincing the House that this was the proper remedy for the existing evil. They were now face to face with that evil; and he asked whether the Government were going to deal with this question effectually, and once for all? If so, then they would have to go very much further than they seemed to intend, because if they succeeded, by the offer of £5 a-head, in inducing a number of destitute persons to leave Ireland, and settle on the other side of the Atlantic, what was to become of the persons who would be left behind, and who would be ready to take the place of the first batch of those who were sent out? How were the Government going to prevent the subsequent occupation of the districts by other families just as destitute and miserable as those who went away? They had had the advantage of seeing the different views taken of this proposal by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant on the one hand, and the hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the Committee (Mr. Northcote) from those Benches above the Gangway on the other. The Chief Secretary for Ireland stated that it would be very demoralizing to the Guardians, and to all who were connected with the administration of the Poor Law, if they were allowed to entertain the idea that Parliament would come forward from time to time with what the right hon. Gentleman called "Constant aids to the relief of the poor." But he did not see how the Guardians could fail to entertain that idea, from the very nature of this proposal, which, he said, was of a very halting character, and only nibbled with the question they wished to settle. Reference had been made to the exertions of Mr. Tuke; but if hon. Members had studied the figures given by that gentleman, they would see that the Government ought to be prepared to advance a much larger sum of money than that named if they wished to deal with this question effectively. He noticed also, that while there was a general agreement as to the advisability of emigrating families rather than single individuals, there was also a general agreement that the people on the other side of the Atlantic might possibly not be so ready to receive these families. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Rathbone) stated that the Colonizers in Canada and the United States were anxious to get strong men and strong women; but that they were not anxious to get old men and helpless children. If that were so, how were the Government going to make the necessary arrangements? He was sure the Committee would not think he was anxious to obscure the issue before them; but these were practical difficulties in the way of the Government proposal to relieve the congested districts of Ireland, and he was desirous of knowing how the Government intended to grapple with them before he joined in the congratulations which had been offered to them on the strength of their proposal. Emigration by families was not made compulsory by the clause, and if families were to be emigrated rather than single persons, the carrying out of that plan would depend on the efficiency of the rules framed by the Lord Lieutenant. Now, he would much prefer to see the clause so worded as to indicate that it was the desire and intention of Parliament that by some means or other families should be emigrated. Again, he desired to see some direction given in the clause which would enable those interested in the work to go right to those districts which were overcrowded. They knew that Boards of Guardians were partially representative bodies, or, at any rate, whether they were representative or not, they were susceptible of certain influences that might be brought to bear upon them; and he was afraid, unless the scheme of emigration were carefully devised in the manner indicated, that the Guardians would be found offering money to persons who had their passage tickets already in their pockets, or who had received from their friends in America or Canada the means of emigrating. Therefore, he said, if stringent rules were not framed, they would be simply adding their little contribution to the large amount of emigration funds which accumulated in Ireland. Every farthing might be spent, and it might then be found that the money had got into the pockets of persons who did not care whether the people emigrated or not. Under such circumstances, at the end of the year the congested districts would be as badly off as at present. In Ireland, with the decrease of population, there was an absolute increase in the area of uncultivated and waste lands. Now, he said, there must be something wrong when that description could be given of the condition of Ireland. He only wished it were possible to induce that House to enter upon a large scheme for the development of the resources of the country, which would place the unoccupied land in Ireland at the disposal of peasant proprietors brought from the crowded districts. If such a scheme could be carried, he should certainly be willing to receive, as a great favour, a proposal of this kind if it went to the root of the matter. While he appreciated the intention of the Government in bringing in the clause, he was bound to say that unless its scope were enlarged, and unless the sum of money proposed to be given were multiplied by five, the scheme was doomed to failure.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, the Committee would hardly expect him to repeat, at that distance of time, the arguments which were used last year on the subject of the employment of the Boards of Guardians in this matter; but he believed the understanding was that the Board of Guardians would be a proper public body to act if they were willing to fulfil the conditions imposed by the clause of last year. Now, it had been discovered that they could not fulfil those conditions, because, by the Poor Law, they were only able to borrow money which was to be repaid in seven years. That was a matter, then, which plainly had to be rectified by another Act. The experience gained by him since last year had confirmed the opinion he then expressed, that in some of the districts the only practical remedy for the distress existing there was emigration; but, at the same time, they were now in a different position to what they were last year, and he admitted that to act through the Boards of Guardians was much more feasible now than it was then. The people themselves were more anxious to emigrate, and he believed the ratepayers had found that it would be to their advantage to assist them to do so, to prevent the heavy taxation that would otherwise come upon them in future, owing to the increased demands upon the workhouses. The hon. Member who had just sat down had made an objection to this proposal, on, as he said, the ground of its insufficiency. Well, he did not himself pretend to believe that the measure proposed would entirely meet the case; but he thought it would do so to a greater extent than the hon. Member supposed. In the first place, although the distress was very great in some districts, and although it was very clear that in those districts nothing practical could be done for the people to lessen their distress, except by assisting them to emigrate, the people there were, after all, but a small part of the population. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member in saying that Ireland, as a whole, was not over-populated. It might be said that no province of Ireland was over-peopled. There was, in certain districts, undoubtedly, a great portion of the population without the means of subsistence. If you could migrate these people, it would, no doubt, be for their advantage; but he would point out that there was no land ready for them to take, and therefore, unquestionably, they would have a better chance in Canada or the United States of America. The hon. Member said, if they were emigrated, their place would be immediately filled by others as destitute. But he did not think that would be the case. They hoped that they would be able to place the Irish peasant in a better position than he had been in before, and, if their hopes were realized, he would not be likely to leave his district where the standard of living had been raised. The object was to assist a certain number of people to emigrate, so as to put those left behind in a better position, and raise the whole standard of life in the various districts. Some time ago the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) made a speech which had a very great effect. He spoke not only of the love of country held by many small tenants, but of their willingness to work hard, and said that was proved by their going year after year to England and saving the money they there earned, adding that many of them would make a most creditable and hard-working population, of which the country should be proud. He quite agreed with the hon. Member in that; but he thought there were too many of these people, and if some of them were taken away the rest would be able to thrive. The point was, whether what the Government now proposed would be sufficient for that purpose. He rather doubted it; but he was inclined to think it was almost as much as the Government could be expected to do at this immediate time, because they had not only those on this side of the Atlantic to think about, but they must take care they did not glut the market in the United States and Canada. If they sent more out than could be taken, they might give a bad character to emigration and spoil it altogether. He looked at this plan in this way. Under careful superintendence it would be a success; and what more was necessary to be done, or could be done? He agreed with the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) with regard to Boards of Guardians; but he did not think those Boards would be fit to undertake the arrangements for the reception of emigrants in America, and he did not think they would attempt to do it. But he thought the Government would obtain the assistance of private individuals in the matter, and it might fairly be left to the Lord Lieutenant to recommend such rules as seemed best calculated to carry out this work. He had known Mr. Tuke ever since he was a boy. That gentleman's benevolent action in Irish matters was well known, and he was most anxious to put his services at the disposal of the Government. But, of course, the responsibility must rest with the Government; and no Lord Lieutenant would think of referring to any private individual, however benevolent, or able, the real responsibility of taking care that the emigrants were well looked after on the passage. He could only most heartily thank the Government for taking this matter up, and express his belief that this scheme would be one way by which great good would be done to Ireland.

Mr. PARNELL said, he thought he had come reason to complain that this very important matter should be left to the very last moment, and that the Committee should only have received notice this morning of the clause by which the Government proposed to carry out their new scheme of emigration. He could not think the Chief Secretary had justified the course he wished the Committee to take, either by the urgency which he said surrounded the question, or by the nature of the proposals themselves. He could not see, if there was to be any large distress in the districts in the West of Ireland this winter, how a few thousand pounds which would emigrate 20,000 people, or 4,000 families, would have any but a partial effect in alleviating that distress. He thought it would have been better for the Government this winter to have relied on the Arrears Bill and the machinery of the Poor Law, devoting the interval to considering this question and bringing forward a well-digested scheme, instead of the present crude and, as he feared, unworkable scheme. As the Government had invited the Committee to consider these proposals, he supposed they would now move to report Progress, in order that the Irish Members might lay their views before the Committee to-morrow with regard to the scheme.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. BUXTON said, he thought the appeal of the hon. Member could hardly be acceded to, for this Bill, to be of any value, must be used at once. Although he had not been connected with the institution which Mr. Tuke so well represented, he had taken great interest in the emigration movement; and he found in Mr. Tuke's estimate that in some districts the whole population might be induced to emigrate, and he was sure that other districts were in an almost equally bad state. He hoped the Government might be able to enlarge the sum they had named, because £100,000 seemed very small, although Mr. Tuke himself was very well satisfied with the proposal. He believed Mr. Tuke had carefully considered the proposal, and was thoroughly satisfied that it was the best that could be adopted at present. He believed that if the Government pursued their course thoroughly it would meet with every success.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he very much agreed with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but, at the same time, he thought this experiment was well worth trying. What was required to be done in emigration was to relieve the population of adult persons and children. His experience as a Poor Law Guardian was that in the case of excess of population, one of the greatest difficulties was to deal with children. He thought that with regard to the Irish population it was desirable to try this experiment, and when it had been tried to see whether what had been done in the first instance was likely to be successful in the future. The wisest plan was to begin a matter of this kind on a small scale. The Poor Law Guardians in Ireland were so thoroughly alive to the difficulties from which their country suffered that they might be trusted with the small discretion the Government proposed.

MR. BLAKE wished the Chief Secretary for Ireland to give him some information on certain important points. He had himself strongly advocated emigration last year, and did now in certain cases; but the plan of the Government was one of the most undefined and crude schemes he had ever heard of. According to the proposal of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, it was intended that the whole expenditure for the people should be £5 per head. The people were to be sent to America and would have little money in their pockets on their arrival. He did not see how the scheme was to be carried out for £5 a-head, for that would only land the people on the shores of America, and do nothing else for them. A well-defined proposal had been addressed to the Home Government by the Governor General of Canada; and if the Chief Secretary for Ireland could give some assurance that something of that kind was contemplated he should not oppose the present scheme; otherwise he must. The Canadian Government, in their scheme, sympathized, they said, with the Irish people, who were in distressed circumstances, and would joyfully cooperate in a systematic emigration from Ireland. They proposed that means of maintaining emigrants until an homestead had been built for them and the land had been sown should be provided, and undertook to give each emigrant 160 acres of land and the right to 160 more at the current price of the day. He wished to know from the Chief Secretary for Ireland what he was going to do with the emigrants when he got them on the other side of the Atlantic at this rate of £5 per head? Where was the money to come from to make provision for them? Would they be sent to the United States or to Canada? He should like also to know what had become of this excellent proposal of the Government of Canada, and whether it was intended to adopt it in any shape?

Mr. RAMSAY said, the Government had now proposed a plan which would aid in removing the radical cause of discontent in Ireland—namely, the distress suffered by a numerous class of the people. There were masses of occupiers of land living in a state of chronic starvation, and he could not see how it was possible for anyone acquainted with rural populations to fail to see that the transformation of their condition was essential for their peace and prosperity. Disaffection was the only result of such distress; and he was not surprised that Radical Members below the Gangway, considering the numbers requiring aid, complained of the inadequacy of the sum proposed—namely, £100,000. He thought millions, instead of hundreds of thousands, would be required to deal with the people he had referred to, and he thought such occupiers should only be moved in families. He believed the taxpayers would willingly bear this expense if they could see the people freed from the cause of disaffection. He expressed his satisfaction at finding the Government had at last begun to consider the real cause of discontent in Ireland, and he hoped that a more extensive and expansive scheme would be proposed. The Land Act of last year and the Arrears Bill would be fruitless to produce peace and contentment in Ireland; and it had been little better than a waste of time to raise those questions, when no attempt was made otherwise to relieve the distress of the people.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he would appeal to the Government to allow Progress to be reported, as it was impossible at this hour to take a full discussion on the question. This was the most important question with regard to the welfare of Ireland that could possibly be raised.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I had hoped that the Committee would agree to dispose of this clause this evening, and I have an opinion that the Committee is practically unanimous on the subject. Although the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) says this proposal is not satisfactory, I do not understand either from him or from the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) that they intend to offer any opposition to the clause, nor do I gather that they have any intention of proposing Amendments to the clause. The only complaint I have been able to gather in respect to this proposal is that it is inadequate. The hon. Member for the City of Cork says it is inadequate; but this proposal will not in the least degree interfere with the operation of the Arrears Bill, which will operate at the same time, and from the description given of the distressed districts I think it is quite evident that no Arrears Act could deal with the state of things so described. Then, with regard to the Poor Law Guardians, this will only be an additional means by which we hope to relieve destitution. Then the hon. Member for Waterford says the amount per head is inadequate. I must point out that the total sum is £5 as the limit to the Government grant. That is supplemented either by Poor Law Unions or by private persons. Therefore, it does not follow that £5, which I admit by itself would be inadequate, will not be a satisfactory sum. I do not propose to go into this question, and I will only say that I think it is to be regretted that, when the Committee is practically unanimous on the subject as far as I gather, we should not be allowed to dispose of the clause to-night. Of course, this is a matter entirely for the discretion of the Committee; but I think there is a unanimous agreement that this Bill ought to leave the House to-morrow. Whether the discussion is to be concluded to-morrow morning or carried on to the Evening Sitting is a matter, so far as the Government are concerned, of indifference; but I think that the House, having had to absorb so much of the time of private Members during the present Session, would be disposed, if possible, to allow private Members to have to-morrow evening. This is a matter entirely for the House to decide; I can hardly venture to give any opinion on it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 147.]

(*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read,

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will, upon Saturday next, resolve itself into the said Committee."—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he wished to make just one observation upon this Saturday Sitting—he wished to call the special attention of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) and the House to the state of Supply at the present moment. Though he was clearly of opinion that it might be necessary at this time of the Session to sit on Saturdays for express purposes, on the other hand he was also of opinion that now that they had practically disposed of the important Irish measures, they ought not to take any Business of any sort or description until they had made substantial progress with Supply. He did not suppose there ever was a Session in which Supply was so backward as at present. There were 190 Votes this year, and of these they had only voted 13, which left 177 still to be considered and agreed to. Little or no opportunity had been given to hon. Members to bring forward those Motions they wished to bring forward on going into Committee of Supply; and, more than that, if, as seemed likely to be the case, Supply were put off until the beginning of August there would be no time to discuss it. Last year, in the middle of June, they had only 150 Votes to pass; but this year they were worse than ever, having 177 to dispose of. In 1877, 1878, and 1879, very grievous complaints were made by hon. Members now on the Ministerial side of the House with regard to the backwardness of Supply. In those years he had heard the strongest speeches from those hon. Members about the neglect of Supply, and the absolute necessity of bringing it on at earlier periods of the Session, and in denunciation of the manner in which it was put off from time to time, and the manner in which Bills were pressed forward at the expense of Supply. He should like to compare the state of Supply in those years he had mentioned with its condition now. In 1877, on the 18th July, out of all the Votes—[*A laugh*]—the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) might laugh, but this was no laughing matter, and least of all for the hon. Member who was the person who ought to be specially interested in the subject. If the hon. Member considered it a laughing matter, he was probably the only person in the House who did. In 1877, in the middle of July, though great complaints were made, there were only 12 Votes to get. In 1878, by the end of June, there were about 70 Votes to get, and great complaints were made at that time; and in 1879, at about the same period, there were 84 Votes to get, and the complaints then grew louder and louder still. But, taking the last two Sessions, the condition of affairs was that though at the end of June last year, there were 150 Votes to get, there were now, on the 20th of July, no less than 177 to get out of 190. Surely, if Supply was to be brought forward at all, this was making a poor mockery of the thing; and he was surprised that the present Government should have so grievously erred in this particular matter, when they had, no doubt by the exercise of their proper discretion, brought the late Government to task so often for neglecting Supply. If a Saturday Sitting was held it ought to be for the purpose of making progress with Supply. No doubt, it was extremely convenient for the Government to be able to pass two or three Bills that were promised in the Queen's Speech; and, no doubt, one particular object the Government had in view was the satisfaction of the Scotch Members, who had great cause of complaint. The Government wished to pass some Scotch Bills for the purpose of saving their credit should a General Election, unfortunately, take place; but he ventured to say that the interests of the Empire were still greater than the interests of the Government, and this question of Supply ought not to be neglected. If the Government were ready to take Supply on Saturday, he, for one, should be willing to sit in the House for a whole week and discuss it; but he was not willing that the House should hold Sittings on Saturday for the purpose of passing one or two Bills to save their own credit, and not for the purpose of advancing the general interests of the country.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he did not intend to treat the subject he had raised in that spirit of levity which the right hon. Gentleman seemed so strongly to object to. He was perfectly aware that the Business of the House, particularly Supply, was in a condition which reflected no credit on those responsible for it. It would not, however, be perfectly just now to go back into a review of the circumstances that had been mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman; and he thought the House would admit that, at all events during the greater part of the last three months, the House had been engaged in the discussion of most urgent measures, and which the right hon. Gentleman himself would admit could not have been postponed for the purpose of making progress with Supply; and at that period of the Session the right hon. Gentleman should not ask them to go back more than three months. If a Saturday Sitting were taken the question was whether it should be devoted to a Scotch Bill or to Committee of Supply. Though hon. Members who sat near the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) cheered him while he was describing the state of Supply, and what had happened in previous years, he (the Marquess of Hartington) did not think the right hon. Gentleman had received a single cheer when he had said that a Saturday Sitting would be devoted to Supply, and he had no doubt that if a Saturday Sitting for such a purpose had been proposed by the Government, it would have been received with an almost universal storm of condemnation. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to assume that the only object the Prime Minister had in endeavouring to proceed with the Scotch Educational Endowments Bill and some other measures was in order that they might make a figure in the Queen's Speech, and produce some effect in Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman altogether set aside the fact that these measures were promised by the Government, and that a considerable number of Members looked upon them as of great importance. He (the Marquess of Hartington) understood that a great number of Scotch Members were extremely anxious to make progress with the Scotch Educational Endowments Bill—so anxious, in fact, that they were willing that a Saturday Sitting should be devoted to its consideration. This measure, and the Entail (Scotland) Bill, were not Bills which the general body of the House took a very strong interest in; and, therefore, the arrangement was one which the general run of Members

would be able to assent to without inconvenience. He believed that a Saturday Sitting was about the greatest infliction that could be imposed upon the House; and when it was the painful duty of the Government to have to propose such a Sitting, it was incumbent on them to endeavour to make the infliction as little objectionable as possible. He believed, as he had said, that the great majority of Scotch Members were willing to make a sacrifice; but he doubted whether a great number of Gentlemen who were desirous, and very properly desirous, of taking part in a discussion of Supply would care about the Government taking it, and having a comparatively large number of Votes debated in a comparatively empty House. Though they were well aware of the discreditable condition of Supply, the Government could not help thinking that the arrangement they had proposed was really the best that could be adopted.

Colonel ALEXANDER said, that, as an Amendment to the Motion before the House, he would move that the Bill be committed on Monday instead of Saturday, and he proposed to say a few words—he proposed to state, as briefly and succinctly as he could, why, in his humble judgment, the House ought not to be asked on Saturday to discuss this Scotch or any other Bill. It would be in the recollection of the House that on Saturday last Members were brought down at 12 o'clock to keep a House for the Electric Lighting Bill. Some hon. Members were brought down under false pretences and kept there five hours, until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Scotch Bill came on. Hon. Members from Scotland had grumbled a little at that; but their grumbling had been of no avail, for they were only offered "Hobson's choice." They were told that they might either sit that day or the following Saturday; and they naturally, therefore, elected to sit last Saturday. Now, forsooth, they were to have the pleasure of sitting on another Saturday. The fact of the matter was that the grumbles of the Scotch Members had, on the last occasion, been silenced by a little judicious flattery that was administered to them by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella). The right hon. Gentleman had on that occasion appealed to what he was pleased to term the characteristic good sense of Scotch Members. If they desired to get round a Scotchman, they should always appeal to his characteristic good sense. He did not know whether an appeal of this kind would have the same effect on Irish Members sitting below the Gangway on the Conservative side of the House; but, whether or not, it seemed to him that hon. Members would be displaying real good sense by refusing to sit on the sixth day to transact Scotch Business, after they had been sitting five days to transact English and Irish Business. The result of last Saturday's Sitting was anything but satisfactory, for though Scotch Members protested their readiness to sit until midnight, if necessary, as the dinner hour approached they became very impatient, and a lot of hon. Gentlemen from Scotland collected on that occasion behind Mr. Speaker's Chair, and interrupted every Member who attempted to speak with what the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) would call "unearthly noises." Even the hon. and learned Member for Bridport himself on that occasion forsook them and fled. What he (Colonel Alexander) objected to was the bad precedent which this Saturday Sitting would cause. If it were allowed, the Government would put any number of Bills in future into the Queen's Speech, knowing they would only have to get Saturday Sittings at the fag-end of the Session for their discussion. More than that, it was necessary for the House to consider whether, except on very rare occasions, they should consent to sit on Saturdays at all. It appeared to him, with all due respect for Mr. Speaker, that some consideration was due to that right hon. Gentleman's comfort, and also to the comfort of the officers of the House, and those who reported the speeches, and that those who were kept during the whole of the Sittings five days in the week were fairly entitled to rest on the sixth day. There was just one other point on which he wished to speak, and it was this. He desired to remind the noble Marquess that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government was a Scotch Member. He (Colonel Alexander) did not at all complain that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had not attended in his place on Saturday last in his capacity as a Scotch Member, because he thought, looking at the nature of the right hon. Gentleman's labours, that he was entitled to rest on that day. But it certainly did seem anomalous that a most important Scotch Bill should be discussed without the most important of all the Scotch Members being present.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Colonel Alexander,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question."

MR. ANDERSON said, he did not think that the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel Alexander) had altogether correctly described the arrangement come to with regard to last Saturday. As he (Mr. Anderson) understood it, they were told that if they kept a House and assisted in the passing of the Electric Lighting Bill, they would get the remainder of that Saturday and also the first place on the coming Saturday for their Education Bill. The consequence was that last Saturday the Scotch Members had gone through the ordeal of keeping a House for the Electric Lighting Bill; and, although they got a very small portion of that Saturday for their own Bill, they were sustained in their efforts by the consciousness that they were to be rewarded by getting the first place on the following Saturday. Scotch Members did not like Saturday Sittings any more than anyone else; but they felt that this Education Bill was a measure of very great importance, and they were, therefore, willing to make some sacrifice to have it carried. But they earnestly hoped that what had occurred would not be considered a precedent for Scotch Business in future Sessions.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he should vote against the proposal of the Government to come down for a Saturday Sitting.

MR. WARTON said, he must say that the noble Marquess had exercised a very wise discretion in not going back further than three months, because the real root of the difficulty they were now under was the obstinacy of the Premier in insisting upon his attack upon the House of Lords, and upon bringing forward his *Clôture* Resolution. Neither the noble Lord nor the Prime Minister could any more restore the time lost at that period of the Session than could the spendthrift restore the money which he had thrown away in the days of his extravagance. The present condition of Public Business was owing to the action of the Prime Minister, and the Government ought to suffer for it. He (Mr. Warton) desired to get a definite pledge from the noble Marquess as to what Bills would be taken on Saturday.

MR. A. ELLIOT said, that if there was to be a Saturday Sitting, would it be quite certain, and understood beyond all possibility of a doubt, that the Scotch Educational Endowments Bill would be the first Order of the Day?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes; the Bills to be taken on Saturday were mentioned at the beginning of the Sitting.

MR. WARTON: What are they?

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 130; Noes 36: Majority 94.—(Div. List, No. 283.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Committee upon *Saturday* next.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 243.]

(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he trusted the House would allow this Bill to be read a second time. The Bill was brought in last year, but in consequence of the pressure of Business it could not be proceeded with. The details of the measure required discussion in Committee, and as the Bill in some shape must be introduced, he hoped the House would assent to the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, it was quite correct that this Bill was brought in to fulfil a pledge given last Session with reference to the patronage which was vested in the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief Justice. But this Bill went a great deal further than to deal with patronage; it introduced a serious and retrograde alteration in the judicature jurisdiction of this country. It was to be deplored that the House was called upon at 2 o'clock in the morning to consider so serious a change as this Bill contemplated. He did not wish to weary the House, but he would indicate the clauses to which he meant to take objection when the House got into Committee. The chief objection he had was to the clause which enabled the Lord Chancellor to place Puisne Judges in the present Court of Appeal. The Court of Appeal was now working to the entire satisfaction of the country; he believed there was no Court which had given so much satisfaction. It was now proposed to re-introduce the old system of chance Judges sitting in a chance way in the Court of Appeal. The proper way of dealing with this question was to abolish the necessity of the Lords Justices going Circuit. The Chancery Judges ought also to be relieved from going Circuit; in fact, the working part of the present system was not satisfactory to the Profession or the public. He meant to raise this question in Committee; and he also intended to propose in Committee the insertion of a clause in the Bill dealing with that great public scandal, the Long Vacation.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

UNION OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 75.]

(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday next."—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

MR. BIGGAR said, he understood from the Prime Minister that no Bill to which any substantial objection would be raised would be set down for Saturday. Without going into the question of the merits of this Bill, he might say that a large number of Irish Members were very much opposed to this measure, and on this account he appealed to the Government to keep the pledge which the right hon. Gentleman gave earlier in the evening. He would move formally that the Bill be set down for second reading on Monday next.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question."

MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE said, he thought what the Prime Minister said was that one or two Bills of second-rate importance might be taken; he certainly did not convey the impression which the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) seemed to have formed. He (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) did not think this Bill was generally opposed by hon. Members from Ireland; on the contrary, he believed it met with very general approval. He was quite aware it met with the uncompromising hostility of the hon. Member for Cavan; but he would appeal to the characteristic good sense of the hon. Member to give way to the general opinion of his Colleagues. The Bill was approved by hon. Gentlemen from Ireland sitting opposite, as well as by hon. Gentlemen from Ireland sitting below the Ministerial Gangway, and it was not disapproved of by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). Under the circumstances, he trusted the hon. Member would not persevere with his Amendment.

MR. MONK suggested that the Bill should be put down to-morrow at 2 o'clock, and that, in the meantime, the Government should consult the Irish Members, who were now conspicuous by their absence, as to whether the Bill should be taken on Saturday or not.

MR. BIGGAR said, he did not pretend to use the exact words of the Prime Minister; but he did say most emphatically that the right hon. Gentleman conveyed the idea that no Bill to which any substantial objection would be raised would be set down for Saturday.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 78; Noes 5: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 284.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Second Reading upon *Saturday* next.

SALE OF LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. J. N. Richardson, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Corry, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Blake.*)

[BILL 148.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday next." — (*Mr. J. N. Richardson.*)

MR. DODSON said, he would appeal to the hon. Member not to ask that this Bill should be set down for Saturday. The hon. Member would gain nothing by doing so, because the number of Government Bills put down for Saturday was such that no other Bill could be brought on at an hour when the House would consent to sit on Saturday. He thought there was a general understanding on the part of the House that no Bills would be set down for Saturday except Government Bills, and to put this Bill down for Saturday would certainly lead to misconception. He did not make this appeal to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Richardson) in any spirit of hostility to the Bill.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, if private Members were willing to come down on Saturday, he saw no reason why the Bill should not be put down for Saturday.

MR. BLAKE said, there was just a chance of the Bill being reached on Saturday; and, therefore, he advised the hon. Member to persevere with his Motion. The Bill was of very great importance to the people of Ireland.

MR. J. N. RICHARDSON said, he did not regard this as his Bill, but as a Government Bill. It was brought in at the instance of the Government, and at the request of the Government. Thanks to the kindness of certain hon. Gentlemen opposite, he had had no opportunity of getting this Bill read a second time, or even discussed. He must appeal to the Government to allow the Bill to be taken on Saturday.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he would not enter into the question whether this was a Government Bill or not; but he must say it was most important this matter should be settled this year. It was impossible that the Act could be allowed to expire, and he believed there was a general feeling on the part of Irish Members to come down on Saturday with the view of the Bill being then taken. He hoped the Government would agree to the Motion.

Dr. LYONS said, there was a strong feeling in Ireland against the Bill. He did not see what was to be gained by putting the second reading down for Saturday; there was no chance of its coming on, and, therefore, he should vote against the Motion.

Mr. WARTON moved that the second reading be fixed for Monday. Earlier in the evening a distinct pledge was given by the Government that nothing but Government Business would be taken on Saturday. Were they to put any faith at all in the pledges of the Government?

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question."

Mr. DODDS said, he did not often agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Warton); but he did so on the present occasion. If this Bill were put down for Saturday, the inevitable result would be that other Business would be prolonged to prevent this Bill being brought on, and the Government would not succeed in getting through the Business which it was important should be transacted. As a matter of prudence, he appealed to the Government to support the proposition of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton).

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 30; Noes 25: Majority 5.—(Div. List, No. 285.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading upon *Saturday* next.

PAYMENT OF WAGES IN PUBLIC-HOUSES PROHIBITION BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

[BILL 185.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Saturday next." — (*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question."

Mr. BROADHURST hoped the hon. and learned Member for Bridport would not press his opposition to the Bill being read next Saturday. It had already passed the other House, and as it was of very great importance to the working classes, who were anxious that it should become law without delay, he trusted the second reading would be fixed for Saturday next.

Mr. WARTON regretted his inability to comply with the request of the hon. Member for Stoke.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 33; Noes 4: Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 286.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading upon *Saturday* next.

CHURCHWARDENS' ADMISSION BILL.—[Bill 45.]

(*Mr. Monk, Sir Gabriel Goldney.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will, upon Saturday next, resolve itself into the said Committee."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Saturday," in order to insert the word "Monday,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the word 'Saturday' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 12; Noes 11: Majority 1.—(Div. List, No. 287.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 21*st July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment * (192); Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure (190); Ancient Monuments * (197).

Committee—Copyright (Musical Compositions) * (159-204).

Select Committee—*Report*—Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment * (203).

Report—Vagrancy, *now* Casual Poor * (200).

Third Reading — Public Offices Site (184); Consolidated Fund (No. 4) *, and *passed.*

INDIA (HYDERABAD)—MAJOR C. B. EUAN SMITH.

QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Major C. B. Euan Smith, of the Madras Infantry, was First Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad in 1877; whether, as such, he was practically arbiter in regard to successful spoliations effected by the late co-Regent of Hyderabad on the estates of his relatives of the annual value of about £100,000; whether the Under Secretary of State is aware that it was a matter of common rumour in Hyderabad that Major Smith had been corrupted by the said co-Regent, and had suddenly exchanged a position of indebtedness for one of comparative affluence; whether he will ascertain the correctness or otherwise of the allegation published in the London "Statesman" last August—namely, that General A. W. Macintire, C.B., when in command of the British force at Hyderabad in 1878, called on Major Euan Smith to clear himself of the charges thus ascribed to him (General Macintire being, it is said, now in London); whether he will state why Major Euan Smith was removed from Hyderabad to Muscat about July 1879, and whether he will lay on the Table the papers regarding his removal; what services has the said officer performed to earn the title of C.S.I. which has been bestowed on him; and what services has he performed to entitle him to his recent appointment to be British Resident at the Court of the Maharaja of Oodeypore over the heads of many political officers who are his seniors?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: My Lords, in answer to the Questions put to me by the noble Lord, I have to say, taking the Questions in their order—first, that Major C. B. Euan Smith was First Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad in 1877; secondly, Sir Richard Meade, late Commissioner at Hyderabad, formally denied last year that Major Smith was "practically arbiter" in the settlement between Amir I Kabir and his nephews; thirdly, I am aware that rumours prejudicial to Major Euan Smith's character were circulated at Hyderabad two years ago. As no official charges were made against him, no official inquiry was held; but I am able to say that Sir Richard Meade consulted General Macintire on the subject, and that both these officers came to the conclusion that these charges were groundless and unworthy of notice. Fourthly, Major Euan Smith was transferred from Hyderabad to Muscat because he knew Persian, and the appointment carried with it an increased allowance; it was also thought undesirable that he should return to Hyderabad, owing to previous ill-feeling of certain parties against him; fifthly, I cannot undertake to lay upon the Table of the House the Papers relating to his transfer; sixthly, Major Smith received the distinction of C.S.I. in 1872, for good service performed under Sir Frederick Goldsmid, when on a special mission on the Beloochistan border; seventhly, the present officiating employment to Oodeypore of Major Smith was made because he came out just as the temporary vacancy occurred, which was a desirable arrangement both on financial considerations, in acknowledgment of his past services, and the hopes held out to him of special advancement; eighthly, on this account he had been offered the Persian Gulf Residency in 1877, and Oodeypore in 1878: in both cases the appointment fell through, but through no fault of his; ninthly, this information is contained in a telegram received this week from India, in reply to inquiries addressed to the Viceroy by the India Office on the appearance on the Paper of the noble Lord's Questions; tenthly, I may give, in conclusion, Sir Donald Stewart's opinions of this officer's Afghan services—

> "He did admirably under me, and gave me the highest satisfaction in every respect; his services were simply invaluable on the march

from Candahar to Cabul; and in the absence of St. John, there was no officer in the force who could have replaced Euan Smith."

The Viceroy adds—

> "This is the bare and simple truth, and I have the greatest pleasure in bearing testimony to Smith's good work in Afghanistan."

I hope, in conclusion, that your Lordships will think that I have now given a satisfactory answer in regard to the charges made by the noble Lord against this gallant officer.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, that in his answer the noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) had only shifted the responsibility in the case to Sir Richard Meade.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE LAND COURTS—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS.—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD BRABOURNE, in rising, pursuant to Notice—

> "To call attention to the proceedings in the Land Courts established in Ireland under the Irish Land Act of 1881, and to the appointment to sub-commissionerships of Messrs. Cunningham, Weir, Wylie, Davidson, Meek, Greer, and others,"

said, that he had not given the Notice which stood in his name upon the Paper without grave consideration. He had taken no part in the debate which arose a short time since in their Lordships' House, and in which the fringe of that question was touched, because he felt that there was some force in the complaint of the Government that the debate had come upon them without due and adequate Notice. He felt, moreover, that until the final Report of their Lordships' Committee upon the Irish Land Act had been laid upon the Table, together with the whole of the evidence taken before that Committee, the action of the Sub-Commissioners could not be so fully and perfectly discussed as they could all desire. But, on the other hand, if there were mischief and injustice in that action, it must be remembered that it was a mischief and an injustice which were going on daily; and it might be well that the question should be subjected even to an imperfect discussion, rather than that they should leave unnoticed a state of things which was continually aggravating that keen and bitter sense of wrong which was felt by a class of Her Majesty's subjects which had confessedly as a class done nothing to deserve it. He ventured to think that they had all of them come under no slight responsibility as regarded that class. He meant the class of Irish landlords. In 1870 they revolutionized their position. They did so upon the most distinct and explicit assurance from the then and present Prime Minister that the measure which he proposed was a settlement of the question which, to use his own words, would "close and seal it up for ever." There were many men of both political Parties who objected greatly to that measure, but who forebore to press their objection, because they rested upon and were satisfied with that assurance; and their satisfaction was confirmed and increased by the solemn, deliberate, and emphatic manner in which the same high authority declared in the House of Commons that the valuation of rents throughout Ireland by the State was "impossible," that that, as well as the idea of "fixity of tenure," was, in his opinion, to be ranked in the category of extreme demands, to which neither he nor his Colleagues would yield, and which, to use again his own words, "the people of Great Britain would never have agreed to." If, in the early part of the year 1880, he (Lord Brabourne) could have been endowed with the spirit of prophecy—if he could have foreseen that these declarations were so soon to be abandoned, and a second revolution of the land system of Ireland proposed and carried through Parliament by the same Minister, he certainly should not have been there to address their Lordships to-night. For, great as was the honour of a seat in their Lordships' House, it was not an honour which he should have ventured to accept if he could have foreseen that he should feel absolutely bound within so short a time to oppose the policy of the Minister to whose spontaneous kindness that honour was due. But, far above all Party and personal considerations, he held this to be a fundamental axiom of a sound political faith—that it was utterly fatal to the strength, the peace, the good government, and the prosperity of any country in the world that once in every 10 or 12 years her system of Land Laws should undergo a revolution. And he believed, from the bottom of his heart, that the measure which Her Majesty's Government carried last year, in the time and manner of its introduction, and in the provisions which it contained—one of the principal of which he was about to criticize that night—had inflicted an incalculable injury upon the people of Ireland, because it had unsettled their belief in the consistency of British legislation, had encouraged the evil-doers, the idle, and the disloyal at the expense of the loyal, the honest, and law-abiding; it had dislocated the whole framework of the Irish proprietary from the top to the bottom, and, for a time, at least, diminished the stability of British rule in Ireland. And if they were to weather the storm, it was not by shutting their eyes to what was going on, and hugging themselves in the self-complacent delusion that all would come right at last, but rather by scrutinizing carefully the signs of the times, by inquiring with anxiety into the complaints which came to their ears, and, above all, by making known to those who were engaged in the administration of the Land Act that they were working under the supervision of a Parliament which was anxious, indeed, that its own benevolent intentions should be carried out in the spirit in which they were conceived, but which was also determined that the measure which was intended as a measure of justice to one class should not be employed as an engine for the oppression and robbery of another. Now, what were the intentions of Parliament in the constitution of these Land Courts which were to deal with Irish property? He would call into the witness-box an unimpeachable witness in the person of the Prime Minister himself. Mr. Gladstone, on the 7th of April, 1881, in introducing his Land Bill, referred to the Bessborough and Richmond Commissions, and said—

> "Setting aside the single Report of Mr. Bonamy Price, the whole body of the Richmond Commissioners and the whole body of the Bessborough Commissioners, without any exception, are agreed in making a recommendation of the most vital importance—I mean the constitution of a Court for the purpose of dealing with the differences between landlords and tenants in Ireland in regard to rent."—[3 *Hansard*, cclx. 896.]

The Prime Minister then read a passage from the Report of the Richmond Commission, which mentioned no Court, but spoke of—

> "The desire of the tenant for legislative interference to protect him from an arbitrary increase of rent, which desire (say the Commissioners) does not seem unnatural."—[*Ibid.*, 897.]

And here he (Lord Brabourne) would ask their Lordships to note how great the difference was between a Court which was to "protect the tenant from an arbitrary increase of rent" and a Court which was to revise and overhaul rents long since agreed upon between landlord and tenant, which had been paid without complaint for a long series of years, and had been made the basis of charges and settlements which remained untouched by the action of the Court which reduced the rent. The one Court was contemplated by the Richmond Commission; the latter had, unhappily, been the result of legislation. Mr. Gladstone, after speaking of the Court as one to which the entrance should be optional, went on to say—

> "In any case, it ought not to be a one-sided Court. If a Court is to interfere, it must interfere for the purpose of doing justice. Therefore, speaking generally, we cannot lay down the proposition that it is to interfere for the protection and advantage of the tenant alone."—[*Ibid.*, 908.]

The intention, then, of the Prime Minister was that these Courts should do impartial justice between the landlord and tenant; and that while they should protect the tenant from an arbitrary increase of rent, they should also take care that the landlord should not suffer an arbitrary reduction of rents long agreed upon and paid. That being the view of the Prime Minister, and doubtless also the intention of Parliament, what sort of Court would their Lordships have expected to find? Let them remember what grave and delicate functions these Courts had to discharge. They were to arrange and regulate one of those ordinary transactions of every-day life which people had hitherto been thought competent to manage for themselves, and an interference with which was the most extraordinary violation of all the principles upon which this country had hitherto been governed. They were to develop and carry out a policy which was in itself an invasion and a destruction of private rights absolutely unheard of in a free country, and which, to an ordinary mind, closely approximated to a policy of confiscation. For what did this policy say to the landlords of Ireland? It said this—"You are in possession of a commodity, the value of which is greatly increased by the desire which other people have to obtain it. This it is which constitutes that competition which we Free Traders hold to be a healthy and useful thing with regard to all other commodities. But we are going to treat you in an exceptional manner, not because you have taken advantage of competition to rack-rent your tenants, for of that, as a class, we entirely acquit you, but because the Irish tenantry must be made contented, and because there are disloyal and discontented people in Ireland who must be kept quiet by a sacrifice on the part of the loyal and contented. Therefore, this land-hunger—this desire to obtain your commodity, which in every other case, and according to all our principles in commercial life, should render your property more valuable, shall, by special legislation, be made to operate in a manner the reverse and opposite. Your rents shall be arbitrarily fixed by a Court, and the element of competition shall be eliminated from the consideration of the value to be affixed to your property." It would be seen at once that the difficulties of such a Court were great. In fact, they had to do that which the Prime Minister had, in 1870, declared to be impossible. But, in proportion to the difficulties which would attend the task to be accomplished by this Court, the greater should surely have been the care with which its members should have been appointed. One would have thought that no care could have been too great, and that no reasonable expenditure would have been grudged in order to obtain an impartial tribunal, which should command general confidence. What had been the case? He would say nothing to-night about the Chief Commissioners. Certainly, their action at the commencement of their proceedings was scarcely consistent with that of men appointed to hold the scales of equal justice between the two classes of suitors before them—namely, the landlords and the tenants; for they began by issuing a Circular to one of these two classes—namely, the tenants—pointing out the benefits which they would receive under the new Act, and thus giving them a practical invitation to bring their landlords into Court. Mr. O'Hagan, too, in his opening address, pointed out to the tenants that, at the cost of only 1*s*., they could bring their landlords into Court. But he was now dealing with the Sub-Commissioners alone—that was to say, with those Courts of First Instance to which the Commissioners had delegated the powers entrusted to them by the Act. He would then first state what seemed to be the opinion of these Courts among those with whom they had to deal, and then he would inquire how far that opinion was or was not justified. He might quote a vast mass of evidence as to the estimation in which the Sub-Commissioners were held; but he would be content with one quotation, which appeared to embody very fairly the general opinion. It was contained in the answers to three questions given before their Lordships' Committee by Mr. John Young, a landowner, Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant for the county of Antrim—

> "3,087.—You were not opposed to the passing of the Act, as many landlords were?—I thought it a very arbitrary interference with the rights of property that any Court should fix the rent; but I did not contemplate that the fixing of the rents by the Courts would work the evil that it has done. 3,088.—Did you anticipate that the rents would be fixed by the present class of Sub-Commissioners?—No. We have all been greatly disappointed at the class of men appointed. The expectation was that, if Sub-Commissioners were appointed at all, the Chairman of each Sub-Commission would be a lawyer of repute, such as could have aspired to a County Judgeship. Many of them have been practising attorneys; very respectable, perhaps, in their own profession; but they are not a class of men that one expects to see presiding in a Court of Law. 3,089.—Is their experience of the value of land at all what it should be as regards men who have to fix the value for 15 years?—I do not think it could be—and they are fixing the rent now in a time of temporary depression, having no regard whatever to the past, but every regard to what they think to be the certain depression of the future. I think it is a very great hardship to the landlords that, at the very bottom of the value, the rent should be fixed arbitrarily for the next 15 years. It is very different to a voluntary reduction given during a bad year; these reductions are given in what are considered the bad times, and are to continue for 15 years."

Now, let them proceed to inquire—first, as to the class of men who had been appointed as Sub-Commissioners; secondly, into their principles of action and method of procedure; and, thirdly, into the results of their work, so far as they were yet known. And, first, as to the class of men. He knew that there might have been difficulty in finding men fit to undertake the duties of Sub-Commissioner; but he thought that there were two special conditions which should have been scrupulously observed in the selection. First, no man should have been appointed who was at all directly connected either with the landlord or tenant class in the district in which he had to adjudicate; secondly, no man should have been appointed who was an active political partizan, or who had taken a prominent part in any of those county elections in which the contests had largely turned upon land questions—that was, upon questions relating to the differences between landlord and tenant. He regretted to say, however, that the evidence forced him to the conclusion that both of these conditions had been sadly disregarded. He was now about to read to their Lordships a few only of the cases in which complaints had reached him, and he was assured that every word could be fully verified. The first name was that of Mr. Cunningham, who was described in the Return as "practical farmer—land agent." He resided at Buncrana, County Donegal, where he had corn mills. His place of business was in Derry, where he had large stores, and where he attended daily at his office, prior to his appointment as Sub-Commissioner. His firm had a traveller, who had been going about asking for orders in the same district at the time that Mr. Cunningham had been sitting in Court. His mills ground oats, bought at the weekly market from the farmers, either by himself or his agent, and there was a threshing machine attached to the mill, which threshed oats for the farmers for payment. Mr. Cunningham, therefore, was practically dependent upon the tenant farmers whose rents he had to determine; and it was scarcely fitting that such a duty should be allotted to him. He was a respectable man, but a strong partizan, and took an active part in the recent contests for Donegal and Londonderry. The next was Mr. Weir, who was described as a "Justice of the Peace and practical farmer." He was a respectable shopkeeper in Cookstown, County Tyrone, and occupied 26 acres of land. His practical farming, therefore, consisted in farming 26 acres of land. His chief customers were among the farmers. He had had no experience in the valuation of land. He was an active supporter and a nominator of Mr. Litton; a supporter of Mr. Dickson, and the Solicitor General for Ireland, and was a cousin of the latter. He was now on the Down Sub-Commission. The next was Mr. Wylie, who was a barrister practising on the North-West Circuit, of which Strabane and Omagh, where he gave decisions, were the most important places. He was only a yearly Sub-Commissioner, and would retire in November. He had announced his intention of practising again in the district where he had been sitting as Sub-Commissioner. It was from the tenants, and the small attorneys who acted for them, that his employment must come, and he was a strong tenant partizan. It was obvious that his appointment to that district could not command the approval of any impartial mind. The next was Mr. William Davidson, who was described as a "land agent;" but he had been such for two years only. He was formerly, if not at present, a partner in a small timber, slate, and tile yard in Downpatrick, another partner being the brother of the secretary of the Down Tenant Farmers' Association. He was elected Coroner for the Northern Division of the county of Down. The trade of his firm was entirely among the farmers, and he had been a warm supporter of the extreme anti-landlord party. He was now on the Armagh Commission with Mr. Meek; and it would be interesting to know—first, under what circumstances and upon whose application Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, the late legal Sub-Commissioner, was suddenly transferred to the Carlow district; and, secondly, whether his successor, Mr. Foley, had or had not expressed great dissatisfaction at the conduct of his two colleagues. The next case was that of Mr. Garland, "Justice of the Peace and practical farmer." He was a publican, as his father was before him, and also his grandfather, and he still carried on a general country shop under the same roof, and occupied about 60 acres of land. About six years ago, he was elected Coroner, and he (Lord Brabourne) had seen some of his speeches, in which he appealed to the tenant farmers especially to elect him as a "strong tenant-righter," and denounced the landlord power. This was the second Coroner appointed to sit upon the defunct body of landlordism in Ireland. In 1881 Lord

O'Hagan made him a Justice of the Peace, in spite of the refusal of the vice-lieutenant of the county to recommend him. Mr. Garland was a strong Radical partizan, and always took a prominent part in the Tenant's Defence Association. The public-house was a wayside one, as was also the shop, and the principal customers were of the farming class. He now came to the case of Mr. Greer, who was Chairman of the Down and Antrim Sub-Commission from November, 1881, to April, 1882.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) asked the noble Lord, if he would state from what paper he was reading?

LORD BRABOURNE, in reply, said, that he was reading condensed statements, which he had compiled from letters in which the information was given him. [*Ministerial laughter.*] He did not understand the laughter of his noble Friends. To read the letters would take a much greater time.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): The statement does not give the names of the writers.

LORD BRABOURNE: Can the noble Lord expect me to give the names of Irish correspondents? There is too much danger in that.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): We perfectly understand now.

LORD BRABOURNE said, he was perfectly ready to give the noble Lord privately the names of any individuals who supplied the information. Mr. Greer, up to the time of his appointment, was a partner in the firm of Greer and Mullan, practising solicitors at Newry. It was not known if he had still an interest in the firm; but he sat upon cases in which his partner, late or present, appeared as solicitor for the tenant, and in the case of Graham (tenant) *v.* Hall (landlord) he actually adjudicated on a case of his own landlord, reducing the rent from £68 to £55 10*s*. Mr. Greer was the active agent of the Radical Party in Newry until appointed Crown Solicitor. Great complaints were made of the license which Mr. Greer had permitted in his Court to the solicitors for the tenants; and, on one occasion, when the tenant's solicitor cross-examined the landlord upon his alleged immoral life, and this was objected to as having no bearing upon the question of "fair rent," Mr. Greer ruled that in point of law it was one of the "circumstances" of the landlord referred to in the section of the Act dealing with fair rent. That was a sample of the cases brought to his (Lord Brabourne's) notice, in which language of an offensive and improper character had been allowed in Mr. Greer's Court. In another case (Creyston *v.* Nelson) Mr. Greer raised the rent by 3*d*., stating that "the Sub-Commissioners would have raised the rent to a much larger sum, but that the landlord did not ask them to do so." There was an appeal on the ground that the rent ought to be a "judicial rent according to the evidence;" but the Commissioners confirmed their subordinates' decision. Mr. Thomas Meek, described as "practical farmer," was on the Armagh Commission. He was the son of a horsedealer, and was first a small farmer, then a shopkeeper on a small scale in Cookstown, and subsequently a tenant right agitator and an ardent supporter of the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Mr. Law, of Mr. Porter, the Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Dickson, and Mr. Litton, in their several election contests. He was one of the assenters to the nomination of Mr. Porter in December, 1881, and delivered several speeches denouncing the landlords in no measured terms, and upholding the cause of the tenants. He was most extreme in his political views, and at a meeting at Cookstown declared—"My grandfather carried a pike in 1798, and I am a chip of the old block." In other words—"My grandfather was a rebel, and I inherit his opinions." When his neighbours heard that this man had been appointed a Sub-Commissioner, they thought it was a joke; and in his native place, Stewartstown, they frequently went in "to hear the nonsense he talked." He gave sworn evidence of the value of land in his own district, before the Cookstown Sub-Commissioners, who quite disbelieved and set aside his evidence, fixing the rents in once case at 25 per cent, and in other cases 36 per cent above his sworn valuation. This was the man of whom and of whose special disqualifications the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Chief Commissioner must have had full knowledge, and whom they had suffered to be appointed upon the Armagh Sub-Commission to value the estates of loyal men. It was no wonder that the decisions of this Sub-Commission gave the most profound dissatisfaction, and that this appointment was regarded as one which was simply disgraceful to those who were responsible for it. He (Lord Brabourne) might mention that out of 237 cases in which this Sub-Commission had fixed rents in the Union of Armagh, 167 appeals—or 70 per cent—had been lodged. He was compelled to say that he thought it a very unfortunate thing that three days after the poll had closed in Derry, three gentlemen who were among the most active supporters of the Solicitor General for Ireland should have been appointed Sub-Commissioners. In his opinion, it was a very great misfortune that small country attorneys, publicans, and farmers of 30 or 40 acres, or those who had taken an active part in attacks upon the landlords, should have been appointed to value estates in Ireland. He would put to their Lordships a simple and sober question—how would any of them like to have their estates valued, and their English rents fixed by the small attorneys in their country towns, by publicans, by men who farmed 30, 40, or 50 acres of land, or by prominent members of the "Farmers' Alliance," who had taken an active part in county elections against what was called the "landlord interest?" Yet that, and worse than that, was what Irish landlords had to submit to. His noble Friends might tell him that there was great difficulty in finding good men for the Commission; but every exertion should have been used by the Government to obtain the services of eminent professional valuators, of whom there were many in Ireland. If these men had been appointed, and had been assisted by barristers of standing and repute, there might have been a chance of obtaining an impartial Court. It would have been cheaper in the end to have had such men, and paid them higher remuneration; because their decisions, having greater weight, would have promoted the settlement of cases out of Court; but to expect impartiality from the class of men who had been appointed was to expect that which was never probable, and the existence of which was disproved by a mass of evidence. He now came to the principles on which these gentlemen had acted and their methods of procedure, and here he was encountered upon the threshold by a difficulty of no ordinary magnitude, for the Sub-Commissioners had confessedly acted upon no principle at all. The Commissioners, when examined, and closely pressed, before their Lordships' Committee, owned that they had some glimmering idea of a principle upon which to shape their own course of action; but they had entirely failed to communicate it to their subordinates. It was a serious thing that 30 or 40 men should be turned adrift to assess fair rents without any principles to guide them. The Bessborough Commission had attempted to give some definition of a fair rent. They said that the annual amount, and the value of the produce of the land, should be taken into account as one ingredient in fixing the fair rent. They also said that where rent had been paid for any 10 years during the last 20 years, that was a fair point to start from, taking from that point all the matters which might show the propriety of increasing or reducing such rent. No principle of any kind had been laid down, however, by the Commissioners under the Act. He (Lord Brabourne) maintained that where competition was entirely excluded, it was impossible to obtain the actual value of any commodity. Under the Land Act, a tenant could go into the open market and sell his tenant right (subject only to the landlord's right of pre-emption, which very frequently he would be unable to exercise) for the best price he could; but a landlord was excluded from competition. He did not mean that a landlord should put his farm up to auction; but that the relative value of a farm where competition for the tenancy was excluded was less than that of one where it was admitted. The value of land was more relative than absolute. It was worth more to one man than to another. An adjoining farmer might have land intersecting a farm, or he might have a small holding, and find that the addition of another would make both pay him better; or there might be a tradesman who had saved money in business, and who wanted a farm, not only for profit, but for health and recreation. To such men a farm would be of more value than to others; and half-a-hundred similar instances might be adduced. But supposing they took the test of the Bessborough Commission and ascertained the annual amount of the produce and its value.

Still, without a guiding principle laid down, you were getting no nearer the mark. One man thought a third of the produce of a farm, and another that a fourth of the produce, should go to the landlord, whilst another thought he was only entitled to a sixth part. The result, of course, was that each man was guided by his own individual opinion, and the greatest inequality prevailed in the decisions of the different Courts. It was idle, however, to talk further of principle where none existed, and he would come to the method of procedure before the Sub-Commissioners. There were certainly some Courts in which the proceedings were conducted with great care. There were others in which the evidence appeared to be of the loosest character. Most of the tenants' witnesses as to value were their own neighbours, who were waiting for their own cases to come into Court. One would think that no great value would be attached to that evidence; but he was afraid more weight was accorded to it than would be accorded by their Lordships. Sometimes the Sub-Commissioners viewed the land and sometimes they did not. And when they viewed it, he found they often viewed in half-a-day what it would take a professional valuer four or five days to value; and they viewed land in bad weather—sometimes when part of it was under water, and when it was impossible to judge of its real value; and this brought him to another point. It was said that the Sub-Commissioners were to take their vacation in August and September, which was the very best time for seeing what crops there were, and when tricks could not so easily be played. No one would grudge their holidays to these gentlemen; but it would be better that they should have double the time in the winter, when the work of surveying could not be properly done. In their Report Lord Bessborough's Land Commission said in their 64th paragraph—

> "If anything has been clearly established on evidence during this inquiry, the fact that the present Government valuation is not a trustworthy standard for the settlement of rents has been most thoroughly demonstrated. Fair as it may have been for the purposes of local taxation in the years when it was made, the evidence shows that even then it was considered as below the fair letting of the land. Those who argue to the contrary ignore the fact that, while there was nowhere any motive at work to cause the officials employed to value too highly, there was a universal pressure to force down the valuation, to which it was not unnatural for the valuators to yield. No injustice was done to anybody, while everybody was satisfied, so long as the under-estimate was general and uniform."

All the evidence taken before the present Committee upon the Irish Land Act entirely confirmed that view; and, keeping this steadily in view, it was well to inquire how far the results of the action of the Land Courts and the decisions of the Sub-Commissions compared with the universally-acknowledged truth that this—"Griffith's valuation"—was a considerable under-estimate of a fair rent. He (Lord Brabourne) would refer to some cases in which judicial rents had been fixed to show the operation of the Land Act of last year on that question. He would take 61 cases that were decided with reference to holdings that were parts of estates in the counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Carlow, Clare, and Donegal. The whole rent concerned was £1,124—the Poor Law valuation £795, and the judicial rent fixed at £822. If he (Lord Brabourne) had manipulated the figures, and eliminated only one estate, the judicial rents of the whole were far below the Poor Law valuation. On one estate, of which only two cases were tried among the above, the present rent was £628, while the Poor Law valuation was £700. The rents had been paid punctually without abatement for upwards of 100 years. The number of acres was 575. The reduction made by the Sub-Commissioners in the rents of these 61 cases was, in the aggregate, 27 per cent. In the case of one farm on Sir Richard Wallace's estate the Sub-Commissioners had reduced the rent from £101 to £82 4*s*., the Poor Law valuation being £125; in the case of another farm on the same estate they reduced the rent from £83 14*s*. to £69; and in the case of a third farm on the same estate they reduced the rent from £61 to £46, the Poor Law valuation in the two latter cases being much in excess of the rent before its reduction by the Sub-Commissioners. There had been no increase in these three rents for 70 years and upwards. The landlord had appealed. Then, to show for what small cause landlords were brought into Court, here was a case in which the rent paid since 1825 was £22 11*s*. The Sub-Commissioners lowered it to £18. On appeal the sworn Court valuator valued it at £21, and the Court of Appeal fixed it at

£20. He would now refer to the case of a tenant named Stewart, in the county of Donegal. This man had 31 acres of land at a rent of £16. It was proved that for only nine acres he made £36 a-year by letting it in conacre for £4 per acre, and the Sub-Commissioners stated that they thought he would be able to continue that for 15 or 16 years to come. Yet this man's rent was kept at £16, he having brought his landlord into Court without the slightest reason, so that the Sub-Commissioners actually expressed their doubt whether they ought not to raise the rent. Of course, if rents were not raised to their judicial value, in such cases there was nothing judicial in the decision, and tenants were encouraged to drag their landlords unnecessarily into Court. With reference to cases on Lord Clanricarde's estate in Galway, about 50 cases were decided in May this year. The Poor Law valuation of the whole had been £811, the present rent £882, or about 8½ per cent over that valuation, and the judicial rent was fixed at £799 11*s*., or 1½ per cent below the Poor Law valuation. As to the case of Captain Callaghan, that was an old estate in the County Clare. The rents had been punctually paid for a great number of years. Upon the 5th of June 27 cases were tried at Killaloe. A rental of £813 was reduced to £552, or something more than 31 per cent upon the old rents. One other case he must mention, because it bore very strongly upon the inequalities of the decisions given by the different Courts. At Strabane, in February last, 20 cases from the Altnachree estate were heard before Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Comyn, and Mr. Mahoney. Three cases were dismissed, and upon the others 16 per cent was given in reductions from a rental of £442. The Commission was changed before April, and the three gentlemen above-named were replaced by Mr. Wylie, Mr. Cunningham, and Mr. Ellis. About 20 more cases were tried from the same estate, and he was assured they were the same class of cases, the same scale of rents, and the same description of land. But the new Commission brought down a rental of £557 to £389, being a reduction of 30 per cent. How could men be expected to sit down quietly under such a state of things? Of course, there was an appeal, but the expense of appealing was considerable, and the result not always certain. Witness two appeals tried at Derry, before Judge O'Hagan and Mr. Litton. In a case heard on appeal at Derry, before Judge O'Hagan and Mr. Litton, the judicial rent fixed by Sub-Commissioners at £33 was confirmed, although the valuation of the sworn Court valuer was £39; and in two other cases the Court of Appeal fixed the rents at £562 and £352 respectively, although the valuation of the sworn Court valuer was £675 and £466 10*s*. respectively, the old rents having been £726 and £470. In two cases heard on appeal before Judge O'Hagan and Mr. Vernon, at Belfast, the judicial rent was fixed at £63 and £44, although the valuation of the sworn Court valuer was £70 and £58; and in the former case, the Sub-Commissioners having reduced the old rent to £55 10*s*., there appeared a dark suspicion that the two Commissioners had differed, and simply split the difference between that amount and the valuation of their own valuer. In the latter case Judge O'Hagan had said it was an "extraordinary and infatuated act" of the tenant to bring his landlord (Lord Kilmorey) into Court. He had a very cheap farm, and "the very lowest rent they could impose was £44." But why should a man who had acted thus have the "very lowest rent," when a proper judicial rent should have been fixed? His noble Friend the Lord Privy Seal would probably ask him what practical good he hoped to obtain by ventilating that subject to-night? He would endeavour to answer. The question was of far more importance than could be answered in the mere inquiry whether the reductions made by the Sub-Commissioners were fair or unfair. Harsh, cruel, and unjust as he (Lord Brabourne) believed them to be, if they were likely to settle the Land Question upon a firm and durable basis, he believed the landlords were imbued with a spirit sufficiently loyal and patriotic to submit even to that which was ruin to some and injury to all if it would obtain peace for Ireland. But the agitation to which the establishment of the Land Commission was one of the unhappy concessions was based on wider and broader demands than those which could be satisfied by the settlement of the Irish land system upon any basis which would preserve the present relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland, even in a strained and unnatural condition. That the land of Ireland ought to become the absolute property of its cultivators; that landlordism ought to be abolished, and that Ireland ought to be freed from the rule of England—these were the demands which had been formulated by the authors and leaders of that agitation. Those demands were yet unsatisfied, and although the voices which asked them were not loud and urgent at that moment, that was rather as a matter of policy than because they were relinquished or forgotten. The spirit cropped up now and again, as, for instance, when the landlords of Ireland had lately been called a set of thieves in "another place," and it was noticeable that the statement was not ruled to be out of Order. Not long ago, also, the Queen's Government was called an alien Government by an Irish Representative, and not one Minister rose to refute and denounce such an outrageous statement. Did the Government really believe that the reductions already made would content the Irish tenantry, and put a stop to the trade of the agitator? The whole experience of history negatived and falsified such a belief. What would be the language of the agitators to the tenants now? They would say—"See what has come of following our advice. In 1870 a great Minister told you that the Land Question would be closed and sealed up for ever. We told you to agitate. You agitated, you 'Boycotted,' you refused to pay your rents—and the consequence was that, in 1881, the question was re-opened and re-settled upon terms more favourable to you. Can you doubt your policy now? You have the same men to deal with as you had before. You found them squeezable then—you will find them squeezable again. Agitate—'Boycott'—hoist the 'no rent' flag. A General Election cannot be far off, when the Irish vote will be essential to the Government. Press them hard, and as it has been in the past doubt not that so it will be in the future." Did any noble Lord doubt that that advice would be given? Did no noble Lord fear that it would be followed? He had brought this subject forward because he held that immediate action should be taken and an opportunity given to those who were interested in the matter to challenge, if they could be challenged, the statements which were everywhere made respecting the conduct of the Sub-Commissioners. The two objects which he had in view were that wrong-doing might be exposed if there had been any, and, in connection with any fresh measures of relief, that their Lordships might refrain from giving the Commissioners additional powers, except with such restrictions as should render impossible a repetition of the evils of which he had complained. The Prime Minister had not long ago concluded a speech by saying—"Let justice be our guide!" But what, he asked, could Irish landlords think of the justice of the Government? Let those answer who, having invested money in Irish land upon the faith of a Parliamentary security, and bought rents fixed by a Court specially established by Parliament for the purpose, found themselves plundered and robbed, as a punishment for their credulity in trusting to the good faith of a British Parliament. Let those answer, too, who, having inherited or acquired land upon which the rents had been duly paid for many years, and whose predecessors had created certain burdens upon the basis of their rents, now found their rents arbitrarily reduced by a Court which, if it had the will, had not the power, to reduce, at the same time, the burdens which were left to ruin them. He (Lord Brabourne) craved pardon for having detained their Lordships with so long a statement. He was not an Irish landlord, and the only interest which he took in this matter was such interest as any man might feel when seeing a certain class of his fellow-countrymen treated with manifest injustice. Of course, he did not accuse the Government of wishing to do injustice to anyone, and he knew well the benevolent intentions of the Prime Minister; but benevolence sometimes misled people, especially when it was exercised at the expense of others. Nor did he believe that anyone more than the noble Lord (the Lord Privy Seal) desired the welfare and prosperity of Ireland. But in the legislation of the last few years the Government had abandoned principle and been guided by the expediency of the moment, and they had treated the Irish people as nurses treated fractious children, caressing them at one moment and threatening them with chastisement at another. The lavish concession of one moment had been succeeded by the spasmodic severity of the next. That being so, could they wonder that the whole of Ireland was unsettled and agitated, and that insecurity of life had followed insecurity of property? In conclusion, regret it as he might, he felt bound to express the opinion that no long time could elapse before the verdict which the country would pass upon the Irish policy of Her Majesty's Government would be that it was a policy which had discredited a Ministry and demoralized a people.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, that his noble Friend on the Cross Benches (Lord Brabourne) had truly told them that he was not an Irish landlord. That fact, indeed, was plain enough from his speech and his want of knowledge of Irish affairs. But, though his noble Friend was not an Irish landlord, his ardent zeal in the defence of the landlords of Ireland—who, by the way, as it always appeared to him (Lord Carlingford), were very well able to take care of themselves—had led him to do some unusual things. It had led him to repeat, in fact and in substance, a question which had already been raised in the early part of the Session by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Waterford), and to make attacks upon the same individual Commissioners whose actions and antecedents had been brought before the House on that occasion, and repeatedly brought to the notice of the other House of Parliament. The noble Lord's zeal had also led him to make a speech which was 12 months too late, as it was evidently a speech which ought to have been delivered on the Motion for the second reading of the Land Act of last year. For his part, he (Lord Carlingford) at the present time declined to discuss the policy and principles of that Act. The proper conclusion to the speech of his noble Friend ought to have been a Motion for the repeal of the Act. When his noble Friend should have the courage to take that course the Government would be prepared to answer him. It would, however, be difficult to argue the matter with his noble Friend, even if he felt inclined to do so, because between them there was no common ground. His noble Friend looked upon recent legislation as the work of the Evil One, and as amounting to spoliation, which, to say the least, was not very complimentary to their Lordships' House, who passed the Bill into law; while he (Lord Carlingford), on the contrary, looked upon it as a necessary, though stringent, measure of Land Reform in Ireland—[*Laughter*]—a measure, however the noble Lord might laugh, which, in his (Lord Carlingford's) conviction, as well as that of many impartial judges in Ireland of all shades of political opinion, was rendered absolutely essential by the faulty nature of the Irish Land Law, which was so ill-adapted to the conditions and circumstances of that country, and so alien to the practice of good landlords, that many of them, for the benefit of their tenants, had practically changed the law or put it on one side. He had believed before the passing of the Land Act, and he believed still, that the necessity for a reform—and a radical reform—in the Irish Land Laws was so great that a refusal of that reform by the Government or Parliament would have left no ray of hope for the future of Ireland. He assumed, therefore, that the present debate was not a debate on the Irish Land Act, but a discussion of the way in which the Act had been administered. He had to make another protest against some part of his noble Friend's speech, in that he virtually made that House a Court of Appeal from the decisions of the Irish Land Court. He thought that was obvious from the statements that had been made. His noble Friend had let him know, within the last two or three days, that there were certain cases he would mention, so that he might be prepared with explanations and replies; but was it possible for their Lordships to deal, with any semblance of justice, with the cases his noble Friend had brought before the House? Even if he had the full notes of the Sub-Commissioners before him, it would be impossible for him to do justice to their decisions, or to call upon their Lordships to sit in judgment upon them. Parliament had created a special Court of Appeal for the purpose; and, however much noble Lords on the other side might sneer at the appointments of the original Commissioners—and he had observed that even the new appointment that had been made—that of Viscount Monck—had not escaped a sneer in "another place"—the Government were convinced that it was impossible to have an Appeal Court more deserving of confidence than that presided over by Mr.

Justice O'Hagan, in conjunction with Mr. Litton and Mr. Vernon. He therefore protested against those sneers. Some of the cases which the noble Lord had mentioned had not yet been heard by the Appeal Court; but others had been heard, so that his noble Friend, in the one instance, called on the House to anticipate the Court of Appeal, and, on the other hand, to reverse the decisions of that Court. He would now come to the attack that had been made upon several of the Sub-Commissioners. He was not sure that he could remember the names of all who had been attacked; but he was agreeably surprised at not finding a larger number, because he had been told by his noble Friend that his grievances against the Sub-Commissioners had been growing every day. His noble Friend seemed to have made himself a kind of "lion's mouth" to receive all sorts of personal charges which people who were interested or thought themselves aggrieved might send to him. That was the only view he could take of the great mass of matter from which the noble Lord had selected cases which he had brought before the House. As to the Sub-Commissioners, he would repeat what he had said on a former occasion—that he knew the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. W. E. Forster) had taken the utmost pains to make a proper selection of men. He knew that by inquiry, by personal interviews, by constant communication and consultations with the Land Commissioners themselves, without whose concurrence he believed he never acted in one single case, and whose objections would have been fatal, his right hon. Friend had done everything a man could do to appoint thoroughly capable men; and he believed that, on the whole, in spite of all the stories that his noble Friend had told of them, Mr. Forster had been successful in his choice. He could almost have wished that his noble Friend had been still in the House he had so lately quitted, as then he would have had the advantage of making his attacks in the presence of the right hon. Gentleman who had made those appointments. In that case he would have been answered by his (Lord Carlingford's) right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster) himself, whereas the answers he could give in this House could only be at second hand. With regard to the personal character and abilities of the Sub-Commissioners, it was the fact that Mr. Meek, who was a practical farmer, an arbitrator, and valuer of land, did give his evidence as valuer before one of the Sub-Commission Courts before his appointment, and that his valuation was considered by the Sub-Commissioners a low one, and that they fixed a rent considerably above his valuation; but it by no means followed that a gentleman of that kind, who was likely to take a favourable view of his client's case, would act unjustly as an arbitrator. It was like the case of an engineer who might, on one occasion, give evidence in Courts of Justice, and, on another occasion, sit as an arbitrator. He could only say that Mr. Meek's case was very carefully examined by Mr. Forster, who had several interviews with him, and formed a very favourable opinion of his capacity and character. He had also high recommendations, including one from a large landowner and a Conservative, Sir William Lenox Conyngham, who bore very strong testimony to his fitness for the office of Sub-Commissioner. If Mr. Meek had committed any errors, and put too high a value on the tenants' interests, no doubt they would be corrected by the Court of Appeal. The next name he would mention was that of Mr. Davidson. His case had been before their Lordships on a former occasion; and, as regarded him, it might be said that he was a man who was also highly recommended. He had been a practical farmer, a magistrate for County Down, and a Coroner for the county, and had been strongly recommended by persons belonging to both Parties in the district—by Lord Castlereagh, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Mulholland, and gentlemen of that class. He now came to the Tyrone Sub-Commission, of which Mr. Wylie was the legal member, and Mr. Cunningham was one of the other members. He was surprised to find that his noble Friend had been instructed by his correspondents to attack the capacity and impartiality of the legal Commissioners. He had been under the impression that no fault had been, or could be, found with the appointment of the legal Commissioners, who, as in the instance of Mr. Wylie, were men of high reputation and standing at the Bar, and he did not think that his noble Friend had any right to talk about low attorneys as he did.

LORD BRABOURNE: I said small attorneys.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he thought it amounted to very much the same thing; but, little or big, there were only two solicitors appointed — Mr. Greer and Mr. John George MacCarthy—both of whom were men of the highest standing in their Profession. The only fact that he knew of that could be brought against Mr. Wylie was, that he was a member of the North-West Circuit of Ireland, and that he might possibly practise there in future years; but the reason he and others were appointed in that part of Ireland was that it was found absolutely necessary for the work of the Land Court in Ulster that gentlemen should be selected who had some knowledge of the Ulster tenant custom. They found the greatest complaints among the Ulster men when gentlemen were brought from the South without any knowledge of the custom. That had, no doubt, been a difficulty; but the Land Commission had the most perfect confidence in Mr. Wylie, as had everyone who knew him at the Bar; they had not the smallest suspicion that he could possibly swerve one inch from his duty, because he happened to be a practising barrister on the same Circuit. But there was really nothing in such suspicions as that. They were not wanting on the other side of the question; they were precisely on a par with, and not in the least more worthy of regard than, those constantly produced by extreme advocates of the tenants in "another place." Such insinuations were very like what was said last night in "another place" with respect to the appointment of the noble Viscount near him (Viscount Monck), who was objected to on the score that he was a landlord, and had strong ideas on the subject of crime in Ireland. These insinuations, which might be made by both sides upon these burning questions, were not worthy of their Lordships' attention. Mr. Cunningham sat upon the same Commission with Mr. Wylie, and there was nothing in his record which should raise any doubt as to his competency and impartiality. He was a partner in a firm of corn merchants; he had no vote, and had nothing to do with the Derry Election; he had no business connection in the district or county in which he was acting, and the tenants were strangers to him. With respect to the action of the Tyrone Commission, he understood his noble Friend impeached it on the ground that, whereas a former Sub-Commission had made reductions in rent, the present one had made still larger reductions; but, to judge with the slightest fairness of the matter, they must know the nature of the cases which the Commissions had to deal with. He had a note from a friend of his who was the County Court Judge of Tyrone, and he said—

> "I made it my business to inquire into the subject, and in no case did I hear that the Sub-Commissioners had reduced the rents too much; while I heard many statements as to their not having gone far enough. Of course, I do not mean that everyone was satisfied. That would be impossible; but I did not hear any complaint to substantiate the statement that rents were reduced too much."

As to Mr. Garland, he was perfectly competent by training and education for his position. He (Lord Carlingford) could hear nothing against him except that he was formerly connected with a large country store, a general shop, to which at one time a public-house had been attached. He was a magistrate of Armagh, was coroner for the county, had ceased to have any connection with the public-house seven years ago, and, upon his present appointment, had given up his connection with the store. But that which really qualified him for the appointment was the fact that he was largely engaged in farming, and had a most complete knowledge of the value and tenure of land. In the South Mr. Rice was a large landholder, holding under a long lease, and he believed that all who knew that gentleman would say that he was a thoroughly competent, straightforward, honourable man. He was removed from Cork to another county, not because of his conduct, or that there was any fault to be found with the manner in which he had discharged his duties, but simply to avert that vague kind of suspicion of which they had heard so much that evening. He was informed that the only quarter in which Mr. Rice's appointment was unpopular was with the Land League, and that he had incurred the displeasure of that organization, because he had held aloof from its proceedings. A great deal had been said about Mr. Weir in "another place;" but the charges made against him had been answered again and again. The letter of recommendation which was given him by the Solicitor General for Ireland was given at a time when there was no question of any election at Derry. Mr. Greer was one of the most eminent solicitors in the North of Ireland, a man of the highest position in his Profession, and his appointment was received with a chorus of approval from all quarters; and, if he (Lord Carlingford) thought it worth while, he could read many letters from the highest authorities in that gentleman's favour. He took no part in dealing with the tenants of Major Hall, because he was the lessee of the site of a villa on the estate; but a tenant upon that property who was so ill-advised as to go into Court had his rent increased, and it was still further raised on appeal. With regard to the general action of the Land Courts, the noble Lord gave the House a number of particular cases, into which he (Lord Carlingford), for the reasons he had already stated, would not attempt to follow him. The truth was that the action of the Land Courts could not be judged either by the public or by the House except as a whole, and upon general considerations. There were various ways of testing that action, it was right that it should be carefully examined, and he had endeavoured to test it by every means in his power. In the first place, he would compare the action of the Sub-Commissioners and of the County Court Judges. The average reduction of rents made by the Sub-Commissioners down to a very late day had been 21 per cent upon the rentals that came before them; whereas the reductions by County Court Judges had been 22 per cent upon the rentals that had come before them. It appeared, therefore, at all events, that the County Court Judges had made not less, but actually greater reductions, than the Sub-Commissioners. He took next the case of the rents that had been settled out of Court by arrangement between landlord and tenant, and he was happy to say that those cases were very numerous, and were becoming more enormous every day. The percentage of reductions upon these rents was not very different; it amounted to 18 per cent, as against the 21 per cent in the case of the Sub-Commissioners' Courts. Next, he would take the appeals from the Sub-Commissions and the County Courts. So many appeals were now heard that they could fairly test the action of those Courts by the decisions of the Court of Appeal. Up to a recent date the Appeal Courts had heard 416 cases, and the average increase upon the whole of those cases amounted to only 3 per cent and a fraction. In some cases they had considerably raised the rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioners; but in a large number no change had been made. His noble Friend, as usual, spoke of the indiscriminate reduction of rent. He seemed to think that these Sub-Commissioners set to work to reduce rents indiscriminately down to some standard of their own, or, he should rather say, without any regard to the circumstances of the different cases, and the nature of the rentals with which they had to deal. He (Lord Carlingford) contended that there was not the smallest shadow of evidence for that charge; on the contrary, all the evidence they had tended the other way. It was very difficult indeed to attach a distinct meaning to the charges made; but they amounted to this—that the cases already decided by the Commissioners represented the average reduction of rent that would take place all over Ireland, and that the landlords who had not yet been taken into the Court would have their rents reduced in the same way. There was no ground whatever for that apprehension. The presumption was that the over-rented tenants would be the first to seek the benefits of the Act, and he thought that they would find, except in the cases in which the Land League had exercised an influence, that the tenants who were reasonably rented did not take their landlords into Court. Of course, there were exceptions. There were a certain number of foolish men who ran the risk of endeavouring to obtain a reduction even of reasonable rents; but anyone who looked at the rents fixed would find a considerable number of cases in which tenants had failed to obtain a reduction of rents, and in which rents had been raised. Upon that he should like to give them what he thought was another interesting test as to the action of the Commission. This had been furnished him by a friend who had taken great pains on the subject, and who had made a very careful and a very able analysis of it. The comparison was this. Most of their Lordships would know that in the autumn of 1879 a Committee of Irish landlords was formed called the Irish Land Committee, which, at great labour, provided a great deal of valuable information for the two Commissions which were then sitting. Their Report contained, amongst other things, a table of the rents over a very large area of Ireland—some 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 acres — and it stated what percentages of those rents were found to be under or over the Poor Law valuation. It appeared that upon that large area there was only a percentage of between 6 and 7 per cent of the holdings let at rentals which were 40 per cent and upward above the Poor Law valuation. On the whole, there was only that small part which was let at that apparently high rental. By way of comparison, his informant had taken all the rents which had been fixed up to this date by the Land Commissioners. And what did he find? He found that the holdings which had hitherto been dealt with by the Land Commissioners had been paying, upon the average, a rent of no less than 43 per cent above the Poor Law valuation. The conclusion, therefore, was that there was only a very small proportion indeed of the area in the tables of the landlords' committee which was let at the average rent of those holdings which had hitherto come into the Court. He could not conceive of a comparison which could throw more light upon the case. The same document showed this fact also, in the same conclusive way—that an immense percentage of the land of Ireland was now let at rentals which were as low as the average of judicial rents which had hitherto been fixed by the Commissioners. He had again to repeat what seemed to be lost sight of—that in the nature of things the worst cases were sure to come first. With all these facts before them, he did not see how it could be said that the Commissioners had been indiscriminately reducing rents in Ireland. He could not agree with his noble Friend, if he thought he had done a public service by bringing forward this question. He did not believe that their Lordships would think it of advantage that these Land Courts should be discredited. It was essential to the restoration of peace and order in Ireland, and for the safety of landed property itself, that the Courts under the Land Act should continue to do their duty; and he himself had confidence that those Courts, controlled by the Court of Appeal, would perform their work fairly and impartially, and according to the intentions of Parliament.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN said, he thought that the answer of the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal to the able speech of his noble Friend (Lord Brabourne) had been a most lame and impotent conclusion. The noble Lord had certainly put the House in possession of a number of his convictions with respect to the excellence of the Court of Sub-Commission under the Land Act; but he had totally avoided the question raised by his noble Friend, whether fit and proper persons had been appointed as Judges under the Act, or whether it was just to appoint men for the work who had strong partizan views. The noble Lord had given the House no sort of information with regard to the Sub-Commissioners who had been referred to. He (the Duke of Abercorn) had nothing whatever to say personally against either Messrs. Cunningham or Wylie. Both of them, doubtless, were excellent men in private life; but the noble Lord was entirely misinformed as to the former when he was told that Mr. Cunningham had no mercantile connections with Londonderry. On the very day on which he sat in Castle Derg, his traveller was soliciting orders from the tenants in the same town, and the place was only 12 Irish miles from his office in Londonderry. As regarded Mr. Wylie, he (the Duke of Abercorn) had nothing to say against his character; but it was not the less true that he was a practising barrister of the North-Western Circuit, and that he had intimated his intention to return to practice at the end of this year, when, no doubt, he would be more than human if he did not look to receiving briefs from the solicitors and farmers who came before him.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): And the landlords also.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN doubted it. After the promise given last year, that men would be appointed without a strong partizan bias, he thought the conduct of the Government in appointing men to judicial positions in such circumstances of these was contrary to all precedent and to impartiality and justice.

Lord DUNSANY said, the noble Lord opposite (Lord Carlingford) looked at things through rose-coloured spectacles; he seemed to imagine that Irish landlords were happy under the present *régime*. The action of the Sub-Commissioners reminded one of what took place during the French Revolution. The French Revolutionists only cut heads off, and the Sub-Commissioners cut off fortunes, with equal levity and injustice. With reference to the legal qualifications of the barristers appointed as Sub-Commissioners, there was reason for not placing confidence in their decisions. They were not proper persons to be appointed to the office. Their salaries were too small, and exposed them to the temptation of bribery, the legal Commissioners only getting £1,200, and the lay Commissioners £700 a-year. The noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal had not given them any definite reason why they should repose confidence in these independent gentlemen.

The Marquess of WATERFORD said, his noble Friend (Lord Brabourne) had dealt with the administration of the Act. What they mostly complained of was the appointment of the Judges to decide upon the value of their property. He wished to draw their Lordships' attention to a case before one of the County Court Judges—that of "Egan *v.* Adair." The Judge was Mr. John Clark. He said he knew nothing of land, and if he went to see it he should not be a bit wiser than the Sub-Commissioners; but he would take the landlord's rent and the Poor Law valuation and take the average of the two. He informed the suitors that when he visited their district again they would know what to expect. Now, that was what a County Court Judge said of the Sub-Commissioners and as to his own intentions, and these were the class of Judges that the landlords had to deal with; and it was not surprising that they should ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack whether he considered that was the manner in which justice should be administered, and whether it was a fair way of dealing with these cases? He understood the noble Lord (Lord Carlingford) to say that Mr. Mulholland and Lord Arthur Hill had given Mr. Davidson, one of the Assistant Commissioners, testimonials. He was instructed to say that there was no foundation for that statement.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal): I have no personal knowledge; my authority was Mr. Forster.

The Marquess of WATERFORD, continuing, said, he did not think the remarks of his noble Friend (Lord Brabourne) had been answered. Seeing the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Monck) in his place, he would take that opportunity of congratulating him upon his appointment as fourth Commissioner. Although every one of their Lordships, and the public generally, had the greatest belief in his high character, he (the Marquess of Waterford) would have been much more satisfied with the appointment, however, if it had been made from that (the Conservative) side of the House. The Chief Commissioners at present were three strong Liberals; and, though it might not be said that the noble Viscount would be guided by a strong political bias, it could not be said that he was not a strong Liberal. As the noble Viscount was present he would appeal to him to carry out, in the Land Commission, the principles which he had so often laid down in their Lordships' House — that the rents of the landlords should not be reduced in the future as they had been reduced in the past.

Viscount MONCK: I never made any statement of the sort. What I stated was much to the effect of what my noble Friend (Lord Carlingford) has stated—namely, that it is natural to expect that the worst cases should come into the Land Court first, and that it would be rash, from such a limited number of reductions of rent, to deduce any general conclusions as to what future deductions would be made.

The Marquess of WATERFORD said, he understood from the noble Viscount (Viscount Monck) that there would not be such sweeping reductions in future—in fact, he had understood him to say so on several occasions. He hoped that these promises would be carried out. At any rate, he thought that their Lordships ought to congratulate themselves, as he (the Marquess of Waterford) did, on the fact that the noble Viscount was to be one of the Commissioners, for as one of their number present in that House he would be able to explain, from time to time, some of the extraordinary decisions that had been pronounced.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he rose for the purpose of dispelling the idea that any appeal could be made hereafter to any supposed promises or pledges which might be imagined to have been given expressly or by implication on this occasion by his noble Friend (the Lord Privy Seal), or by the noble Viscount (Viscount Monck). Of course, the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Waterford), who always spoke with the greatest possible good humour, could not have meant seriously what he said with regard to the noble Viscount as one of the Commissioners, when he suggested that any opinion expressed by the noble Viscount, as to what was or was not likely to happen hereafter, could have the slightest influence upon his judicial acts. The noble Viscount, being now appointed to a judicial office, would do what he (the Lord Chancellor) ventured to say no other Judge would ever do, unless he were impeached for his conduct in his office, if he undertook, before a tribunal which was not a Court of Appeal from his decisions, to explain, or, still more, to defend the decisions of his Court.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY complained very strongly against the appointments to Sub-Commissionerships made by the Government.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—SECOND READING.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY asked the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville), When the second reading of the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill would be taken after its passage through the House of Commons? The Bill had recently been very largely altered, and, therefore, it would be inconvenient if the second reading were fixed for an early day. He hoped the noble Earl opposite would name Thursday as the day on which the Motion that the Bill be read a second time would be made.

EARL GRANVILLE: The Government desire to pass this Bill on as early a day as possible. If the Bill arrives in the House this evening, or to-morrow, we propose to read it a first time and a second time on Tuesday. If, however, the noble Earl insists upon its postponement until Thursday, Her Majesty's Government would yield, but not without a strong protest against the delay.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I may assume, then, that the second reading of the Bill will be fixed for Thursday. We cannot wait till midnight merely on the chance of receiving the Bill. Besides, we shall want some time in which to consider it; and I think the second reading ought not to be taken before Thursday.

EARL GRANVILLE consented to take the second reading on Thursday next.

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS (SCOTLAND) ELECTION PROCEDURE BILL.

(*The Earl of Galloway.*)

(No. 190.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Earl of Galloway.*)

LORD BALFOUR said, that if he did not oppose the second reading of the Bill, he sincerely hoped he should not be held as committed to what seemed to him to be really taking away the jurisdiction from their Lordships' House and giving it to the Court of Session. He did not oppose the second reading, because he felt, to some extent, the necessity of a provision for making up a Roll of Scottish Peers, and having that Roll called at election times; but he hoped that, when the time came for going into Committee on the Bill, there would be some further explanations from the noble Earl promoting the Bill (the Earl of Galloway), as to the reasons which induced him to propose to transfer the jurisdiction from their Lordships' House to the Court of Session. Their Lordships could not fail to observe that their House had exercised that jurisdiction for a period of 175 years, and the onus of proving the necessity for the alteration lay upon those who proposed it. At the time of the Union, the Scottish Peers were placed in the same position in all respects as Peers of England, with the sole exception of sitting and voting in that House. He could not but look upon it in any other light than as a thing derogatory to the Scottish Peerage that they should transfer part of their jurisdiction to a Court inferior to that which tried the cases of the Peers of England or Ireland. He had another objection to the Bill. He believed it would very largely increase the already large expense of trying Peerage cases. The expense of trying Peerage cases must always be large; but if they had two Courts instead of one, it would greatly increase the expense, for he assumed that very few people would rest satisfied with the decisions of the Court of Session when power was given of appeal to the House of Lords. As the same counsel would, in all probability, be engaged on both occasions, there would be a great expense incurred in taking them for a time from England to Scotland, or from Scotland to England, as well as the additional expense of the preliminary trial in Scotland. Another reason why he should like to have some explanation of this proposed transference of jurisdiction was, because he saw that two of the noble Lords who voted in Committee in favour of the transference voted in a contrary way in 1874, when they were Members of the Committee appointed in that year on the same question, which Committee also recommended the making up of the Roll, but with this further condition, that it should be made up under the supervision of the House of Lords. It seemed to him that it would be very satisfactory if they could have from them a statement of what had happened since 1874 to alter their opinions on this matter. One word more. It seemed to him that the Bill, since he had seen it in print, went further than the recommendations of the majority of the Committee. Provision for making up the Roll was just what all of them assented to; but their Lordships would see that, by the 5th clause of the Bill, it was provided that any person who might think that his name had been improperly removed from the Roll might petition the Court of Session to place his name on the Roll; and some words in that section seemed to contemplate the possibility of a Peer, in whose favour judgment had been given by the House of Lords, having to petition the Court of Session. When a Peer who had already had his case decided in their Lordships' House presented a Petition, it should not be overruled by the decision of the Court of Session or any other Court. He merely made these remarks in order that the promoters of the Bill should not be able to say, when they went into Committee on the Bill, that they had been taken by surprise. It seemed to him that their Lordships should inquire very closely into the matter before they allowed it to become law. What he had said had been purely with the object of eliciting from those who promoted the Bill some further statement in its favour than they had already made.

The MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, the noble Lord who had just sat down (Lord Balfour) must be under some misapprehension, for the Bill did not, in his (the Marquess of Huntly's) opinion, take away the jurisdiction of the House of Lords. The noble Lord's opinion must have been formed upon a very hasty examination of the provisions of the Bill. There was, no doubt, a provision that the Court of Session might first hear cases, and that House, if it saw fit, might confirm the judgment of the Court of Session; but the Bill distinctly provided for the ultimate decision of all cases in the House of Lords, so that the inconvenience in the present election of Representative Peers might be simplified in certain ways. They in Scotland were grievously tormented with some very obnoxious scenes at elections of Representative Peers; and the Report of the Committee was most strongly in favour of an improvement in the procedure, and he certainly thought the first thing they ought to do was to remedy the existing state of things. He believed that if the second reading of the Bill were carried, there would be a great many Amendments as to those clauses which dealt with the proceedings in connection with the Peerage; and, from what he had heard, he believed there would be a certain suggestion made which would improve the Bill. He thought the object of the Bill a very good one indeed, and he hoped it would be allowed to pass the second reading, so that it might be fully considered in Committee.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he quite agreed that there was no reason why the Bill should not be read a second time. It contained some clauses upon which there was not a serious amount of difference of opinion, and for the sake of those clauses alone, apart from the question of the very proper object the Bill had in view, it should pass that stage. He was bound to say that while the noble Marquess who had just spoken (the Marquess of Huntly) was perfectly correct in saying that the Bill did not take away the jurisdiction of the House of Lords, on the other hand, he (the Lord Chancellor) could not but think that the manner in which it met the difficulty was both inconvenient and not calculated either to promote the dignity of the House or that of the Court of Session. That House, since the Union, had exercised all such jurisdiction, he might, in fact, say exclusively, for a great many years past; and, seeing that the Scottish Peerage stood upon the same level as the Peerage of the United Kingdom in all other respects except that it was only represented in that House, and upon the same in all respects as the Peerage of Ireland, he thought it would be an anomaly and an inconsistency if the question of the titles of Peers were dealt with on substantially different lines in Scotland. It therefore appeared to him that so many of the clauses of the Bill as introduced a new procedure, which was to take precedence of the jurisdiction to be exercised by that House, in the Court of Session were anomalous and inconsistent with the dignity of the House, if it was to have substantial jurisdiction. He ventured to advise their Lordships to consider whether, on the assumption that the Bill would now be read a second time, those clauses ought not to be omitted, and a provision introduced in Committee, that all questions of errors, by omission or otherwise, in the Roll might be raised by Petition to Her Majesty, which Petitions should be referred to the House, and be taken in the ordinary way by a Committee of Privileges, that Committee having power, if they thought fit, to refer any questions to the Court of Session, subject to their own further consideration. In that manner a decision would be obtained in a direct way under the authority of the House; and the House would, in that case, be quite certain to show as much respect to any opinion which, upon a reference made to it, might be expressed by the Court of Session as ought to be shown. Those were his views as to the best way of dealing with the subject.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, that he had taken a deep interest in the subject for many years, and he shared the opinion of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack that to refer these matters to the Court of Session in the manner proposed by the Bill was not at all a proper mode of dealing with it. He had not the slightest doubt that his noble Friend (the Earl of Galloway) was not aware that the Roll of English Peers was laid upon the Table of the House; but no one would ever dream that the Roll should be referred to the Court of Queen's Bench. That would be very much the same thing as submitting the Roll of the Scotch Peers to the Court of Session.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) thought that a Roll of the Scotch Peers should be prepared and submitted to their Lordships' House before the Bill was further proceeded with. At the present time, they were not at all certain that what was now proposed was the best mode to be adopted. The Bill did not come into operation till 1884, so that if the question were deferred till next Session there would be ample time. In his opinion, the whole of the proposed arrangements with regard to the Court of Session must be derogatory to their Lordships' House.

LORD MONCREIFF said, that as he had the honour of being the Chairman of the Committee on whose Report the Bill was founded, and as he agreed with the recommendations of the Committee, he was most anxious to say a few sentences, in order to bring out more clearly the real object of the proposition, and what evil it was intended to remedy. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack said very truly that the Peers of Scotland were put exactly on the same footing as those of England, with the exception of not having a seat in the House of Lords. They were restricted to certain Representatives elected by themselves from their own Body. But there was an anomaly, and there had been an anomaly ever since the Union, which he (Lord Moncreiff) thought was peculiar to the Peerage of Scotland, and out of that anomaly arose the difference with which they had to deal. The Peers of Scotland required no formality at all in the assumption of their titles, and there was no tribunal before whom it was necessary to go to prove their right. When a question of controversy arose, then, no doubt, they had recourse to their Lordships' House or the Committee of Privileges; but, in regard to those whose right had never been challenged, they stood upon their title, without any formality ever having been gone through, to show that they were entitled to the honour. One result of that was that when the Peers met to elect their Representatives, there was no authority by which it could be determined whether the votes which were tendered in support of one candidate or another were the votes of Peers at all. There was a Roll which was read out, which contained the titles only and not the names; and the result had been, as everybody knew, who had ever known anything at all of those elections, that it had happened, over and over again, that persons had answered to the titles of Peerages called out who had, in reality, no claim whatever; yet the Scotch Peers had no power to decide which was right and which was wrong. The noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Buccleuch) must have known that remedies from the existing state of things had been proposed from time to time. In 1822, a Resolution of the House was passed in regard to the assumption of titles; but it was never acted upon, and it was ultimately repealed. In 1847, there was an Act passed for the purpose of bringing up protests taken on the occasion of such elections to the House; but, as it had turned out, that had been practically as inoperative as the other was. In 1874, a recommendation was made that the Roll should be made up under the sanction of the House, but nothing whatever had been done. His main object, in rising on the present occasion, was to express a hope that, in whatever way the object might be accomplished, that would not turn out to be another as abortive an attempt to put the meeting of Scotch Peers for the election of a Representative upon a decorous footing as the former attempts had been. As to the present proposals, the real reason for consulting the Court of Session was this—there were two things to be done. The first was to make up the Roll, and the Roll could only be made up by disposing of the list of protests which had been made to the existing Peers. The second was to decide how the names of the successors of the existing Peers were to be placed upon the Roll in future. That would not be, in general, a matter of controversy, because the pedigree of those Peers would be readily ascertained. It seemed to him that it would be using rather cumbrous machinery for effecting small results if the proposals of the noble and learned Lord (the Lord Chancellor) as to a Petition to the Queen, and the consideration of questions by a Committee of Privileges, were adopted. This was a matter in which the dignity of the Scottish Peerage was very much concerned; but, so far from the present Bill being injurious to the dignity of the House, he believed it would have no such tendency.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 1*st of August* next.

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE BILL.—(No. 184.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Lord STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL asked that the debate might be adjourned.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, he must decline to assent to that course being taken.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

Lord STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL, in rising to move that the Bill be read a third time that day three months, said, he would remind the House that he had stated several objections to the Bill on the second reading, though, in the face of those objections, the House had read the Bill a second time and passed it through Committee. But in its progress through those stages new facts had been elicited which showed that the Spring Gardens site for the proposed Public Offices was not the proper one, and that the Parliament Street and George Street site was to be preferred. That was not only so in an architectural, but also in a sound and economical, point of view. Accordingly, his object now in opposing the third reading was to give their Lordships an opportunity of reconsidering the matter. This Bill was entirely in defiance of architectural opinion. It was in defiance of the decision of the tribunal of 1874, and it was contrary to the evidence of 1877. It would simply result in the destruction of Spring Gardens and the Admiralty, and would be followed by embittered controversies as to the destination of a site that ought never to have been desecrated. He would conclude by moving the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months.")—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY opposed the Motion.

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion?

Resolved in the *Affirmative.*

Bill read 3ª accordingly, and *passed.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 21*st July*, 1882.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading* — Pensions Commutation* [252]; Poor Law Amendment* [251].

First Reading—Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) * [250]; Entail (Scotland) * [248].

Select Committee — *Report* — Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) *.

Committee — Partnerships (*re-comm.*) [179]—R.P.

Committee — *Report—Considered as amended* — *Third Reading*—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [241], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MARY McCAFFREY,

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mary McCaffrey, principal teacher of the Newtownbatter (county Fermanagh) Female National School, was, in consequence of a physical injury received through the falling of a blackboard in the schoolroom, discharged in 1873, after seventeen and a-quarter years' service, with a gratuity of £38 10*s.*; whether Miss McCaffrey having recovered from the physical disability, lately applied for admission to training, with a view to re-entering the service of the Education Board; and, whether the Government will either direct her re-admission, or order a supplementary grant to be made, by way of some provision towards the subsistence of an employée discharged through no fault of her own?

MR. TREVELYAN: I find that the Question of the hon. Member sets forth the facts of Miss McCaffrey's case with substantial accuracy. A supplementary grant cannot be awarded to Miss McCaffrey, who received the full gratuity to which she was entitled at the time of her retirement; and by Rule 220 of the Commissioners, a Rule which was dictated to them by the Treasury as absolutely requisite and binding—

> "Under no circumstances can a teacher who received a retiring gratuity or a pension be re-admitted to the service of the Board."

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—FOYNES HARBOUR.

MR. SYNAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Board of Works steam-dredge was removed by their orders to Foynes Harbour on the River Shannon; whether it remained there about three weeks idle, while the harbour is being silted up, to the great inconvenience of all trade; and, whether any steps will be taken to improve that harbour to accommodate the largely increasing trade arising from the development of the mackerel fishery at the mouth of the Shannon, besides the great increase likely to arise from the American steamers calling there?

MR. COURTNEY: There was some interruption in the work of dredging at Foynes Harbour, owing to a heap of stones which had to be removed by divers. A considerable sum has been expended in the last two years in improvements to the harbour, with results which, I am informed, are satisfactory; but the state of the finances of the Shannon Trust does not admit of unlimited expenditure there.

MR. SYNAN said, the last part of the Question had not been answered.

MR. COURTNEY: I am told that at present the harbour is in a satisfactory condition.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—RIOTS AT BELFAST.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a series of assaults committed on Roman Catholics, in the neighbourhood of Falls Road, Belfast, about a week ago, by policemen and non-Catholics; and, what exertions have been made to bring the guilty parties to justice?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The real facts of the case are these:—Some disturbances took place in Belfast on the nights of the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th instant, in the neighbourhood of the Falls Road. The police, in the discharge of their duties, were obliged to clear the streets, and keep the contending parties asunder. While performing this duty they were assailed with stones, and whenever this occurred they dispersed the rioters with their batons. The rioters, whether Catholic or Protestant, were treated alike, and no more force was used than the circumstances demanded. Several persons of both parties have been arrested and punished by the magistrates, receiving sentences of from one to six months' imprisonment.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—STOKESTOWN UNION—MR. FLYNN.

Mr. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will order a sworn investigation into the charges made against Mr. Flynn, returning officer of the Stokestown Union, county Roscommon, in connection with the late election for a guardian of the poor in the electoral division of Ballygarden?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The question of ordering an inquiry as to the validity of the return made by the Returning Officer at the late election of a Guardian for the electoral division of Ballygarden in the Stokestown Union is under the consideration of the Local Government Board, and they are in communication with the complainant on the subject.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — JAMES MURPHY.

Mr. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any special reason for the further detention of Mr. James Murphy, of Kilmore, county Roscommon, who has now been in prison over seven months; and, if not, whether he will now order his release from custody?

Mr. TREVELYAN: His Excellency fully considered James Murphy's case on the 13th instant, and decided that he could not at present order his release.

ARMY—STAFF APPOINTMENTS.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return of all the cases in which the warrant limiting staff appointments in the Army to a term of five years has been infringed?

Mr. CHILDERS: My hon. Friend has probably not noticed a very full Return on this subject circulated a few days ago. It is entitled "Army Staff Appointments," and numbered 147. It gives all he requires.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—REPORT OF INSPECTORS.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Report of the Inspectors of Lunatics on Irish Lunatic Asylums for the year ending the 31st of March last will be presented to Parliament?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Inspectors of Lunatics cannot fix any date for the presentation of their Report. It is, however, in the hands of the printers, and the Inspectors hope to have it ready before the close of the Session.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE DEPUTY INSPECTOR GENERALSHIP.

Colonel O'BEIRNE (for Mr. O'Shaughnessy) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any determination has been arrived at as to the filling up of the vacant post of Deputy Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

Mr. TREVELYAN: No, Sir; the matter has not yet been finally determined.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL—REPAYMENT OF LOAN.

Captain AYLMER asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether, in the case where a tenant who has borrowed money under the Arrears Bill, repayable over a number of years, dies, and leaves his farm to his eldest son, and the tenant right in same to younger children, the further instalments would be claimed from son, or from the other children; and, in case such tenant right was sold, whether the balance still due would be payable out of proceeds of same?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) regretted that he had failed entirely to understand the Question, which was somewhat of the nature of a legal conundrum. What would, in point of fact, take place would be this—that the half-yearly instalments would be payable by the tenant, and they would be charged upon the tenancy; and if the tenant failed to pay, the tenancy would be sold. The tenancy included the saleable interest of the tenant, and that was what he understood the hon. and gallant Member called his tenant right. If a man left a farm to his son, that included his interest.

Captain AYLMER said, the Question was founded on a statement of the Prime Minister's, who said that in Ulster the tenant sometimes left his farm to his eldest son and the tenant right to his younger children.

IRELAND—THE LADIES' LAND LEAGUE.

Mr. MARUM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that two policemen regularly attend the meetings of the Ladies' Land League of Castlecomer, in the county of Kilkenny, contrary to the wishes of the members of the same; and, whether he will take steps to have such action, on behalf of the constabulary, discontinued for the future?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Question only appeared yesterday. I have got the answer by telegraph; but I do not like to answer Questions till I have the Papers before me.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

Sir HARRY VERNEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the work of the Channel Tunnel has been stopped, according to the promise given by him; and, whether the work has been carried beyond low-water mark?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: In answer to my hon. and gallant Friend I must trouble the House with a short statement of the facts. On the 29th of March last the Board of Trade received a plan from the hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin), showing that on the 23rd of March the works connected with the experimental boring had nearly attained the limit of low-water mark. On the 1st of April the Board of Trade demanded the discontinuance of the operations. On the 6th of April the Secretary of the Submarine Railway Company replied, acquiescing in the orders of the Board of Trade; and on the 9th of April the hon. Member for Hythe wrote that the Company had submitted to the order of the Board of Trade, and that he had peremptorily ordered the works to be stopped. He alleged that there was danger to life, owing to defective ventilation, and asked that a small ventilating heading might be allowed from shaft No. 3 to join the extension of shaft No. 2. On the 10th of April I informed him that I was unable to assent to any further progress, except with the one sole purpose of preventing danger to life, and I proposed that the engineers to the Board of Trade should immediately visit the Tunnel to arrange the steps that might be necessary for such protection. I stated to the House on a previous occasion the circumstances under which this official visit of inspection was evaded and postponed by the Submarine Channel Company, and it did not, in fact, take place until the 8th of July, after a suit had been instituted for the purpose of obtaining it. The investigations were completed on the 15th instant, and it then appeared from the Report of the engineers—first, that it has never been necessary that a single inch of cutting should have taken place in order to protect life or to secure ventilation; secondly, that, in spite of the repeated orders of the Board of Trade, the promise of the Secretary of the Submarine Company, and the personal assurance of the hon. Member himself, the substantial work of boring has nevertheless been carried forward to a distance of more than 600 yards below low-water mark. Under these circumstances, I have communicated with the solicitors to the Company, in a letter of which the last paragraph is as follows:—

"In calling attention to these acts, which appear to constitute a flagrant breach of faith on the part of the Company, the Board of Trade have charged me to say that, having regard to the state of facts now ascertained, it appears to be absolutely necessary to intimate to the defendants that the order of Mr. Justice Kay of July 5 must be strictly and literally adhered to, and that the Board of Trade require that no work of any kind for maintenance, ventilation, drainage, or otherwise shall be executed until full notice of the intention to execute such works has been given to the Board."

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—A SATURDAY SITTING.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask about the Business to-morrow. We understand there is to be a meeting of the House to-morrow, and that certain Bills had been put down by the Government. But I believe that last night, or rather this morning early, some other Bills were put down for consideration to-morrow. We ought to have a clear understanding on the subject. It is always an inconvenient thing to have a Saturday's Sitting; but when there has been one there has been generally a clear understanding that only Government Business will be taken, and that the Bills of private Members will not be proceeded with. When the Government Business is over I think they ought to move the adjournment of the House.

MR. CHILDERS: The understanding on the part of the Government was simply this—they have put down certain Bills which will have priority to-morrow, and when these Bills have been gone through, they will move the adjournment of the House.

MR. GIBSON said, he hoped that if the effect of this arrangement would be to postpone the Sunday Closing (Ireland) Bill, the Government would bear in mind the great importance of, and the deep interest which was felt in, the subject.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Will the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill be the first Order of the Day to-morrow?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes; that will be the first Order.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I suppose that the declaration of the Prime Minister will be kept in view that no other Bills of a contentious character will be taken?

Mr. Chamberlain

MR. CHILDERS: There are one or two small Bills, such as the Militia Consolidation Bill and the Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation Bill, which will be put down, and not being of a contentious character will be taken.

MR. R. N. FOWLER: Is it the intention of the Government to take the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill?

MR. FAWCETT: After what occurred last Saturday I will not put down the Bill for to-morrow, but postpone it until Monday.

MR. BROADHURST said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would let hon. Members below the Gangway know the nature of the reply which he made to the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Government would move the adjournment of the House to-morrow after they had transacted their own Business. He objected to that sort of thing. He and other hon. Members sat in the House constantly until nearly breakfast-time in the morning, in order to do a little work for the public utility, and they decidedly objected to the two Front Benches, who went home early, coming down next morning and summarily disposing, after a free exchange of courtesies, of the Bills of private Members.

MR. CHILDERS: I certainly do not belong to that section of the two Front Benches who go to bed early. My average time has been about 3 o'clock in the morning. It is not a matter of understanding between the two Front Benches, but an understanding with the House, and precisely the same understanding was arrived at before last Saturday's Sitting. [SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: And in former years.] I referred to the last Sitting because it is within the recent memory of hon. Members. When the Government have got through their Business they will move the adjournment of the House. If the hon. Member opposes that Motion, we shall do our best to defeat him.

MR. BROADHURST gave Notice that he would resist the proposal strongly.

MR. MONK inquired whether the Government Bills would have precedence of the Bills of private Members at to-morrow's Sitting?

MR. SPEAKER said, the Government Bills would have precedence.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked whether, if the Government Business should be protracted, they would close the debate at a reasonable hour—at 7 or half-past 7 o'clock, for instance?

MR. CHILDERS: No; we cannot undertake to fix a particular hour. We shall do our best to be reasonable.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the honourable Baronet the Member for Durham, when he purposed to bring forward his Resolution upon the Opium traffic; and, whether he would bring it on after half-past 11 o'clock?

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, it would be almost impossible, in the present state of Business, for him to bring on this evening his Motion in reference to the Opium Question. Certainly he should not proceed with so important a matter after half-past 11 o'clock. In default of any better mode, he would proceed by way of interrogatories addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for India; and he proposed also to bring forward on the Estimates his Motion in reference to the salary of the Minister in China.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.

MR. GILBERT LEIGH asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to a letter in the "Times" of the 18th instant, on the subject of our telegraphic communication with India; and, whether, if it is true that this communication is entirely through Mahomedan countries, he will take steps to place this communication beyond the control of any hostile Mahomedan combination, by extending the line from Cape de Verde, viâ St. Helena, to the Cape?

MR. FAWCETT: My attention has been called to the letter mentioned by the hon. Member; but I have to state that submarine ocean telegraphs are not under the control of the Post Office, and as the Question involves one of general policy, I scarcely feel competent to reply to it.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—DESPATCH OF TROOPS.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to despatch some of the Household Cavalry to Egypt in case cavalry are sent; and, in that case, what reduction would be made in the weight of the men's accoutrements?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. Baronet, I have to say that, pending Her Majesty's approval, I could not state the composition of the force going to the Mediterranean garrisons. Should any portion of the Household Cavalry be sent the weight of their accoutrements will be considerably reduced.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War alluded to some expedition being got ready. Last week the Prime Minister informed him that we were not at war with anyone. Were we at war with anyone now, or not?

MR. CHILDERS: The answer I gave was that, pending Her Majesty's approval, I could not state the composition of the force which was going to the Mediterranean garrisons. Beyond that I have nothing to say.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: My Question to the right hon. Gentleman was this:—With reference to what the Prime Minister said last week, that we were not at war with anyone, are we now at war with anyone, or are we not?

MR. CHILDERS: If the hon. Baronet waits till Monday he will have full information.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has seen the statement in the recent speech of M. de Freycinet—

> "That England loyally supported France in opposing the intervention of the Sultan in Egypt as Sovereign of that Country, but only as mandatory of Europe;"

and, whether he has addressed any representations to the French Government on the subject?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The sentence quoted is not very clear in the reports, and it is not the custom of Her Majesty's Government, as I have often stated, to take any notice of declarations made in foreign Assemblies by foreign Ministers; but the policy of Her Majesty's Government will be found in great detail in the Papers. Perhaps it may be convenient that I should now state that the Government are going to lay before the House this afternoon further Papers on the Egyptian Question in addition to those which, we hope, will be distributed to-morrow. The Papers we are now laying on the Table will, we hope, be in the hands of hon. Members on Monday morning. The Papers will include the instructions of Her Majesty's Government to Lord Dufferin on going into the Conference, and the Identic Note to the Porte asking the Porte to send troops to Egypt. To that document I referred yesterday, and it will be presented in French as well as in English. Among the Papers will be the Declaration of France and England with regard to the Suez Canal, which I also read to the House yesterday, and an extract from the supplementary instructions to Lord Dufferin as to not excluding the co-operation of Turkey and other Powers. We cannot, however, give the whole of the latest instructions to Lord Dufferin as long as the Conference is sitting; but the most important will be given. The Papers will also include the answer of the Porte to the invitation to send troops. That answer was received yesterday.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Before the expected debate on Monday, will any information be supplied by the Government as to the origin of the riots at Alexandria on June 11, as to whether they originated on the Egyptian or the European side, and as to the comparative loss of life on both sides? I shall press the matter further, because I consider it absolutely essential to the consideration of the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty when Sir Beauchamp Seymour's Report on the proceedings of the 11th of June would be presented?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: It will be laid on the Table as soon as possible—I should think in time for circulation on Monday or Tuesday.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Will it be laid in time for Monday's debate? It is six weeks old now.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am uncertain whether it can be laid on the Table in time for the debate; but I will do all that can be done.

Sir Charles W. Dilke

Mr. BOURKE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question arising out of the answer he has just given—namely, Whether the Papers to be laid on the Table will explain what is meant by the phrase "sole action," for the Prime Minister the other day drew a distinction between the *Protocole de Désintéressement* and what he called "sole action?" I cannot find anything in the Papers relating to that; but I should like to know whether, if such a document exists, it will be laid on the Table with the Papers to which the hon. Baronet has just alluded? Perhaps the hon. Baronet will also inform the House whether there is any news from Alexandria that he can conveniently communicate?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I have not received any news. I do not know whether the Admiralty have received any to-day. With regard to the Question as to further Papers respecting the *Protocole de Désintéressement*, and the understanding of the Conference as to "sole action"—which was not, strictly speaking, a protocol—neither of them can be laid on the Table, because they are a part of the proceedings of the Conference which the Ambassadors do not wish to be made public. They are repeatedly alluded to in the newspapers and in this House; but we cannot present them in view of the declaration of the Ambassadors.

Mr. BOURKE: Can the hon. Member explain what the meaning of the phrase "sole action" was, because I understood the Prime Minister to say that the reason of the action of the Government with respect to the Suez Canal has arisen out of the agreement as to the "sole action," and not out of the *Protocole de Désintéressement*?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: If a Question is placed on the Paper for Monday I will give the fullest answer it is possible to give; and, if necessary, I will communicate with Lord Dufferin by telegraph.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Possibly the Secretary to the Admiralty can let us know whether there is any news from Alexandria.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have no news to give to the House; in fact, there is none.

Mr. O'KELLY: On Monday I will ask the Under Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to a statement published this morning that a number of respectable inhabitants in Alexandria have been robbed by British soldiers, and will ask if measures are to be taken for their punishment?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I would suggest to the hon. Member that the Question had better be addressed to the military authorities, as the matter would not come under my cognizance.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have quite recently received a telegram, which contains nothing but what appears to be a summary or partial citation from Proclamations by Arabi; but as it is of some interest it may be well to make it known to the House. The telegram runs as follows:—

> "Two Proclamations of Arabi to various Provinces in Egypt have been issued. He calls on all Egyptians to assist in expelling their irreconcilable enemies—the English. He accuses the Khedive of treason, and of keeping the Ministers in Alexandria by force. He charges the English with killing Egyptian troops and of shooting unarmed Egyptians in the streets. He adds that the Khedive remains at night among the English, and by day returns to shore to order the continued slaughter of Mohammedans in the streets of Alexandria."

This is the citation, and I have omitted only a few words in the telegram, which are not material to the information of the House. He further states—

> "The entire country is under military law as heretofore, and that only his orders are to be obeyed. Military preparations are to be actively pursued, and disobedience will be summarily punished."

MR. W. H. SMITH: Have the Government any information as to the reported closing or damming of the mouth of the Suez Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: Nothing whatever beyond what was communicated yesterday.

MR. LEAMY: There is a statement that great pressure has been brought to bear on the Khedive to induce him to declare Arabi a rebel. Is that true?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: This is a Question which seems to me to come within the category of those which, according to the declaration of the Prime Minister yesterday, touched on debatable matters. It is one, therefore, that I cannot answer.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 241.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 20th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

New Clause:—

Part III.

Emigration.

(Power of guardians to borrow for emigration.)

From and after the passing of this Act, the board of guardians of any union in Ireland are authorised to borrow money for the purpose of defraying or assisting to defray the expenses of the emigration of poor persons resident within their union, or any electoral division thereof, in manner provided by "The Poor Law Amendment (Irelend) Act, 1849," as amended by subsequent Acts, subject to the following modifications (that is to say):

(1.) The provisions of the said Act in relation to the repayment of the advance by annual instalments shall not apply;

(2.) The advances may be made by the Commissioners of Public Works out of any moneys granted to them for the purpose of loans in place of the Public Works Loans Commissioners;

(3.) Every such advance made by the Commissioners of Public Works shall bear interest at the rate of three and-a-half per centum per annum, or at such other rate as the Treasury may from time to time fix, in order to enable the advance to be made without loss to the Exchequer;

(4.) Every such advance made by the Commissioners of Public Works, and the interest thereon, shall be repaid within such period from the date of the advance, not being less than fifteen years nor more than thirty years, as the Treasury may from time to time fix;

For the purposes of this Act "The Poor Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1849," means the Act of the Session of the twelfth and thirteenth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter one hundred and four;

New Clause (Power of guardians to borrow for emigration,)—(*Mr. Trevelyan,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he did not want to make any unfair remarks on

Her Majesty's Government in reference to this matter. He thought the Committee generally, and the Irish Members in particular, had some reason to complain that this important subject should be postponed to a time when they had no opportunity of giving it the full discussion it deserved. The difficulty they were placed in was this—they were most anxious the Bill should be passed into law, and that at the earliest moment possible; and he thought he could call on the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, and other right hon. and hon. Members sitting upon the Treasury Bench who were interested in the measure, to bear testimony that hon Members on the Opposition side below the Gangway had done all they could to accelerate the passage of the Bill through the House. However, the position they were in was this —a proposal of a most important character had been made to the House, and it was shown that a good deal of strong feeling existed with regard to it in Ireland. They were in this dilemma—either they had to delay the Bill, the passage of which they most earnestly desired; or they had to swallow wholesale the proposal on the subject of emigration made by the Government, without giving it that detailed criticism which they considered its importance demanded. [*Interruption.*] He must, at the outset, point out that any discussion of this clause would not be facilitated by the very earnest conversation that was going on on the Benches below the Gangway opposite. He wished, before he discussed the clause itself, to offer to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant his thanks for the very lucid and sympathetic manner in which he had introduced the clause. He (Mr. O'Connor) did not think that House had ever listened to a picture of the state of a particular part of Ireland drawn with greater skill, facility, ability, and sympathy than that drawn by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) last night. He (Mr. O'Connor), in listening to the right hon. Gentleman's description, was very much struck with two facts—the picture drawn by the right hon. Gentleman, the accuracy of which Irish Members on those Benches thoroughly knew, suggested considerations on two points. The description was very graphic with regard to the condition of Connemara. The condition of that part of Ireland had been brought before the House over and over again last Session in the shape of Questions put to the Predecessor of the right hon. Gentleman, and the answers of the then Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster) had always been to the effect that the people in Connemara were rather better off than those in other parts of Ireland. Well, he (Mr. O'Connor) would ask the Committee to contrast the picture of the condition of Connemara drawn by the late Chief Secretary with the picture drawn by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) last night. And the second remark he would make was this. He did not wish to enter into topics in regard to the old controversy generally introduced by the hon. Members for the County of Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) and the County of Cork (Mr. Shaw)—he would not go into these references to the old controversy, because he regarded them as the last dying statements and declarations of those hon. Members previous to their retirement from this House, perhaps to a more elevated sphere. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary acknowledged last night that the poor people living in Connemara would not be able to live even if they had paid no rent whatever, and that threw some light on the question of the morality of the "no rent" manifesto which had been so much criticized by right hon. and hon. Members opposite. Dealing with the question of emigration, he confessed he had a qualified opinion upon the subject. When the proposal was made last year, he was one of those who gave it a very active opposition. He had opposed the Emigration Clause of the Land Act, and, in doing so, he was sorry to say, had exposed himself to some of the most thundering and lightning eloquence that even the Prime Minister was capable of on that matter. However, he was not ashamed to say that he had changed his opinion, and that he had done very largely in consequence of his visit to America, where he saw so many of his race prosperous and happy, and giving effective aid to the cause of Ireland by their dollars—giving aid that they never could have given if they had remained at home. He was sure that one of the effects of the emigration that this clause would encourage would be to increase the subscriptions of the Land League in America, and in that way to further the National cause. He did not know whether this was one of the results contemplated by the Government in making this proposal; but, whether or no, he must confess that his view with regard to emigration was slightly modified. He felt bound, however, to make this reservation—that no amount of emigration would permanently improve the condition of Ireland. The way to improve the condition of Ireland was not to send the people out of the country, but to improve the state of things under which they lived at home, because if emigration were to be a panacea for all the evils from which Ireland was suffering, the deportation which had taken place during the past 30 or 40 years should certainly have made Ireland one of the most prosperous countries on the earth. He would remark, therefore, that while he was in favour of emigration, he was only in favour of it under proper circumstances. His objection to the proposal of the Government was not that it encouraged emigration, but that it encouraged it under the most unfavourable conditions that the ingenuity of even the Treasury Bench could have devised. What did the proposals of the Government amount to? In the first place, several hon. Members, who were in favour of emigration, laid it down as a condition precedent to emigration, that people who emigrated should be sent out so that they would land in the United States in something like a proper and fit condition to commence the battle of life in their new home. The Party to which he (Mr. O'Connor) belonged, and, no doubt, other hon. and right hon. Members who did not sympathize with their views, would agree with hon. Members opposite in the opinion that emigration would be a curse, not only to Ireland, but to America also, if it was not such as would land the poor people in America in a position to start life under favourable conditions. But let them contrast that view with the proposal of the Government, which was that the maximum amount spent on each emigrant should be £5. He asked any man who had the least experience in emigration matters, whether such a sum as £5 could do more than barely land a man on the shores of America? Did the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, last night, answer the objection by saying that although £5 was the maximum given by the Government, it might not be the maximum bestowed upon the emigrant, "because," said the noble Lord—at any rate, he (Mr. O'Connor) understood him to say so, and he did not wish at all to misrepresent him—"voluntary agency will come to the assistance of the Government, and will increase the £5 to a sum reasonably sufficient to place the emigrant in a proper position to begin life in the country of his adoption." In other words, the emigration was not to be under Government control and out of Government resources, but simply voluntary for the most part, with some small aid from the Government. He (Mr. O'Connor) ventured to say that that was not a proper form of emigration for the Government to propose. His second point was this. Hon. Members in all parts of the House agreed that the emigrant when he landed in America should be in a fit condition to begin life; and, with some experience of America, he (Mr. O'Connor) would say that it was quite a mistake to suppose that the streets of New York, Chicago, or San Francisco were paved with gold, any more than the streets of London were paved with gold. The struggle of life in America was certainly much easier than in England or Ireland, or in any other crowded country, but still that struggle was severe. He did not wish to draw too favourable a contrast between the two countries; but this he would say, that in many respects the life of the working man in America was not a bit better, but even worse, than in this country. When they landed a man with strong muscles on the shores of America, he had to fight his way in the battle of life. There was no prospect cut out for him, and that was a proposition which he thought would commend itself to all Members of the House, certainly to all those who were in any way familiar with the conditions of life in America. Knowing these facts, then, what had the Committee to say to the proposal of the Government? The proposal was that rules should be made for the proper emigration of these Irish peasantry. What did these rules amount to? They only amounted to this—that the Government were willing to take advantage of the voluntary agencies already established in Ireland for the purpose of carrying out the emigration. The Government reduced the matter simply to a small sum of money —they were going to spend £5 in getting each emigrant out of the country, and the rest was to be left to Mr. Tuke, and such like assistance. With regard to the fate and future of the emigrants in America, they were to trust to Mr. Tuke. The Government were abrogating its responsibility and its duty when it yielded up the greater part of this question—namely, the settlement of the emigration on the other side of the Atlantic—into private hands for settlement—when it handed over the most important part of the question to the voluntary agency of Mr. Tuke. It would, perhaps, be unbecoming on his part to make any observations, especially of a personal nature, with regard to Mr. Tuke. No doubt, that gentleman was inspired by the best of motives, and, so far as he (Mr. O'Connor) knew, he had done great service to the people of Ireland. But it seemed to him that it was asking too much of the Committee, and especially of hon. Members who sat on those Benches, that they should assent to the proposal of the Government, which was to put the fate of these emigrants almost completely into the hands of private individuals whose character they knew very little of, and whose fitness to discharge the functions imposed upon them was, to say the least of it, open to controversy. He objected to the emigration of peasantry from Ireland in order to become hodmen in America. He thought that the transferring of a tenant farmer from Connemara, even under the severe conditions that surrounded that district, into a hodman in New York or Chicago was a very questionable favour; it was a transfer of a certainly very invidious character. His contention was, that the Government was not settling this question in a satisfactory manner if the result of their action was simply to transform the pauper of Connemara into the White slave of the United States. He certainly was bound to protest against any scheme of which that was the natural outcome. But, whilst he objected to that under any circumstances, he thought the Committee was especially bound to protest against it at the present time, because, as had been pointed out by the hon. Member for the County of Waterford (Mr. Blake) in the columns of *The Times*, the Government, in proposing this scheme, were proposing it in the face of a greater scheme. There was the scheme on the part of the Government of Canada, where so many Irish people were settled, and where so many had found happy homes, and where they had such influence that the Canadian Parliament, not very long ago, had passed a Resolution in favour of National self-government in Ireland, and which certainly met the views of most hon. Members from the Benches from which he was speaking. Canada was a country in which he should be willing to see the Irish people settle. Canada offered to settle the Irish people on conditions that would be favourable to them; but Canada had a right, and the United States had a right, or any other country to which the emigrants might be sent had a right, to say—"You must send your emigrants so that they will be a blessing to us, and not a curse. You must send them so that they will be a source of progress and improvement to our country rather than a burden upon our rates." Canada took that view of the question, and said—"We will take these people under conditions that are most favourable to them and to us. We will give them a certain amount of land—they were farmers at home, and we will continue them farmers here. We will provide them means for the proper cultivation of their land, and they will find homes already made for them, where they will be able to live in comfort and plenty without being put to the necessity of wandering about the streets of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and such large cities, and instead of their being handed over to the employers of labour in communication with Mr. Tuke." Because that was what the proposal of the Government meant—to land the people in America in a destitute condition, where their only chance would be to obtain work under some large employer of labour. He (Mr. O'Connor) did not want to say a single word derogatory to Mr. Tuke; but he looked at the probabilities of the case, and he could see that, if all responsibility was left with Mr. Tuke for the settlement of these emigrants on the other side of the Atlantic, he could but make some arrangement with capitalists and others out in the United States to take these people off his hands and give them work. [An hon. MEMBER: Why do you object to that?] He would tell the hon. Member why he objected. He objected to the farmer from Connemara being made the White slave in America, especially in the face of the offer of the Canadian Government to place him where, instead of being a daily trudge, for which he was very little qualified by his previous training, they would make a farmer of him, placing him in possession of his own homestead in a prosperous country. He (Mr. O'Connor) objected to any contract for the supply of this labour to American capitalists for the reason that, under the conditions of these contracts, the emigrant, who was really helpless, might suffer very materially. These were the reasons which had induced Irish Members to think that the proposal of the Government was one of the most imperfect, and one of the crudest—he would not say one of the worst—that had ever been placed before the House. It had been the intention of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell)—whose absence from the House was owing to a family bereavement, which those who knew the hon. Member and his family deeply deplored—to have taken some action in this matter. He (Mr. O'Connor) could not accept a tentative scheme like this, and he intended to signify his entire dissent from it by calling for a division on the second reading.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he commended the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) to the most earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government. For the first time in his hearing the hon. Member, who was unquestionably a Representative of the peasantry of Ireland, and qualified to speak for them, had, if his ears had not deceived him, advocated the emigration of Irish people to America.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he did not wish to commit himself to that proposition. He should not be in favour of emigration from Ireland, if he thought there was any chance of the Government accepting the proposal of the Irish Party —namely, the proposal for migration from one part of Ireland, where there was a congested population, to another part where there was plenty of room.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that, though he was sorry to have to introduce a somewhat discordant note into a debate which had been generally harmonious, he wished to say a few words on this subject, as it was one upon which he held a somewhat strong opinion. Last year the only vote he gave against the Government was in opposition to the clause with reference to emigration, and he had congratulated himself, and those with whom he had been associated, that they had succeeded in reducing that clause to the dimensions which at length characterized it. He adopted that course because he was not prepared to give a vote in that House directly against all the economical principles to which he had endeavoured to devote himself. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had said, again and again, that Her Majesty's Government, of which he was a Member, had disregarded the ordinary principles of political economy. He (Mr. Arnold) said, however, that, in his humble judgment, they had not disregarded the principles of political economy, except in this instance of the proposal for the emigration of the Irish people. In regard to the proposal before the Committee, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland complained the other day that he had heard a succession of second-reading speeches. Well, Her Majesty's Government were to blame for them, because they had in this clause introduced so much new matter that it was necessary for the Committee to discuss it to a very large extent *de novo*. This Bill, when originally introduced into the House, had absolutely nothing about it of an eleemosynary character. Everyone who wished to oppose this measure as it was introduced, might do so on the claim that the measure had nothing about it of an eleemosynary character. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had been mistaken about political economy before. This proposal of Her Majesty's Government introduced for the first time, and in a perfectly concrete form, a proposal that was purely eleemosynary in its character The principle of the Bill, when first laid before the House, was this—that every tenant in Ireland should have access to the Land Court; that that should be granted to him so far as that House could induce it; and that was the object and the motive of the Arrears Bill. It was on that ground that he (Mr. Arnold) supported it. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said, the other day, most emphatically on the clause moved by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy Burghs (Sir George Campbell), that this was the primary and sole object of this measure he had introduced; and then he proceeded, in reference to the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, (Mr. Goschen), to speak in a tone of great admiration of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks in connection with sham loans. Well, there was no Member of that House who had greater confidence in the sincerity of Her Majesty's Government than he (Mr. Arnold) had. He had had something to do with Boards of Guardians, and when he heard this proposal he felt convinced that if it had not something in it of an unreal character, his experience had highly deceived him. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) spoke of the extreme poverty of certain districts in Ireland, and he had carried the whole Committee with him in his remarks with regard to the poverty which existed in many towns in Ireland. But the description the right hon. Gentleman had given of that poverty might be matched in many towns of England, and in many countries in Europe. What he (Mr. Arnold) contended was, not that his heart would not move in favour of emigration, but that if they began to give State money for these purposes, though they commenced with £100,000, there was no knowing when they would stop. It was pointed out by the right hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir John Hay) that the emigrants would have to be provided with all necessaries and properly fitted out—that they should be provided with a new suit of clothes, and should have money in their pockets, and, in order to do that, the least estimate they could form of the expense——

Sir JOHN HAY: I really must point out to the hon. Member that I made no such statement as that which he attributes to me.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he must apologize to the right hon. and gallant Member. He had been referring to the hon. Member who sat near him (Sir John Hay)—namely, the hon. Member for Exeter (Mr. Northcote), who had contended that the emigrants should be put in such a position that when they landed they should have some money in their pockets. The smallest estimate, under such conditions, the emigration would cost was £10 per head. By this £100,000, therefore, they would only be providing for the emigration of 10,000 people at the outside. The reason he would urge on Her Majesty's Government the desirability of considering the matter well before they embarked in State-aided emigration was one which he thought should always guide the Government in making a free grant of public money—namely, whether that to which the money was applied would recur. Hon. Members of that House denied that, and said that the purpose for which this money had been given, and was given, would recur. No one who heard the speech of the hon. Member could doubt for a moment that it would recur again and again. Hon. Members had intimated their satisfaction at the prospect that it would recur, and he (Mr. Arnold) would venture to predict that if this £100,000 was given—and he had so much respect for Her Majesty's Government that he should hesitate to oppose it if it were pressed—in another year £500,000 would be asked for, and the demand would still go on increasing for State-aid to emigration. He had recently read in *The Times* newspaper a statement as to one of the counties of Ireland, where no less than 350,000 acres of land had gone out of cultivation in 30 years; that was to say, it had been going out of tillage into poor pasture land, and from that county, in the space of a generation, the population had decreased by 70,000, and 9,000 houses had been razed to the ground. Well, that was a thing of no magnitude compared with what would be carried out under such a transaction as Her Majesty's Government now proposed; and he contended that when once they began to promote State-aided emigration, they were in danger of bringing about an absence of thrift and economy in agricultural proceedings. They might depend upon it that so long as they held out to people the possibility of their finding homes in another land, they would never use their best endeavours to improve their holdings, and they—the Government—would never be short of candidates for a bounty of that kind. That was one reason why he ventured humbly to tell the Committee that they were now entering upon a serious denial of the principles of political economy; and he would ask the Government to reconsider their proposal, although he had no doubt that this clause would make the measure far more acceptable in "another place."

MR. CARPENTER GARNIER said, he had been astonished to hear the arguments of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), because he appeared to object to this clause on the ground that it was opposed to political economy, and took that objection after having swallowed the Arrears Clauses of the Bill. The hon. Member seemed to swallow the Arrears Question camel, and strain at the Emigration Clause gnat. He was glad the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had made a considerable advance on the position taken up by hon. Members below the Gangway from the position they occupied during this controversy last year. Though the Irish Party did not appear altogether to approve of the clause, the hon. Member for Galway had not given it such an uncompromising opposition as he (Mr. Carpenter Garnier) should have expected. He (Mr. Carpenter Garnier) wished, in a few words, to say that it was to him most refreshing to find at least one portion of this Bill to which he could give his cordial support. He had listened last night to the clear and able statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary with very great pleasure, and he regretted that the Government had not brought forward their clause earlier, and that they had not dealt with the subject on a somewhat broader principle, because he ventured to think that the sum they intended to appropriate to emigration—namely, £100,000, was totally inadequate. If they took the figures laid before them by Mr. Tuke with regard to the district of Clifton, in the West of Ireland, they would find that that gentleman estimated that at least one-fifth of the whole population should be emigrated. This gentleman estimated that one-sixth of the population in that part of Ireland could be emigrated with advantage, and the estimated expense of this emigration was £7 per head. It was estimated that 16,000 families, or 80,000 persons ought to be sent abroad; but even taking the Government estimate of £5 per head, the emigration of 80,000 people would cost £400,000. He trusted the Government would take this into consideration, and that they would be prepared to deal more liberally with the subject. He could not help thinking that if an attempt was made to deal with the Irish Question by emigration it was useless to deal with it in a piecemeal fashion. However, he had much pleasure in supporting the clause, and he would express a hope that the Government would see their way in the future to somewhat enlarge the proposal they were now making.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that this was a subject in which his constituents would be much interested, and his constituents formed part of the people who had been referred to by Mr. Tuke. A great mistake had been made by several speakers, although not by the general run of Members, because he found that most of the speakers were well informed upon the subject. But a mistake had run through the whole of the speech of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold), which was this—that the hon. Member had urged, on account of the exceptional state of certain Unions, the application of a general plan to the whole of Ireland. The Unions to which reference had been made were very populous. The districts were mountainous, so that the people were crowded into a small space along the shore. The mountains were thinly populated; but along the shore, 2,000 or 3,000 feet from the sea, the country was densely inhabited, many of the holdings, particularly on the high lands, being only two or three acres in extent. In many cases the holdings were so small that the tenants were never able to have a change of oats or rye. They were never able to change the crop from oats to grain, and the result was that when the potatoes failed, and when there would be a depression in the kelp trade—for one of the main sources of income of these poor people was the manufacture of kelp from sea-weed—the tenantry were reduced to the verge of starvation. With regard to kelp, this manufacture had greatly declined during the past few years. He did not know the reason for it; but, no doubt, it was not far to seek, the manufacture of the chemicals that were produced from kelp being in the hands of only two or three persons. No doubt, there was a trade secret connected with it; but the fact remained the same, that the kelp manufacture had declined very seriously since 1879 and 1880. The consequence had been that the people, always poor, had been suffering from an intensity of poverty, and there was no doubt that if the population was left in its present condition the wretchedness and misery from which they had been recently suffering would recur every 10 or 12 years. He might say, further, that in the Clifton district the people had never been able to avail themselves of the Seed Potatoes Act, and this was the first year in which the people would have had an opportunity of planting a crop of new seed potatoes. This failure of the Act to work in that district had been owing to some of the landlords having stated that the people were so poor that they could not avail themselves of the assistance of the Government in regard to seed potatoes. Well, England should never forget that if Irish industries had not been cleared out of the country, or if something had been done to revive them since they had been cleared out, these poor people would have been better able to support themselves; in fact, the country would have been better able to support a larger population than it was able to support its small number of inhabitants. He wished it to be understood that when he gave his vote in favour of the Government proposal, which he intended to do, he did not do it in view of the condition of the whole of Ireland, but that he did it because he could not conscientiously do anything to stop emigration in such places as the Clifton district. He was quite aware that something else must be done besides promoting emigration in these districts. He had gone over Connemara with Professor Baldwin, who had pointed out to him the precise spots where the people should be taken away from the sea-shore, and removed to other specified parts of Ireland. But if railways were constructed in that part of Ireland, and if the fisheries were properly opened up and developed, it might be possible for the population to support itself; but until something was done, it was clear that these people must be subject to periodical famines. It was not the occupiers of the large holdings who were the sufferers, but the class of tenant who might be described as hanging on—labourers without labour, if the expression could be used—a class of people who were a drag upon the whole community, and could not by any possibility get employment at the present moment. It was a mistake to suppose that such people as these went from the West of Ireland to England and made money during the harvest season. As he had said, it was absolutely essential that something should be done for the relief of the West of Ireland, for its condition at the present moment was a scandal and a disgrace to any Government in power. Of course, the Irish Members themselves had very little power or influence in the matter, and were unable to set the thing right; but unless something was done, the scandal and disgrace for the continued deplorable condition of these districts would lie at the door of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. W. EWART said, he had orginally intended, as an Irish Member, to go somewhat into detail on this matter, to show the necessity for emigration. He had expected that the Government would have been opposed by the Irish Members below the Gangway; but it was a matter for congratulation to the Committee and to Ireland that they were all, on this occasion, pretty well united. ["No, no!"] Well, that was the case so far as he could gather—to the best of his belief, the opinions which had been expressed that night were all in favour of emigration. ["No, no!"] However, as he had said, it had been his original intention to go somewhat into detail upon the question; but, the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, last night, had been so excellent and so conclusive that it left very little for anyone else to say as to the necessity for emigration in Ireland. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman had been not only convincing as to the necessity for emigration, but as to its absolute urgency. Perhaps, however, the right hon. Gentleman had failed to bring before the Committee the full extent of the evil which rendered emigration so urgent in Ireland, for a study of the statistics on this question would show that there were at least 1,000,000 of people—tenants and their families—in Ireland, on farms that were totally inadequate to support them, and would be inadequate even though held without rent. These tenants struggled on during good seasons; but, whenever there was a succession of bad harvests, they succumbed, and became a prey to agitation and disturbance. Now, it appeared to him, in spite of the excellent character of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, the proposals of the Government were most inadequate, though they showed a marked advance, since the beginning of the Session, in the views of the Government on this question. For, on the 16th of February the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman formerly Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. J. Lowther) was very severe indeed on the subject of emigration. He (Mr. Ewart) would read a few words from the right hon. Gentleman's speech. He had said—

> "The right hon. Gentleman has another remedy for Irishmen who are now in Ireland. If they do not like it they may leave it, and their leaving it is the remedy he recommends to us. It is his panacea for every evil. He is so far from contemplating with regret the vast expatriation which terrible necessity brought on Ireland in former times that he is prepared to administer more and more of this nostrum to that country; and he says if you can get a sufficient number of Irish out of Ireland the country will be comfortable, peaceful, and happy."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxvi. 864.]

It was most unfortunate that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister should have been conspicuous by his absence, both last night and to-day. This was a subject of transcendent importance. They knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer kept a tight hold on the National purse, and it was to be presumed that it was owing to the views of the right hon. Gentleman that such a small sum had been proposed by the Government in aid of emigration. He (Mr. Ewart) wished the right hon. Gentleman had heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary last night, and the speeches which had been delivered in the course of the debate to-day. The right hon. Gentleman, hearing these speeches, would, he believed, have found himself in the position of Benjamin Franklin, whilst listening to a popular preacher. He first determined not to give anything; then he relented, and made up his mind to give all his coppers; later on he resolved to give all his silver, then his gold, and eventually he ended by emptying his pockets of all their contents. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the same way, would have extended his bounty from the miserable £100,000 he proposed to give, if he had heard all that had been said in the course of this debate. He (Mr. Ewart) was very much in favour of the scheme which had been unfolded by the hon. Member below the Gangway. Of course, he would take anything he could get; but he would much rather see a more extensive plan carried out—something in the nature of the colonization scheme which had been proposed; but he would not limit it to Canada or the United States. There were splendid agricultural territories in Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape, where Irishmen who were farmers could follow out the calling in which they had been trained. He thought the £5 proposal a very stingy one. It was not as though it were the fault of these poor people themselves that they had to leave the country. It was very much the fault of the system of sub-division which made them small farmers. He (Mr. Ewart) would not distribute the blame in this matter; but certainly the blame did not lie with the poor tenants, and it was only right, therefore, that these people should be generously dealt with. They should not be sent away in a niggardly spirit, but in such a way that they would have good reason to be grateful. He did not take the view of this matter entertained by the hon. Member for County Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry)—namely, that State-aided emigration was against the true principles of political economy; but he was not in favour of a general emigration from Ireland—an emigration of labourers. The labourers should be left to the natural order of things; but he would give very liberal aid to the poor tenants in the matter of emigration. He did hope that whatever might happen in regard to this clause, that the Government would take a more extended view of the question. They had not seen the whole extent of the difficulty yet. By their recent legislation they had rendered landlords incapable of making improvements on their property, and that evil would increase. He would, therefore, impress on Her Majesty's Government the necessity of looking this question fairly in the face.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he welcomed the proposal made in this clause, because it was a step in the right direction; and, in his opinion, the moderate form of the clause was an additional recommendation rather than the reverse. The question was a very difficult and delicate one to deal with. No doubt there was a tendency on the part of many in Ireland, and of some hon. Members in that House, to raise a cry that there was a desire on the part of England to extirpate the Irish race. That cry had been raised in a manner which seemed to him very injudicious last year, and the result of raising it was to minimize the proposal of the Government, and to inflict an amount of physical suffering and injury on the unfortunate people — men, women, and children—in the West of Ireland especially, which no exertions now could relieve. But he welcomed the speech of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), who was one of those who were amongst the loudest last year in declaiming against the cruelty of the desire said to be exhibited by English Members to turn the Irish race out of their country.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR : I never said anything of the kind.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY asked whether the hon. Member wished to say that he had not sympathized with those who had spoken in that vein? He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) knew very well what the hon. Member's Colleagues had said, and he would ask him if he did not endorse their sentiments?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the hon. Member attributed to him certain words, and then seemed to take refuge in what other people had said. He (Mr. O'Connor) had not used the words the hon. Member attributed to him, or anything like them.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: I thought the hon. Member belonged to a united Party. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!"] What am I to withdraw?

An hon. Member: Withdraw the statement.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Yourself.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he believed the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had led the House to believe last year that he sympathized with the strong sentiments made by the united Party with which he acted. The hon. Member had been to America, and had learnt by experience, and was now not only in favour of emigration from Ireland, but in favour of emigration from Ireland to Canada, where the Irish people would still be under the British Crown, which was a thing they were last year told was, above all things, to be avoided in the interest of these Irish tenants.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, it would be a great deal better if the hon. Member would altogether avoid references to statements made by him (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), as he seemed utterly incapable of making such allusions without misrepresentation.

The CHAIRMAN: I would point out to the hon. Member for the City of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) that he will have an opportunity of making any explanation or any statement that he desires to make presently.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, it would be an advantage if the hon. Member for the City of Galway would refrain from interrupting the flow of his (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) ideas. The hon. Member seemed to have changed his opinion; but there was an hon. Member below him (Mr. Arthur Arnold) who had not changed his view on the subject of emigration.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was not opposed to voluntary emigration.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY remarked that the hon. Member, however, was opposed to State-aided emigration such as was contained in this clause; and he had opposed it before. The hon. Member's conclusions were based upon what he called the infallible and the irrevocable logic of political economy; and that was exactly his (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) complaint. If the hon. Gentleman would learn, as other hon. Members had learnt, from practical experience, perhaps he would change his mind. With regard to emigration from the West of Ireland, he could only state that he rejoiced to find that the Government were determined to supplement, as it were, by private subscription the efforts of the Emigration Societies which had done so much good within the past few months in that part of Ireland by assisting some 12,000 or 13,000 persons, at a cost of little more than £10,000, he believed. If they multiplied the efforts of these Societies during the next 12 or 18 months by the amount that the Government proposed to advance for emigration, at the end of that period they would have emigrated a very considerable number of persons. There was a very strong desire on the part of the Irish peasantry, particularly those who were taken into service, both male and female, after they had learnt their duty, to emigrate to America; and there were very few of them who, when they were assisted to emigrate, did not make most respectable and worthy servants and members of society. They fell into that condition that the hon. Member for the City of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) considered pitiable—they fell amongst the capitalists of the large towns of the United States and Canada. They got excellent work and excellent wages, and were enabled to give very substantial assistance to their relatives and friends who remained at home. As a matter of fact, so far from the efforts of these capitalists being inimical to the Irish people, these large employers were the greatest friends of the Irish emigrants.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I did not say they were not.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that so far from these poor creatures going from Connemara out to these large employers as to enemies, they found these capitalists their greatest friends, because they gave them good employment and good wages, and the people were profoundedly grateful for their assistance. Then as to the motive for which the hon. Member for the City of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had said he desired this emigration. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had been greatly struck by that motive. The hon. Member had said he hoped people would largely emigrate, because, from what he had seen in America, they would send home funds to accumulate the sum in the possession, he presumed, of the Land League. Well, that was not his (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) motive for wishing to see emigration advanced; and in this consisted the vital difference between himself and the hon. Member opposite, and those with whom the hon. Member acted. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) wished these people to be assisted to emigrate, where they were in a deplorable condition of poverty, and where they were starving, to other countries where they would be able to improve their social position, and live in comfort and plenty. He and his hon. Friends had no—[Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Sinister.] —yes, sinister—he had no sinister object in view. The hon. Member seemed to think that he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) was soon to disappear from that House; in fact, he was told that whenever there was an opportunity, and almost in every debate. He could only say, in reply, that "threatened men live long," and that he thought it quite probable that the hon. Member for the City of Galway would disappear from that House as a Representative quite as soon as he himself. As to the general subject of emigration, he would conclude by saying that whilst he thought this was an excellent effort in the right direction, he was convinced that it was not sufficient. The fear he had in all these proposals was this—that they were only nibbling at this great Irish difficulty. They had in Ireland a pauper Ireland—people who depended upon the prosperity of England for their existence. When trade was good, and everything else was good, these Irish peasantry came over to Lancashire or to Scotland, and earned sufficient wages to take them back home and enable them to live during the ensuing year. Unless something was done for these people in a short time, anyone could see that they would become nothing less than paupers; that with the failure of crops in Ireland there would be an actual period of *quasi*-famine, and that the parties who traded on the untold misery of the people in the West of Ireland would continue their endeavours to make them the means of bringing about changes in the laws of the country, He hoped the Government would not be content with the passing of the Coercion Act, nor with nibbling at this question of Emigration. Unless they consented to treat the West of Ireland as a Governor in India would treat a Province under his control which was subjected to periodical famines—that was to say, by instituting State works on a national basis, in order to afford employment to the people—they might depend upon it that, although to some extent they might relieve the dreadful shadow which was passing over the land, the thing which caused it would grow again, and those hovels from which the people were now driven out would be speedily refilled by others as miserable and destitute as their predecessors. He had spoken to hon. Gentlemen of every shade of opinion, and he found them almost all admitting the reality of what he stated, as well as the necessity of applying a remedy. But, somehow or other, when the proposal took a practical shape, some little difficulty, which he could not understand in the case of a large commercial country like England, made its appearance. It was always a difficulty which had for its basis the violation of the laws of political economy. Now, the real law of political economy bearing upon this case, as everyone knew, was that every man who was willing to work should find the law was adapted to his necessities, and that he should not be deprived by an act of the State of the opportunity of gaining his living. Now, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) declared that the people in the West of Ireland were deprived of the means of gaining their living in consequence of the enormous increase in Imperial taxation which was taking place. That taxation had been nearly doubled, as far as Ireland was concerned, within the last 20 years, with the result that the money which might have fructified at home was brought to this country for maintaining in splendour the Imperial Institutions. He asked the Government to adopt a wide view of this question, and not to suppose they had solved the difficulty because they had now agreed to advance in the direction which had been pointed out by benevolent men in that House and in other places throughout the country, who had done something to assist an unfortunate and starving people.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he had not been able to catch the whole of the speech of the hon. Member who had just spoken; but when the Committee was silent, it did not seem to him that the flow of the hon. Member's ideas went on very smoothly, inasmuch as they seemed to meet in their course many rocks and snags, and, so to speak, to get at last upon the sands. At least that was so when the hon. Member was replying to the imaginary speech of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). With reference to the Question before the Committee, he (Mr. M'Carthy) was not in favour of stimulated or State-aided emigration; least of all was he in favour of it in Ireland, where it suggested to the people the idea of something like expatriation, and that, he said, constituted a strong objection to any State-aided system of emigration which the Government were bound to take into account. A healthy system of emigration would be spontaneous and made under favourable conditions; but those conditions could not be had, in his opinion, under the best-devised system of State emigration. For his own part, he considered the idea of migration as superior to that of emigration, and he thought that the Government should have exhausted every endeavour in that direction before they fell back on the other. The Government seemed to have over-population on the brain—the idea had over them the same influence as "Captain Moonlight" had over the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw). But over-population was not the cause of the evils of Ireland, at least, at the present moment. With regard to the offer made by the Government, he was bound to say that he felt very considerable objection to the clause. He was unable to discover that any tangible or practical scheme was before the Committee at all; and the very clearness of the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, last night, showed that there was no Government scheme of any tangible kind whatever. They had a clause proposed which told them that the Government would advance a certain small sum of money per head to enable the Boards of Guardians in certain Unions to carry out some undefined plan of emigration. Nothing was known as to where the people were to be sent, or how they were to be cared for when they arrived at their destination. All that was known was, that they were to be swept in some way off the face of Ireland, and landed somewhere else, and it was for such a scheme that the Committee were asked to vote. He contended that the sum of £5 per head was quite inadequate for the purpose intended, and it was perfectly evident that if this was the whole sum to be subscribed, that the people had better stay at home. On the other hand, if it was meant that the Boards of Guardians were to supplement the grant by squeezing more money out of the ratepayers in the poorest districts of Ireland, he asked whether this was a proposal which would find approval in that House? The sum of £100,000, which the Government were willing to advance, would represent at £5 per head 20,000 persons to be taken off to the

Western regions of America. This was to be for all time the means of relieving Irish distress. Why, the people emigrated under it would be no more than the equivalent of a single crop of evictions, and the moment they were gone others nearly or quite as poor would take their places, and the country would find that the heart of the question had not been touched in the slightest degree.

MR. WHITBREAD said, hon. Members were incorrect in speaking of the plan now proposed by the Government as one intended to apply to the whole of Ireland. As he understood it, the Government only intended to assist in cases where the condition of the population was such that, without the grant, it was absolutely impossible for emigration to take place. He had endeavoured to arrive at the truth of the statement made by several hon. Members, that if a few emigrants were removed from these overcrowded districts, their place would soon be taken by others in an equally destitute condition, and he was inclined to believe that this result would not follow, because the landlords had no inducement to allow the districts to become again overcrowded. He said it was better that some step which would afford permanent relief, such as would follow from the plan of emigration now proposed, should be taken with regard to these overcrowded districts, rather than that the money of the taxpayers should be doled out to the people from time to time in ineffectual attempts to relieve them at home. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had asked what claim or qualifications had Mr. Tuke to be employed in the distribution of the proposed fund, or in the working of the scheme of emigration? Mr. Tuke was a gentleman engaged in commercial pursuits. He was one of those men who happily were always to be found at work whenever there was human suffering to be relieved. He had been present in the hope of doing some good on many occasions of danger and suffering during the Franco-German War. He went over to Ireland last year, and the scenes he had witnessed in the Western part of the country were such as to excite his strongest feelings, and enlist in behalf of the people his strongest sympathies. Mr. Tuke sought no employment; it was at his own cost that he engaged in these tasks, and he (Mr. Whitbread) thanked God that at periods of distress like that which now existed in Ireland such people were to be found. The idea suggested by the hon. Member for Galway, that the emigrants ought not to become white slaves in the United States, was precisely that which dominated Mr. Tuke; and if there were any probability of its being realized, neither he nor those who worked with him would have touched the subject at all. His desire was first of all to assist those who were really anxious to go, and next that those who were sent across the Atlantic should find someone on arrival who would direct them to the field where their labour was required, so that they should not be left a prey to those who were always ready to seize upon the unfortunate emigrant. Mr. Tuke's advice was—"Select the strong and healthy, but, as far as possible, if you can manage it, send the whole family." The choice of ultimate destination must be left, in a large measure, to the emigrant himself, and that would often be determined by the possibility of his joining friends. At one time the labour market in the United States was in some danger of being overstocked, and it also appeared that if an emigrant could be got out to Canada in good time to take advantage of the summer, it was the better place to go to; while the assistance rendered by the Canadian Government made emigration to Canada cheaper than to the United States. In conclusion, he wished to make one or two remarks on what had fallen from the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. M'Carthy). The hon. Member said he disapproved all Government plans of emigration, because they amounted, in the eyes of the people of Ireland, to expatriation. Now, he could not understand that as an argument against this proposal, because it was not five minutes later that the hon. Member complained that the scheme was insufficient. It seemed to him impossible to reconcile those two statements. The hon. Member then said he preferred migration to emigration. But did he mean that a tenant who was unable to get a living in Connemara should be migrated to another part of Ireland, even if he were perfectly willing to go to Canada or the United States of America? There were some parts of Ireland which no Land

Act or Arrears Act could possibly touch. In such Unions as Belmullet and Newport, any measures of this kind that could be devised would be hampered by the chronic state of pauperism and starvation which existed there. These were the places whose condition the Government were anxious to deal with at once, and with regard to them and the miserable people who inhabited them, he asked whether it was for the best—whether it was humane—to endeavour to prevent the passing of this clause?

Mr. SEXTON said, the scheme of the Government did not relate to Ireland as a whole; it fixed attention on certain spots and districts in the country where, according to the received view, there was an excessive population, and proceeded to remedy that condition of things by what, he ventured to say, was the worst remedy that could be applied to it. Emigration was a remedy, doubtless, but, he said, it was one which should not be tried until every other had failed; and, considering the relation between a Government and a people, and the obligations which lay upon civilized Governments, he thought he was justified in saying that the worst way in which a Government could deal with the people of a country was by sending them out of it. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had spoken, as he always did, in a moderate and rational manner, and had raised the point whether an Irishman might not be as much inclined to emigrate to America as to migrate from one part of Ireland to another. It must be apparent to anyone who for a moment considered the scope of natural feeling that people who loved their country would much rather remain there than be sent 1,000 leagues away from it. He thought it ought not to be beyond the skill of the Legislature to make such an arrangement as would remove or ease the congested districts, by sending a portion of the population to parts of Ireland where there was plenty of land and almost no population at all. There were millions of acres of land in Ireland to which the name of "waste" could not properly be applied, that were, nevertheless, quite useless; and if Parliament had in past years rendered these fit for profitable occupation, he ventured to say that the question of emigration, which now caused them trouble, would not have reached such a head. He thought Parliament should endeavour to make the land of Ireland valuable for the support of the people before they concerned themselves with proposals for sending the people out of the country. This question of emigration was one to which Ireland stood in a relation more peculiar than that occupied on the same question by any country in the world, for in the last 30 years 3,000,000 out of 8,000,000 of the population had been deported, a fact which he contended was without parallel in the civilized world. Practically, this had been forced emigration. British rule first crushed the industries of the country, and then allowed the land to remain under a system of laws which prevented the development of cultivation, and forbade the people to use the resources left in their hands as a means of subsistence. Those laws were framed in the interest of a small body of men without regard to the interest of the people; and, therefore, he repeated that the emigration of the last 30 years was a forced emigration, the consequence of which was that wherever the people went they carried hatred to the British Government, and, he was sorry to add, hatred to the British race. It was impossible to approach this question without some amount of feeling, because it was associated with many painful recollections; but he was bound to admit that it had been approached on the previous evening by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant in the most considerate manner. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman was a frank examination of facts; and, so far as those facts were painful, he had shown a regard for natural feeling, and a sympathy for those who suffered, which it was only just to recognize. The right hon. Gentleman set forth plainly the facts which had produced the state of things that existed in the West of Ireland. He did not say that he had exhausted the facts or dwelt exhaustively on the consequences of rack-renting and territorial injustice; nevertheless, so far as it went, his inquiry was just and impartial, and he (Mr. Sexton) thanked him for it. Now, the proposals as to loans were so vague, the percentage of interest was so heavy, and the conditions of repayment so stringent, that he did not regard them as deserving of any serious criticism. He, therefore, turned to the proposal of gift. The Treasury would grant

£100,000 to the Boards of Guardians of certain Unions in Ireland, which sum was to be given at the rate of £5 a-head to the members of each family emigrated. Taking each family as consisting of five members, this would be £25 per family; and, practically speaking, that would mean that the Government plan contemplated the emigration of 4,000 families, who were to be turned out of their homes and severed from their means of living under the operation of the Land Laws. It might be something more than a remarkable coincidence that about the same number of families had been evicted during the last two years. Now, if the expectation was to be able to get rid of those families who were an inconvenience to evicting landlords by the means proposed in this clause, he could tell Her Majesty's Government that their scheme was peculiarly unfortunate. He might mention that the Land Corporation had been formed for the purpose of stimulating emigration and ousting tenants from their homes. He regarded such a system as that as threatening peace and order and good government in Ireland; and he thought it most unfortunate that the Government should have come forward with a proposal which would lead people to believe that their scheme might be used to supplement and aid the scheme of Mr. Kavanagh's Company. The Government should have made the Arrears Bill applicable to the case of these evicted families by providing that on the payment of one year's rent they should go back to their farms; then, having replaced them in their homes free from the encumbrance of arrears and the debts which exhausted their credit, they should have adjusted the machinery of the Land Act so as to insure that the cases of these 4,000 families should be rapidly dealt with. Had the experiment been fully and persistently tried of endeavouring to enable these people to gain a living at home, then, if it had failed to accomplish its object, emigration resulting from natural and painless causes might have followed, and the people gone away without bearing any grudge against the Government and Parliament of this country. But, under the present scheme, which would appear to the people of Ireland one of forced emigration, he believed that the people would carry with them feelings of the same kind as those of the millions who had gone before them. The Government scheme amounted only to this—that every person who emigrated from the Unions specified would get a £5 note. Now, at that point he drew a line, and said that the Government ought not to take evicted and helpless people who had been driven into pauperism by the Land Laws, and put pressure upon their free will in order to drive them out of the country. It was said that the people were willing to go; but, from his own knowledge of Ireland, he was obliged to confess that he heard the statement with great surprise. Since he came down to the House that day there had been put into his hand a note from Mr. Trant, a gentleman who acted lately as agent for the Central News in the West of Ireland, to the effect that there was everywhere the greatest reluctance on the part of the people to emigrate; that the people of one of the most miserable districts said they would "die on the roadside first;" that the only persons willing to emigrate to America were those who had relatives there, and that these would not go unless money were given them to use at their own discretion; that Mr. Tuke's reports given to the country in *The Nineteenth Century* were gross exaggerations. Now, if the Government scheme were to be carried out, he contended that whole families ought to be emigrated together—that the capable portion of the family should not be sent to the New Country, and the incapable left in the Old Country; that care should be taken that persons who were attached to their religion should not be sent to places where they would be beyond the reach of its ministrations, and that persons who had been tenants in Ireland should not be asked to sink into the position of labourers in America. Further, he said that an assurance ought to be given that a home should be provided for the emigrants, and that there should be nothing wanting to their comfort on arrival. Such conditions as these, he said, were essential to any rational scheme of emigration. He would not hear one word said against Mr. Tuke, whose published record appeared to be very honourable to him, and who seemed to be a man endued with the active spirit of philanthropy. But he thought a staff of officials in the country to which the emigrants went should be deputed to see that they met with no harm on arrival; and, further, that hon. Members should be able to appeal, in case of need, to some responsible official in that House with regard to questions which might arise in connection with the proposed emigration scheme. It seemed to him to be a shirking of responsibility on the part of the Government when, in endeavouring to eke out the practical insufficiency of the scheme, they said they were going to allow the small sum of £5 a-head to the people who emigrated. He did not know what plan the Government had in their minds; but it had certainly found no expression on the Notice Paper in any form or shape whatever; and, therefore, in view of the incompleteness of the proposal, he should be obliged to vote against the clause.

Mr. TREVELYAN admitted that this clause had been introduced rather late into the Bill; he allowed, also, that it might have been brought forward in response to pressure from private Members; but, as long as it was rightly done, he was indifferent as to the manner of doing it. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) said that if the struggle for life was severe in Ireland it was also severe in America; that the streets of Chicago were not paved with gold; and the hon. Member had begged the Government not to transform the poor of Ireland into the white slaves of the United States. But he would remind the Committee that in the parts of the United States to which these people would go, children 10 years old earned $2, and grown-up men $6 a-week. Now, these were not the wages of slaves; they were the wages on which men had begun who had risen to the highest positions in the United States. He could not altogether endorse the opinion that it was a descent in prosperity and comfort to leave a £4 holding in Ireland for such wages and such conditions as these. At the same time, he could perfectly sympathize with the feelings of the hon. Member that, however poor a holding might be in Ireland, it still had a position of independence which Irishmen were very unwilling their countrymen should abandon. On this point he wished to refer to an Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who had said that this was a crude and skeleton scheme. No scheme of emigration which had hitherto been placed on the Statute Book of this country had ever gone so far into detail as this scheme which the Government placed before the Committee last night. All previous schemes, whether they were in the form of the Poor Law Amendment Bill of 1849 or of Clause 32 of the Land Act of last year, had only laid down the financial conditions. Now, the Government laid down the administrative conditions which it proposed in outline, and he would venture to say that everything that could be done by legislation for laying down a scheme for emigration had been done in this clause. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) said that all the Government did was to pay £5 a-head, and to trust for the rest of the emigration expenses to be provided by Mr. Tuke. The Government proposed to use the experience and the local knowledge of Mr. Tuke, and right glad they were that they should be able to do so; but they did not propose to confine themselves even to Mr. Tuke. They proposed not only to use his experience and advice, but the experience and advice of the gentlemen who conducted many of their agencies. If there was one point which ought to be watched with great care and delicacy it was the emigration of women and children. Mr. Vere Foster had, during recent years, at his own cost, emigrated many Roman Catholic girls, and he had done it, to a large extent, through the agency of the Roman Catholic clergy at home and abroad. He did not want to take up the time of the Committee unnecessarily, and, therefore, he would not read Mr. Vere Foster's account of his own proceedings. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) criticized what he (Mr. Trevelyan) said yesterday about the willingness of tenants to leave the country. The hon. Gentleman said that one of the first conditions that ought to be laid down was that any people emigrating should be willing to go. The Government in this matter did not take their opinions only from Mr. Tuke, and from reading of Mr. Vere Foster and his agents; but they took their opinion from their own official agents—the eyes and ears of the Government—and he (Mr. Trevelyan) had there evidence which he thought the hon. Member would pay some attention to. Mr. Vere Foster gave no less than 78 replies from the Catholic clergy in answer to inquiries which he made during the period of the past autumn, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) would give two or three lines from these replies. One clergyman said that he had made very careful inquiry about the girls emigrating, and he had to state that the accounts were good and that they were all doing well. The clergyman added that there were many in his parish desirous to emigrate, who were unable to do so, in consequence of not being able to provide the balance necessary in addition to Mr. Vere Foster's subscription of £2. Another Roman Catholic clergyman said he had no doubt many were anxious to emigrate if they had the means, and added—

> "I shall be happy to forward their names, and co-operate in every way with your beneficent and patriotic purpose."

[Mr. O'DONNELL: Name!] He had not got the names. In regard to the willingness of the people at home, and to the feeling which their relatives abroad had as to what was their interest, and as to what ought to be their wishes, another clergyman wrote to say—

> "I know not any small farmer or workman here who has not near and dear friends in America; and these, in many instances, implore their poor relatives to join them."

Now, there the Committee had another agency which the Government would be willing to consult, and if they approved of it, to a certain extent, employ. It was not only for the emigration of people for service and for purposes of labour that agencies had been set up. There were Catholic Colonies in Minnesota and Iowa, under the management of a Roman Catholic Bishop, where the greatest possible advantages were offered to Irishmen, and there was another Colony under the management of Mr. John Sweatman, in the State of Iowa, where 80 acres of land were offered at the very lowest prices. Now, the Government intended to use their own means of ascertaining the character and nature of the machinery which had hitherto been employed, and when they had ascertained its character they intended to use their own discretion as to the extent to which they could utilize that machinery, and the extent to which they could supplement it with other machinery. The hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Ewart) wished the Government to take a more extensive view of this question, and he was glad that a criticism of that nature came from several quarters of the House, including the right hon. Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth). The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) and others had said that the Government were only nibbling with this matter. He (Mr. Trevelyan) thought, however, that they ought to avoid talking big, and not act big—they ought not to promote a scheme which looked grand in Parliament, but would not work. If they advanced large sums of public money, the experience of all must be that money would get itself spent in extravagance and jobbery which would discredit the cause. There was a great demand, no doubt, for labour in the United States. That demand, however, was not unlimited, and if anything could make this scheme fail, it was that they should glut the labour market in which they hoped that these poor people would secure a prosperous and happy place. He thought hon. Members underrated the amount of the Government grant. He said nothing of the loans, the conditions of which were attractive, and the amount of which was only limited by the money which could be lent with security and employed with genuine advantage; but the grant was £100,000. The experience of the Duke of Bedford's Association was that 1,260 people had been emigrated for £7,400, or about £6 5*s.* per head, and not only had they been emigrated, but they had not been left in the cities on the coast, but conveyed to Pittsburg and all sorts of places inland. He noticed that in one emigrant ship full of these people there were some 350 persons, and that nearly £500 in railway fares had been spent after they landed in America, which was an average of £1 5*s.* It was quite true that, perhaps, these earlier emigrants might be emigrated on a cheaper scale than the later ones, and that there was something in private enterprize. The Local Government Board, anxious to be on the safe side, had estimated, in giving their advice on this matter, that the cost of emigration would be £8 per head. Now, the Government grant was not everything. There was the portion of the loan which the Unions might be induced to make—there was the portion of the money which the people might give themselves, and there was the chance of getting something from private philanthropy—in fact, it might be safely calculated that, at least, for every £3 the Government gave, £1 would be given from outside. That would make £133,000, which would emigrate and place in a comfortable position 17,000 people—17,000 people was, roughly speaking, about 15 per cent of the people of the five Unions of which he had spoken; and he ventured to say that that, instead of being a mere nibble, would be a large bite. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) told them that they were flying in the face of political economy. He said that the present Bill had nothing of a very eleemosynary character. He (Mr. Trevelyan) would take the hon. Member's words as gospel, and he would say that they asked only the 20th part of what they were spending, not in an eleemosynary manner, but certainly out of philanthropy, to help the poor tenants to tide over the consequences of bad seasons—he would say that they proposed to spend that 20th part out of philanthropy, to enable those poor tenants to find a happier home than they had hitherto enjoyed in Ireland on another shore. He would allow that this was a new principle. The hon. Member told them they were, for the first time, establishing the principle of State aid for emigration. The Poor Law Amendment Bill allowed the Guardians to supplement the funds for individual emigration out of the rates; and he (Mr. Trevelyan), standing at that Table, would never allow that the rates were anything but public money. The precedent had already been set, and he must say that Parliament had done well to extend it. The hon. Member for Salford had talked a great deal about political economy, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) thought he could quote against the hon. Member the words of one of the most eminent political economists—Mr. John Stuart Mill. If there was one principle which ran through John Stuart Mill's great two-volume book on political economy, and which they found repeated in every corner and chapter of that book, it was that when they were endeavouring to attain the great object of raising the standard of comfort of the people, or class of people, they might effect that object even if they had to take very strong and very arbitrary measures, for when once the standard of comfort was raised the people would never of their own choice return to a lower one. They would work; they would increase their self-respect; they would increase their self-control; they would find out the best means of investing their labour; they would do everything which it was the object of political economy to induce people to do. The Government, in their great desire to raise the standard of comfort in certain parts of the country—parts of the country in which the people had to struggle under circumstances which had been described in such touching terms by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan)—asked the Committee to adopt a measure which was not only a salutary measure, but a very strange and novel measure, and one which he (Mr. Trevelyan) thought would do a very great deal to attain the object of raising the standard of comfort of the people, which an eminent political economist put forward as the aim of political economy. He earnestly hoped the Committee would assist the Government in this object.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, it was very refreshing to those who sat on the Conservative side of the House to be able to give an unqualified support to any proposal of the Government in connection with this Bill. This was the only proposition made by the Government in this Bill which had the cordial and entire support of himself and his hon. Colleagues; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, in the statement which he just now made, was fully justified in asserting that a proposal which was good in itself did not require to be excused on any ground, either that it was made late, or at a period when it was not quite expected. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) had remarked on the dangerous character of this proposal. There was one thing which was very much more dangerous than this proposal, and that was the existence of a helpless population in that part of Ireland with which it was now proposed to deal. If the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Arnold) and those who objected to this proposal had only sought to acquaint themselves with the facts of the case, their objection would have been entirely overcome by the strong necessity of doing something to afford relief to those wretched people. What was this proposal? It was an attempt to raise a number of people who were—he would not say through any fault of their own—in a position of absolute and abject pauperism. They could not move from the place in which they found themselves; they could not go in search of employment, because they had not the means to move, and employment was debarred from them; there was no prospect of any return of employment, or of any increase of the employment of the people. Was it to be said that the State was to be held back by considerations which certainly were fit and proper to be applied to the condition of anyone who could help himself? Was it to be said that the State was to be held back from giving this kind of relief, which, according to experience and knowledge, according to facts which were beyond contradiction, had enabled persons who had been in this condition to earn for themselves a decent and reputable livelihood — to change, in fact, their condition from one of pauperism to one of independence? What the Government proposed in this clause was to put it in the power of a number of persons who could not now earn their own livelihood to do so. If they were compelled to remain where they were, the course which was pursued last year must be pursued again this year. That was to say, the Government must come to the assistance of Unions in which destitute persons were found, and subsidize, out of the Imperial funds, the rates, which were insufficient at present to keep those people alive. There could be no doubt whatever that the duty of Parliament was to endeavour by every means in their power to relieve these people from the destitute condition in which they were now placed. He had heard statements made that migration to the different parts of Ireland would answer the purpose; he had heard statements made that the reclamation of waste land should be attempted in Ireland. There was a provision in the Land Act of last year for assisting persons who would undertake the reclamation of waste land; but he had not heard of a single gentleman who was connected with Ireland, who understood Ireland and who possessed money, who had applied for any grant whatever from the Imperial Exchequer in order to assist him to reclaim land and find employment for the people. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had asserted that this reclamation ought to be at once set about. He believed the hon. Member was connected with an Association which had had large funds at its disposal, which funds, certain hon. Members were pleased to say, had been subscribed for the benefit of the people of Ireland. Had those funds been applied in any way whatever for the finding of employment for the people of Ireland? Had the gentlemen to whom the dispensing of those funds had been entrusted attempted to make use of the funds as the capital of a Company, having for its object the reclamation of waste land, and the settlement in Ireland of people who could not otherwise be settled? The answer was that not a single farthing had been applied to that purpose, and there was no probability of any part of the Land League funds being applied to that purpose in the future. Reference had been made to an Association which was connected with the name of Mr. Tuke. He did not understand that the Government was in the slightest degree bound to avail itself of the services of Mr. Tuke; but if Mr. Tuke and his Association could render good service to the Government in this matter, he (Mr. W. H. Smith) was sure they would be only too glad to do so. Mr. Tuke had shown, by his devotion to the cause of humanity in all parts of the world, that his one object in view was the benefit of his fellow creatures. The members of the Association who had helped Mr. Tuke in his good work had been glad to render such assistance as they could in order to make his exertions more complete and more successful. It was said that this work ought to be undertaken and carried out by officials. Now, he thought that hon. Gentlemen who argued that officials could carry out this work could not understand the difficulty, the intelligence—he made no reflections upon officials—the care which was required in order to secure that emigration should be a success, and not a failure. An official would obey his orders and work out his instructions; but it was scarcely possible for an official to show the sympathy and interest and exercise the discretion which had been exercised by Mr. Tuke and those who had worked with him in, first of all, making the selection of the qualified emigrants, in dissuading or rejecting those who were unqualified, and in finding suitable employment for the emigrants upon their arrival abroad. Another objection had been made that this was not a sufficiently eleemosynary scheme. If anything could more certainly ensure disaster instead of success, it would be a great scheme for organized emigration. Societies were not formed by simply transferring one body of men from one country in several shiploads, and putting them down hap-hazard in the new land. They must endeavour, as completely as they could, to find out that an emigrant would drop into the hole for which he was suited; and to do that a regular system of investigation was necessary. To put a man in the backwoods, amongst thousands of others, and leave him there, would expose him, in all probability, to great suffering and great misfortune. Emigration, to be a success, must be conducted with the greatest possible care and interest and sympathy for the individual; it must regard the individual, and not the community. It must be carried on, not by great shiploads at a time, but by sending as many as they could possibly find employment for on the other side of the Atlantic, or, it might be, in Australia or New Zealand. There was a great danger of temporarily glutting the market, and considerations like this had been carefully attended to by those who had been engaged in a voluntary way in promoting the relief of the overcrowded districts in Ireland, and he was sure the Government would do well to endeavour to secure similar results. There was another point to which he wished especially to call the attention of the Committee, and that was that no one had been compelled, and that no one ought to be compelled, to quit his country. The inducements which were held out of comfort and of employment were quite sufficient to secure any number of emigrants from the distressed parts of Ireland; and although there had been statements made that evicted people in some parts of Ireland were not willing to emigrate, he was sure the balance of evidence pointed to distinctly opposite conclusions. They were most desirous to go in considerable numbers, if only the means were offered. There was another point which he desired to notice. An objection had been made that the whole cost of individual emigration was not to be covered by the grant by Parliament. It would be a very unwholesome condition of things if Parliament were to find the whole cost of emigration. If they did it might be then said that the object of the Imperial Parliament was to depopulate a great part of Ireland. If only three-fifths of the cost were provided by Parliament, and the other two-fifths by those who were interested in the well-being of the community, such a charge could not be laid at the door of Parliament. He did not know that it was necessary for him to say anything more; but he must say this—that he regarded the proposal as one which would tend greatly to the happiness and the security of the country. He believed that those who were left behind would be as much benefited as those who were sent away. It must be borne in mind that if, as the right hon. Gentleman said, 17 per cent of the people in the distressed Unions in Ireland were sent away, those who remained must be largely benefited. He did not believe that people would be found coming forward to take the wretched holdings which the others had left; but he believed that those holdings would be added to the other holdings, so that a man who had hitherto only a holding valued at £4 a year would now have the chance of occupying a holding valued at double the amount. In that case those who remained behind must have a much better chance of maintaining their families and living a reputable life. Whatever might be the result of the effort about to be made to improve the condition of the people who could not possibly help themselves, he thought Parliament was bound to give it a fair trial, and give it that trial at once. Yesterday the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) recommended that the whole scheme should be postponed until next year, when a more complete and satisfactory one might be adopted. If Parliament waited for the next emigration season a whole year would be lost, during which people would be suffering in Ireland, whereas they would have an opportunity of earning a decent livelihood elsewhere. There was another argument in favour of proceeding at once, and that was that, at the present moment, there was a great demand for labour in America and Canada. No one could tell whether that would last for the next two or three years, and therefore it was of the highest importance that those people should be settled as soon as they could, so that they would have the advantage of earning high wages now, and have the opportunity of saving money and putting it by for a rainy day. For these and other considerations he trusted the Committee would accept the Government proposal.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, that objection had been taken to the present scheme on account of the insufficiency of the Money Vote—£100,000. He thought this objection would be to a certain extent tenable, except for the argument of the hon. Member for Exeter (Mr. Northcote), who had pointed out that no emigration could take place this year, and that they were only paving the way now, and if arrangements were made it would be perfectly practicable to come to Parliament for a larger sum next year. Then it had been said there was no provision in this Bill for the emigrants on their arrival abroad. He thought there was a defect in that, and he would shortly indicate it, and he hoped afterwards to move an Amendment on the subject. In this clause it was provided that the Treasury might authorize the Commissioners of Public Works to make grants to Boards of Guardians for emigration purposes. He saw no reason why the grant should be confined to Boards of Guardians—for instance, the Commissioners of Public Works should be capable of treating with the Canadian Government or the charitable associations in the United States, and other associations formed for the very purpose of receiving emigrants on their arrival, and giving them farms on easy terms, and providing them with the means of cultivating the farms. Charitable associations under the guidance of Catholic Bishops in Canada were in possession of large tracts of territory, and all they wanted was that people should go out, and that there should be a certain sum of money granted to assist the people to go out there. He hoped the Government would not allow their measure to be dwarfed by an omission of this kind, and, later on, he should propose that grants should be made to other bodies than Boards of Guardians. He was afraid that grants by Boards of Guardians in Ireland would be made on a very limited scale. It must be remembered that the motive power which would induce Boards of Guardians in England to come forward and help on an emigration scheme did not exist in Ireland. There was no outdoor relief in Ireland; there was no power to give it, and the question was not a question of either supporting people or emigrating them. By emigration, Boards of Guardians in Ireland would render themselves liable to a very heavy rate, and therefore they would not enter upon the work. Poor people in Ireland had no alternative but to go into the workhouse, and there was an insurmountable horror to do this; in fact, thousands would sooner die in the roads than go to the union-house. That must be taken into consideration in any emigration scheme, and the hearty co-operation of the Guardians must not be expected. He noticed that the rate for emigration was to be levied on electoral divisions. He thought this was undesirable. In one electoral division there might be 60 or 100 families. They would suppose, for the purposes of argument, that one-fifth were to be emigrated; the remainder were poor people, and it must be easily seen by the Committee that they would be required to pay a very heavy rate for the emigration of the one-fifth. Any difficulty in this direction would be easily surmounted by the Government consenting to substitute "Union" for "electoral division."

MR. O'DONNELL said, that Her Majesty's Government, in this clause, had sprung a surprise upon the Committee, which was, at the same time, a surrender to the Party of eviction, and the betrayal of the Irish Party. He by no means desired to utter a single word in depreciation of the amiable tone in which the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant dealt with Irish questions from the point of view which he was appointed to occupy; but while he fully recognized, he might almost say, the humane tone in which the Chief Secretary dealt with this matter, he was unable to see any essential difference between the proposal for Government emigration brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman and the proposal brought forward last year by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). There had been a change in tone, but there had been no change in fact. If the voice was the voice of Jacob, the hands were still the hands of Esau; and, for his (Mr. O'Donnell's) part, he preferred that Esau's voice should go with his hand. The right hon. Gentleman said he could quote the testimony of 60 or 70 Irish Catholic clergymen who were in favour of the emigration scheme of the Government. He (Mr. O'Donnell) sincerely hoped that those 60 or 70 Irish Catholic clergymen would constitute the first batch of emigrants, and he sincerely hoped they would be emigrated as far as possible from the shores of the land which they were unworthy to inhabit. There had been, to his mind, a systematic attempt on the part of the supporters of the Government proposal to misrepresent the speeches of the hon. Members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, because the Members of that Party who had spoken had declared that they considered that the Government proposal of emigration was just about the very worst possible scheme of emigration that could be proposed. The Ministerial supporters and the Conservatives, in passing this measure of Irish expatriation, at once presumed to draw the conclusion that the Irish Party were in favour of emigration. There was no Member of the Irish Parliamentary Party either in favour of emigration in general, or in favour of this scheme of Government emigration in particular; and he believed that the votes of the Irish Party would prove on this occasion that the attempts of the supporters of the Government measure to distort isolated sentences from the speeches of Irish Members would totally fail and be totally confounded. His hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), who had spoken on this question, had been accused of being in favour of emigration. What his hon. Friend the Member for Galway stated was, that if there was to be emigration, he would prefer that Irish farmers should be expatriated to Canada rather than be made white slaves in New York and neighbourhood. The only attempt to answer the most rational and most convincing argument of his hon. Friend was the marvellous argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), who reminded the Committee that just at present wages were extraordinarily high and tempting in the United States, and that, therefore, the House of Commons had better make haste and send out these Irish farmers while the present condition of things lasted. He (Mr. O'Donnell) supposed that when the British Parliament had got rid of thousands of Irish farmers they cared little whether they sank or swam. He listened with attention to the eulogiums made upon Mr. Tuke for his efforts in the West of Ireland, especially to the eulogium passed upon that gentleman by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread). He (Mr. O'Donnell) was quite sure that Mr. Tuke was a most estimable man. A philanthropist always sought an opportunity of doing good to his kind, and no doubt Mr. Tuke was a person who, according to his lights, was doing what he thought best in the cause of humanity in the West of Ireland; but he (Mr. O'Donnell) confessed most frankly, and he spoke as a Galway man, and as one who had spent his childhood and youth in that district, and who knew the district well, he sincerely wished that Mr. Tuke would seek a vent for his philanthropy and energy in some other direction. Mr. Tuke had most undoubtedly done evil and not good, though he intended to do good and not evil. He had helped the work of eviction, and he had encouraged the Crowbar Brigade. He (Mr. O'Donnell) sincerely wished that instead of removing the last obstacle which in many cases prevented eviction in Connemara, Mr. Tuke would induce his charitable English friends to join with him in devoting their contributions to some other object—such, for instance, as attenuating the injuries caused by the bombardment by the English Fleet of Alexandria. He was authorized to speak on behalf of Galway men — he was authorized to speak on behalf of his near relatives in that district; and he could quote from the leading newspaper of the West of Ireland—a moderate journal published in the county of Galway—a most emphatic condemnation of Mr. Tuke's well-meant proceedings. *The Galway Vindicator* pointed out, only the other day, that it would be wiser philanthropy to assist the poor peasants in Ireland in their own country than to send them abroad. This emigration was at the best a doubtful experiment, as there was room enough in Connemara for quadruple its present population, if its waste lands were reclaimed and its mineral wealth and resources properly developed. It was not true statesmanship to depopulate a country. Earnest efforts should be made to develop its industrial resources, to make the people prosperous and contented at home. And no one who had a real acquaintance with the industrial resources of the West of Ireland could doubt that this could be done. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had referred to a number of anonymous letters from Catholic clergymen in favour of emigration. The right hon. Gentleman was unable to give the names, and he (Mr. O'Donnell) believed that the vast majority of these clergymen would be sincerely happy to find that he had not been able to do so. He wondered whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention had been called to a letter concerning Mr. Tuke's scheme of philanthropy which had been addressed to the editor of *The Galway Vindicator* by the Rev. Father Malony. This reverend gentleman admitted that many of the districts in Ireland were vastly overcrowded; but, after pointing out that there were hundreds of thousands of acres of reclaimable land in Ireland, he gave a list of holdings in the occupation of single men. Some of those holdings consisted of hundreds and even thousands of acres. Might not the Government buy up those lands, divide them into 10 or 20-acre plots, and place upon them the present poor people in Ireland, instead of by a scheme of expatriation, such as was now proposed, to swell the tide of hate against English misgovernment? He called upon the Irish people by every means in their power to oppose the working of this clause, which clause was war upon the Irish people, and which was a part of Messrs. Kavanagh and Company's scheme for expatriation and introducing settlers from other lands. The Chief Secretary, in his speech yesterday, told the Committee that it would be cheaper to emigrate the Irish people than to keep them for a single year in the Unions of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman, in his most humanitarian tone, and with all the tenderest feelings of his heart, reminded the Committee that the Treasury was only asked, under this clause, to give £5 per head, whereas the cost to the public of keeping paupers was from £8 to £10 per year. It was a piece of pure short-sighted economy that was at the bottom of the Government proposal. He was quite sure that any Irish Member who in the slightest degree represented his constituents—and there were Irish Members who might at one time have done so, but who had long ceased to do so—would oppose the Government in this matter. Every attempt of the Government to carry out their proposal would be resisted by the united determination and the stubborn patriotism of the Irish race, in spite of the Coercion Act, and in spite of the Government's tyrannical Code. There was a most marked absence in all the speeches of English Members—Members who, like the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), were trying to understand Ireland without ever having lived there—of the statement of hard facts such as he had laid before the Committee on the present occasion. In a day or two Her Majesty's Government would be asking the taxpayers of this country to spend millions of money in the destruction of human life. How slow they were to ask the taxpayers of this country to spend millions of money upon the salvation of human life in Ireland. The smallest proposal to entrench on the Consolidated Fund, even to guarantee against the result of calamitous seasons, was strongly opposed by both sides of the House; but there would be very little of that opposition, he supposed, when the proposal was made for the means of destroying human life in Egypt. There could be no better investment, if, instead of going on with this miserable Emigration Clause, the Government would carry out their promise of last year and devote money to the reclamation of waste lands in Ireland. In this matter the Government might rely upon the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), who himself had concocted a scheme for the establishment of a peasant proprietary. He (Mr. O'Donnell) did not ask the Government to go half as far as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster did. He simply asked them, instead of proceeding with this clause, to buy some of the lands in the West of Ireland, divide them into 10 and 20-acre lots, and thus promote the prosperity and contentment of the country. He was obliged to refer to a couple of arguments advanced by Members who were elected to represent Irish ideas, but who now supported the Government. It was now suggested that Irish people should be sent to Catholic Colonies; but, although there were Catholic Colonies in the United States, they were altogether too small for the purpose of dealing with the mass of Catholic misery already seething in the cities of the United States. All that the organizations of Irish Catholics in the United States could do for years to come would be too little to deal with the mass of Irish misery which was the result of British misgovernment and former forced emigration from Ireland. He did not think it necessary to deal seriously with the arguments of the hon. Member who legally represented the County of Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). That Gentleman certainly did his best to contribute materials for the judgment of the House; but his arguments were not very convincing. He stated from his own knowledge, in face of the general declarations of Irish Representatives that the Irish people had no love for emigration, that all his own serving-men and women were ready to leave the wages and cheer of Kylemore Castle to emigrate to the United States. Such an argument was not very weighty. No doubt the hon. Member who legally represented the County of Galway contributed to that House all the information that he could derive from such particulars as he had obtained by lately observing the opinion of his countrymen. He (Mr. O'Donnell) believed that, with the exception of his own domestics, the hon. Member had not addressed a respectable crowd of Irish people during the last two years, and he was convinced that if the hon. Member were to address a crowd of 2,000 people in Galway he would not find one hand held up in favour of Government emigration. The Government would, no doubt, persevere with this clause; but the execution of it did not exactly depend upon the Government. There were stronger powers in existence than the Government; but they insisted on this clause, in spite of the repugnance of the Irish people and the protests of the Irish Party, as a useless sop to that landlord party who might modulate and deform out of recognition the Arrears Bill in "another place." But whatever might be the effect of this concession to coercion and eviction, it was certain that the proposal was condemned and opposed by every Irish Representative who hoped to represent his constituency after the next General Election.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he had great doubt about the inclusion of an emigration scheme in this Bill being at all desirable; but he must say that there was a very strong feeling in Ireland amongst the agricultural people in favour of emigration. There were, to his knowledge, a great number of people desirous to emigrate in Ireland at the present moment, but he did not know of any in favour of migration; and, although he regarded that proceeding favourably, he never could induce people to move from one county to another to suit either their interests or his own. He hoped, if there was any emigration scheme now carried out on a large scale, some of the clergy would leave with the people, and he wished to see no other emigration. He thought it was a pity that this clause was introduced. A Committee ought to discuss the question of emigration on its own merits, with a view to providing far more elaborate machinery than this clause, and far better checks than this Act could provide. He should be glad if the Government could see their way to dropping this clause; but he was bound to admit that there were some priests, and a large number of honest, decent people in Ireland, who were anxious to try their fortunes in Canada, or America, or New Zealand, if they got the chance. He believed that there was a scarcity of labour in Ireland rather than too much of it; but he did not think the wages in Ireland were such as the people could be content with. The farmers, however, could not pay higher wages, and the people were anxious to emigrate. He had induced agents of the New Zealand Government to take out one or two families on favourable terms, and from that moment to this he had been deluged with applications to do the same for others, and it had required all the eloquence he could command to induce them to stay at home. He believed that that feeling existed to a much larger extent than the funds proposed under this Bill could meet; but he should, on the whole, be better pleased to see the clause left out.

MR. BLAKE said, he wished to know what had become of the magnificent offer of the Government of Canada? What was the plan before the Committee? The Government proposed to give £5 if the Boards of Guardians would give as much; and they thought that a certain number of benevolent individuals, with Mr. Tuke at their head, would provide the rest of the money required to emigrate the people; but having emigrated the people as individuals or families, it was no part of the Government plan to place them on land as owners, and it was manifestly the intention that they should devote themselves to labouring for others. He agreed that there would be many people who would be sent out who would be unfit to be put on farms at once; but there were a great number who could be advantageously placed on farms for themselves. He must again refer to the offer of the Canadian Government, and he begged to draw the attention of the Committee to the nature of that proposal. It was that if the British Government sent out emigrants and aided them in some other matters on their arrival the Canadian Government would give them 160 acres of suitable land each, with the right to 160 acres more at the current price of the day. They proposed that previous to their arrival 10 acres should be ceded to the emigrants, homesteads prepared for them, and that they should be maintained until they could make their first harvest and contribute to their own support. Another condition was that whatever was advanced by the Imperial Government should be paid back, so that in the end the Imperial Government would lose nothing at all. What would be the whole expense of emigrating a family of a father, mother, and three children? The cost of placing them on the site of their future operations would be £40, and another £40 would be required to prepare a homestead and support them until their first harvest could place them in a position of independence. That was something like £15 a-head. Why had that scheme fallen through? The Chief Secretary would probably say because the Canadian Government refused to perform their part in the matter; but he was in a position to say that the offer of the Canadian Government remained the same. He was glad to see there had been a change of opinion with regard to Canada—Manitoba and the North-West. When he addressed the House last year he was fresh from the North-West territory, and he then represented that the climate was not of the character which some of his Friends appeared to think; and the best proof of the advantages the climate offered to the emigrant was the fact that lately, at a large speculation for the purchase of land belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, the whole of the land had been bought up by speculators from the United States at a high price. He would have become a purchaser himself, so certain was he that the value of the land would increase; but he wanted to hold himself free from the suggestion that, in advocating emigration, he was doing so for his own interest. The 160 acres held out by the Canadian Government was almost side by side with the land of the Hudson Bay Company, which had brought in so large a number of speculators. The offer of the Canadian Government remained good, but the Imperial Government were unwilling to advance £15 a-head, which would enable the people to emigrate, if they were willing to do so, far better than the present scheme of the Government. He earnestly appealed to his hon. Friends beside him, and to hon. Members generally, to insist on hearing from the Government why something had not been done to send people to Manitoba and the North-West by means of this magnificent offer made by the Canadian Government. No part of this present scheme provided any land for the emigrants; they were to be sent out on the Government contributing a quota of the expense and the Unions giving the other quota, and then they were to be handed over to Mr. Tuke. Mr. Tuke deserved the highest commendation and respect; but in an important matter of this kind he certainly thought that 20,000 people ought not to be handed over to one individual, and that the Government ought to state what they proposed with regard to those people on their arrival in America. On a former occasion, when the question of emigration was discussed, the whole feeling of the Irish Members was in favour of America; but at that time this offer of the Canadian Government was not before them. It was before them now, and he urged them to give it their careful attention. The people of Ireland would rather become farmers than hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR said, the subject of emigration was one in which he had taken a great interest for many years, and one about which he professed to know something. He was very glad to hear the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) state that he had altered his views, and to find that the hon. Member for Galway City (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), who was formerly one of the strongest opponents of emigration, had also changed his view as the result of his experience in America; but while that hon. Member was in favour of emigration, he was in favour of it in a form which would be practically impossible. It was said that the people must have money in their pockets, but it was utterly impossible for any Government to undertake to do that. He had never heard of a single instance of a man going to any of the Colonies who had not succeeded, except by his own fault; in other words, if the man was steady and industrious he was sure to succeed. He had met hundreds and thousands of them who had formerly been steeped in poverty in Ireland, but who had gone out to Canada, Australia, and other Colonies, and were now not only in comfort, but prosperous. The reclamation of waste land in Ireland had not been attempted, because the reclamation would cost more than the value of the land, and why hon. Members opposite opposed emigration he could not understand. He could understand their opposing enforced emigration; but there was nothing of that in this proposal, and it was a mystery to him why they should oppose a gift offered by the Government. The Government simply offered £5 a-head to those disposed to emigrate; that was a free gift, and it would enable the people to pass from poverty to richness, and make a home for themselves in a new and happy country. He believed there were a great many people in Ireland who were anxious to get away, and he did not think hon. Members who opposed the scheme fully understood that. The proposal was a very admirable one, and if Irish Members defeated it they would seriously regret their action. Just after the Irish Famine, he returned from Australia, and when he found £7,000,000 granted to save the people, his first feeling was that that step was a mistake. Those people ought to have been sent out to Canada or other Colonies; but they had been kept at home and pauperized. If the same principle was adopted in this case the consequences would be more serious. Emigration was the only remedy for the condition of the Irish people, and he heartily hoped it would succeed. He wished the Government could see their way to make a larger allowance.

Mr. M'COAN said, he had listened to the observations of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), and it was possible after that speech that anything he might say might expose him to misunderstanding, but at that risk he intended to vote for this clause; for, if he had wanted an argument, he should have found it in the speech of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who reminded the Committee that as the outcome of the evictions of the last two years there were thousands of families in the streets and slums living as best they could. The hon. Member also reminded the Committee that the proposal of the Government was to provide the means of emigrating 4,000 families to better homes with a prosperous future, and if there had been no argument beyond that it would have decided him to vote for this clause. It was idle to talk of emigration on a grander scale, and of the reclamation of waste land. Where would the people be while the land was being reclaimed? Dead or worse; and he thought when the Government offered £100,000 which would be at once available for the alleviation of this distress, it was a poor Irish patriot who turned against such a proposal. He had never given a vote against his conscience; and if this vote were to entail all the consequences with which he had been threatened he should vote for the clause.

Mr. DALY said, this was a question upon which he could not vote without explaining his action. First of all, he did not believe that this was in any sense a wholesale emigration scheme, neither did he believe it was in any way expatriation. He recognized as an essential fact that on the coast of Ireland there had been living, and were now living, a number of families who had for years and years led a miserable famished life to whom this scheme would be a great advantage. But while he said that he was not disposed to vote for the clause as it was introduced by the Bill. First of all, he considered that the sum per head was ridiculously inadequate; and, secondly, he considered that there were no details of the scheme given which would lead him to expect that the scheme was one that would be fairly satisfactory in its results. The Chief Secretary said this was only an outline, and if he was to vote on a question of such importance as this he wanted that outline filled in. He wanted to know where the emigrants were to be planted, and what they were to do when they landed? He was the last man in the world to ask that his countrymen should be spoon-fed, or to say that an Irishman had not the power to put himself right as well as any other man; but here there were a number of people steeped in misery who, by reason of past British misgovernment, had not the energy to right themselves. He, therefore, could not vote for the scheme of this clause, which simply meant the deportation of a lot of people in misery in Ireland to misery in America or Canada. The hon. Member (Mr. Blake) had called attention to a scheme proposed two years ago by the Government of Canada, and he himself had within the last quarter of an hour received an assurance that the promoters of that plan were willing to adhere to and fulfil it. He wished the Government to realize for a moment that it was not the desire of the great bulk of the Irish Representatives to have a wholesale or general emigration; but they accepted the fact that there were about 17,000 of Irish people to whom it would be a great charity and an act of positive justice to be enabled to emigrate. The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) estimated the cost of emigrating a family of five people at about £75 or £80; of that amount £35 or £40 was wanted for the appropriation of land. Those figures were the estimate of the Canadian Government. Another feature which might interest political economists was that the pecuniary aid was, according to this proposal, to be given by the Imperial Government in the form of an advance. That plan he thought eminently worthy of the attention of the Executive. He had the greatest possible respect for the antecedents and the present position of Mr. Tuke; but he should decline to commit his countrymen to any one individual, no matter how magnificently he might give assistance. The persons intrusted with the conduct of this scheme ought to be persons responsible to Parliament, whom the Representatives of Ireland could call to account for any mistakes that might occur. The Government had before them a cut-and-dried plan by which, if they took it up wholly or in part, the people would not be thrown either in America or Canada without any possible means of subsistence; and he joined with the hon. Member for Waterford in urging this plan upon the attention of the Government.

MR. LEAMY said, he had not spoken on the Arrears Bill, nor did he wish to delay it by a single moment; but he was very much surprised this morning to find that the Arrears Bill was not only an Arrears Bill, but an Emigration Bill. He was amongst those who opposed the Emigration Clause in the Land Act of last year, and he was just as much opposed to this clause. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and the Chief Secretary, and the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone), had each favoured this scheme; but had admitted that there were not too many people in Ireland at this moment. If that was so, how could the Government expect any Irishman to support a scheme for sending the people away? There would be an argument for this scheme if it could be said that the population was excessive; but no such argument was advanced. It was said that certain districts were over-populated, and that, of course, was the fact. The Chief Secretary last night had referred to certain Unions, and had pointed out the low valuation in those Unions. The right hon. Gentleman took Galway and Mayo; but why did he not state the valuation per head in Meath County? That would have provided a startling contrast, for, although there were overcrowded districts in Mayo and Galway, there were in other counties means capable of supporting half the people of Mayo, Galway, or Donegal. There was one other remarkable thing about this discussion—on no single occasion had anything been heard of the British taxpayer, yet, when the Arrears Bill was introduced and discussed, reference was made over and over again to the burden which would fall on the British taxpayer, although, as a matter of fact, to meet the arrears in Ireland not a single penny would come from the British taxpayer; every penny would come from the Irish Fund. But although the British taxpayer could only be touched in the event of that Fund failing, hon. Members had protested on behalf of the British taxpayer. But the moment money was to be provided to get rid of the Irish people nothing was heard of the British taxpayer. Hon. Members were perfectly willing to spend the money of the British taxpayer to destroy the liberties or to emigrate the Irish people. In 30 years 3,000,000 of people had gone away from Ireland. Had not enough gone? When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford admitted that enough had gone, and that there were not too many people in Ireland, ought not the Irish Representatives to resist a further drain? The Government had been asked, before sending people away from Ireland, to take other means of finding them occupation in their own country; and when they found a great many of the people of Ireland were poor, although the population was not excessive, the Government brought forward a scheme, not for remedying their poverty, but for emigrating them. If this were the case of England, the Government would say there was not a man too many in England, and they must develop English resources for the benefit of the people. That would be an ambitious project. But when the amount of money spent on police and military in Ireland for the last 30 years, and in assisting landlords to evict tenants, was considered, it would be seen that an amount had been spent which would have developed the resources of the country, and it would have been unnecessary to get rid of these people living in congested districts. If the promoters of the clause could say there were too many people in Ireland, however much he might be inclined to question that statement, he might have regarded that as some solid ground of argument; but it was admitted that there were not too many, and the only difficulty was that in some districts the population was too dense, while in others it was too sparse. Under these circumstances, it could not be expected that the Irish Members could support this scheme. He did not care how many Catholic clergymen in Ireland were in favour of emigration. There were hundreds of Irish people in America who never saw a priest from one year to other; and he hoped the clergymen who recommended emigration would take the advice of his hon. Friend (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) and go themselves.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he was struck by the great anxiety exhibited by Englishmen to depopulate Ireland. During the last 30 or 35 years the population had fallen from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000. It was one of the boasts of France that the people, although they had greater comfort than the people of England, increased slowly, while the English increased rapidly. The hon. Gentleman who made a comparison between the two countries forgot that that argument dealt with frightful force against misgovernment in Ireland. Even if there was reason to suppose that the Irish people desired to emigrate, this scheme was one which could not be agreed to. A proposal to give £5 a-head to persons disposed to take advantage of this Bill was one whose practical effect would be this—the only people who would apply and would get assistance would be those who could really emigrate at their own expense, and the result would be that the very class whom it might be desired to emigrate—namely, those who were in poverty—would be left. The people who did not deserve the grant would get it, and the class who it was alleged were entitled to assistance under this Bill would not get any assistance at all. It was idle to talk of assistance in the way of subscriptions, or in the way of a grant from the Poor Law Guardians, in order to assist emigration. A thoroughly worthless set of people would get assistance, and no *bonâ fide* result would accrue to the class for which this clause was intended, and there would be a repetition of what had occurred under all emigration schemes—namely, that the class who would emigrate would be adventurers—the strong and the healthy could very well make a living in their own country—while the sickly and the weak and the non-adventurers would stay at home, and thus continue to be a source of difficulty. If emigration was to take place at all, no money should be given except to those who were actually paupers, and chargeable on the rates; and then, if there was a sufficient amount given, there would be some opportunity for those whom it was desired to benefit to make an improvement in their position.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 355; Noes 20: Majority 335.—(Div. List, No. 288.)

And it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day*.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the discussion which had taken place on the principle of the clause that day was so complete and exhaustive that he did not intend to trouble the Committee with more than a few words on the Amendment of which he had given Notice in respect of the first of these Emigration Clauses. He asked the Committee to add to that clause words which would have the effect of restricting its operation to a period of one year. He proposed to insert words that would make the clause run thus—

> "From and after the passing of this Act during the period of one year the Board of Guardians of any union in Ireland,"

and so forth; and his reason for moving this Amendment was that Irish Members on those Benches wished to make the proposal of the Government purely experimental. They wished the scheme of the Government to be fairly tried; but they regarded it as an experiment, and it was only on the ground that it was an experiment on a large scale that they could abstain from acts of hostility towards it. He did not know what the intentions of the Government were with regard to the period during which the clause was to operate; but, from the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and other hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, he presumed that the scheme was of an experimental character, and that therefore he should be falling in with the views of the Government in proposing his Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the New Clause, line 1, after the word "Act," to insert the words "during the period of one year."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. TREVELYAN acknowledged that the hon. Member for Galway had stated his views with a brevity which quite bore out his declaration made earlier in the day that he had no wish to delay the Bill. He should be correspondingly brief in stating the views of the Government. Her Majesty's Government did not consider this to be an experimental proposal in the sense explained by the hon. Member; so far from that, they regarded it as the most elaborate and complete scheme of emigration which had ever been embodied in a Bill laid before the House of Commons. The two measures referred to in the clause—"The Poor Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1849," and the Emigration Clause in "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881"—were by no means so elaborate or complete as this proposal. In the opinion of the Government, there was no system, under which public funds were lent or expended, and under which public services were performed, that was so thoroughly understood, and whose conditions were so well known, as the system of emigration, and especially of emigration from Ireland. With regard to the proposed Amendment, the Government felt that it would be extremely dangerous to limit the expenditure of this £100,000 to one year, and that the restriction suggested could not be advantageously adopted. They were satisfied that the details of the scheme were healthy and sound, and they would be glad to take the opinion of the Committee upon the subject of the hon. Member's proposal if he thought it necessary to give them an opportunity of doing so.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

New Clause:—

(Orders for payment of loans may be made by Local Government Board.)

> "If at any time the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland certify that any sum remains

due to them from the Board of Guardians of any union on account of any loan or advance made under this Act, and is then payable to the Commissioners, the Local Government Board shall, by order under their seal, require the Guardians of the Union to pay the sum so certified, and shall send copies of such order to the Board of Guardians and to the treasurer of the Union; and thereupon the treasurer of the Union shall, out of any money then in his hands to the credit of the Guardians, or if such money is insufficient for the purpose, then out of all moneys subsequently received by him on account of the Guardians, pay over the amount mentioned in the order to the Commissioners of Public Works. The Guardians of the Union shall debit the several electoral divisions with such proportions of that sum as may be payable by such electoral divisions respectively,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Motion *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill."

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he looked upon the system of rating proposed in this clause as an evil one. At the present time Union rating obtained in Ireland for everything except outdoor relief, and he was quite unable to see why the rating under this clause should be upon the electoral divisions. He begged to move an Amendment, the adoption of which would prevent the introduction of what he regarded as a bad system.

Amendment proposed,

In line 12, after the word "several," leave out to the word "with," in order to insert "Unions."—(*Colonel Colthurst.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. HEALY said, he was not in favour of either Union or electoral district rating. He believed in national rating in matters of this kind. While the argument in the abstract was in favour of the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County, he did not think that practically it mattered much which of the two former systems was adopted, because he believed under either of them landlords who had treated their tenants harshly would come in for a considerable portion of the mulct for taking those tenants elsewhere.

MR. MACARTNEY said, he hoped the Government would adhere to the clause as it stood. This was not a Poor Law Bill, and a Poor Law rating ought not to be inserted in it.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY pointed out that all electoral division ratings had in process of time become Union ratings. If this matter were to be treated *de novo* emigration rates would be made Union rates. He ventured to say there were strong reasons for making it a Union rating instead of an electoral division rating, among others that the persons who represented the electoral divisions would probably oppose the scheme, and very likely be successful in their endeavours to prevent any money being spent under the clause. Indeed, the Committee might be assured that any attempt to raise money for emigration would be opposed by the members of the electoral division; whereas, if the cost were spread over the whole Union, the opposition would neither be so violent nor so concentrated. It should be borne in mind with regard to Ireland that while the Union rate was administered liberally, the electoral division rates were always administered in a niggardly manner, and very often to the destruction of the plan which the Legislature had in view. For these reasons, and for the purpose of giving the clause fair play, he trusted the Government would allow the rate to be made a Union rate.

MR. O'KELLY said, he thought the facts of the case were opposed to the arguments of the hon. Member who had just sat down. He believed that if a Union rating were adopted every representative on the Board would be opposed to the clause being put into operation. Hon. Members would know that the opposition to divisional rating would come from one or two persons directly interested, and these men would be voted down by the large majority of the Guardians; but if the rating were spread over the whole Union, he said there was very little doubt that the plan would be completely unworkable, because the men who were not interested in getting rid of these people would unquestionably vote against it at the Board meetings of the Guardians. Therefore, if the Government wished to see the clause work well, they should hold to their proposal in its present form.

MR. BIGGAR said, he thought that this scheme of emigration ought to be paid for by the district from which the persons who emigrated had been driven. The argument of the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) appeared to him to be untenable and entirely outside the question. Every member of the Union would vote against the scheme, well knowing that a large portion of the cost would fall upon himself.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be added to the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

New Clause :—

(Grants in aid of Emigration.)

"The Treasury may from time to time authorize the Commissioners of Public Works to make, subject to the regulations of the Treasury, grants to the Board of Guardians of any union for emigration purposes.

"The moneys so granted shall be applied by the Board of Guardians, in accordance with the said regulations for the same purposes as moneys borrowed by them under the provisions of this Act.

"The sums granted by the Commissioners of Public Works shall not exceed one hundred thousand pounds in the whole, and the sums granted to any Board of Guardians shall not exceed five pounds to each person for whose emigration provision is made by such Board of Guardians out of moneys levied or borrowed by them, or otherwise at their disposal, for emigration purposes.

"Such grants shall only be made to the Boards of Guardians of the unions mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act, and of such other unions as may from time to time be settled by the Local Government Board, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant: Provided that such unions are situate wholly or in part in some county specified in the Schedule to the public notice issued by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland on the twenty-second day of November, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, that is to say, the Counties of Donegal, Clare, Cork (West Riding), Kerry, Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, and Sligo.

"Each grant shall only be made on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant, stating that the Lord Lieutenant is satisfied that the Guardians of the Union are unable, without unduly burdening the ratepayers, to make adequate provision, by borrowing under the powers conferred upon them by this Act, or otherwise, for the emigration purposes of the union, and that proper arrangements have been made for securing the satisfactory emigration of such persons.

"The money required for the purpose of grants under this section shall be paid by the Land Commission to the Commissioners of Public Works, and shall be part of the liabilities of the Land Commission, and be a charge primarily upon the Irish Church Temporalities Fund, and, subject thereto, on the Consolidated Fund, in such manner as may be provided by Parliament,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Motion *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In line 3, after the word "union," to insert the words "or such other body or persons as the Lord Lieutenant may approve."—(*Colonel Colthurst.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY suggested that the best way of carrying out the view of the hon. and gallant Member opposite was to make the scheme workable under the Emigration Clause of the Act of last year. He believed that clause of last year gave the Commissioners power to enter into agreements with any person or persons having authority to contract on behalf of "any State or Colony or public body or public Company," with whose constitution and security the Land Commission might be satisfied. He thought that if the two clauses were made to read as one clause, any power under the one being exercisable under the other, the object which the hon. and gallant Member had in view would be best attained.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was glad to think there was a desire to enlarge the clause in this direction. He had recently considered the question very carefully, and, on the whole, had come to the conclusion that to adopt the words of Clause 30 of the Land Act would be too wide for the present purposes. The proper way to meet the case would be to give the Lord Lieutenant larger discretion, and he would be inclined to alter the rules which came afterwards to meet the Amendment which he would now propose. The Government would be willing to accept the words of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Colthurst), "or such other body of persons as the Lord Lieutenant may approve," inserting "and on such terms," after the word "persons." That would give the Lord Lieutenant the requisite latitude which would be required in order to secure the satisfactory operation of the clause.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, to insert after the word "persons," the words "and on such terms."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question, "That those words be inserted in the proposed Amendment," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the words, as amended, be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, there were two consequential Amendments necessary upon the adoption of the last Amendment. The next paragraph now ran—

> "The moneys so granted shall be applied by the Board of Guardians in accordance with the said regulations for the same purposes as moneys borrowed by them under the provisions of this Act."

He would move the omission of the words "by the Board of Guardians," and "by them."

Question, "That those words be omitted," put, and *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) proposed to omit from the next paragraph the words "to any Board of Guardians," and "by such Board of Guardians."

Question, "That those words be omitted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. HEALY moved to leave out "five pounds" and insert "ten pounds." Personally, he had offered no opposition to this clause in Committee, because he considered that the British Government, having made Ireland a very miserable place, ought to do something to give some of the people in the country a chance of escaping from their misery. He, however, thought that £5 per head was an utterly inadequate sum to advance for the purposes of emigration; £5 would not pay a man's passage across the Atlantic, much less bring him from the place he resided in the country to the port of embarkation. Was an emigrant to remain in New York or the seaport at which he arrived; was he to be tumbled down like a bale of merchandize? If the Government had the welfare of these unfortunate people at heart they would do something more than give them the mere price of their passage on board ship. The interests of the Government and of the landlords alone were considered in this clause. The clause sought to ease the landlords and the Government of the pressure of a certain number of hungry mouths in a district, altogether without reference to the future fortune of those individuals. He admitted there were certain parts of Galway and Mayo which were congested—where there were more people than the soil could maintain. To get rid of the surplus population, the British Government now proposed to advance £5 per head. The Committee had not to look to the interest of the British Government and the Irish landlord, but they had to consider the future happiness and fortune of Her Majesty's subjects. He would like to see the Chief Secretary for Ireland setting out to America with £5 in his pocket; he was afraid that the right hon. Gentleman would not have a very extensive dressing case; £5 would not purchase a man's ticket to America; and, therefore, if the people were to be induced to leave the country, £10 was a sufficiently small sum. Take the case of a mother of a family, who was, perhaps, desirous of following her husband. She might have children of two or three years of age, who would not be allowed to travel free. On account of the smallness of the grant, this unfortunate person would be prevented from reaching her husband or her friends on the other side of the Atlantic. He supposed the word "person" meant an adult person? ["No!"] Still his objection would remain—namely, that £5 was wholly insufficient; £10 was not too much to advance for the purpose; and, therefore, he would move to leave out "five pounds," and insert "ten pounds."

Amendment proposed, in line 9, to leave out the word "five," in order to insert the word "ten."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'five' stand part of the Clause."

MR. RATHBONE said, the object of the Government appeared to him to be a wise one; it was to induce others to engage in the work. Supposing it cost £7 or £9 to emigrate an adult person, £5 was to be provided by the Government, and the remaining sum was to be found either by the Guardians or from private sources. He quite agreed with the hon. Member (Mr. Healy) that it would be unwise to attempt emigration on so small a sum as £5; but he agreed in the proposal of the Government to limit the State grant to £5. The remaining amount would be found by someone or other.

MR. MACARTNEY understood that the sum granted for the purposes of emigration would be first controlled by the Board of Guardians and afterwards by the Local Government Board and the Treasury. If that were the case, he did not see any danger in extending the amount of the Government grant. £5 was totally insufficient with which to emigrate anybody; it was not, as had been said, sufficient to pay the passage in the emigrant ship. Many of the emigrants had to travel long distances to the port of embarkation, and it was a very necessary thing that emigrants should not disembark as paupers. He approved of the proposal of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy).

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he thought it would be advisable that the Board of Works should have power to advance as much as £10. It was very necessary that the first of the emigrants should be emigrated comfortably. The success and comfort of the first batch would tend to induce others to avail themselves of this clause.

MR. GIBSON said, it was a serious thing to attempt to interfere to any substantial extent with a financial operation proposed by the Government, because they might put the whole plan of the Government out of gear by interfering with the figure selected. He would have been satisfied if a higher figure had been selected. He, however, considered £10 might be an unreasonably large grant. He did not think it would be right to give the Board of Guardians a chance of making money out of such a transaction, and £10 would be a sum out of which they could make money. He believed that if £10 per head was advanced the Guardians could possibly keep a couple of pounds in their pockets out of the transaction. He would be glad if some figures were arrived at that would, however, pay a very great part of the expenses of emigration. £5 might be too low. He would be glad if something more were given subject to the limitation that the bulk should be given as a grant, something always being left to be made up by local effort. It was not well for a people that they should think they could get all they asked. Some room should be left for individual exertions; whether £5, £6, or £7 was given, he would always like, if feasible, to stop short of the whole sum required. He was not prepared to vote for such a great change as that proposed by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy); but he would be pleased if the Government would intimate that they were prepared to increase the grant of £5.

MR. CROPPER said, he was convinced private charity would go a long way to swell the Government grant, where no money could be raised by the emigrant himself. If public bodies and private donors were allowed to form the idea that all the cost of emigration would be defrayed by the State, very little would be given in other quarters. On the other hand, if it were made known that there was scope for private benevolence or for family assistance, he believed the gifts would be large. Everyone knew how much money had been sent from America for the purposes of emigration. He was surprised the other day to hear from a large shipowner that two-thirds of the tickets of a number of emigrants were sent from America, in addition to other money. He hoped the Government would adhere to their proposal of a grant of £5 per head.

MR. T. C. BARING said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cropper) had alluded to the very large amount of money which might be expected from private charity. In regard to that matter, he would like to refer the hon. Gentleman to an hon. Gentleman who sat near him (Mr. Rathbone). The hon. Member for Carnarvonshire, who had taken a very great interest in the emigration conducted by Mr. Tuke, had told the Committee how very ineffectual private charity had been so far. Emigration on a large scale could not be conducted with private contributions. He should be bound to vote, if there was a division, against the grant of £5, because Mr. Tuke's emigration, which was conducted on the most careful system, averaged between £6 10*s.* and £7 per head. If the Government saw their way to increase the grant to £7 or £7 10*s.*, the Committee would have no reason to complain. Rather than have the grant £5, he would be inclined to go for the larger sum—£10—on the ground alleged by the hon. and gallant Member for County Cork (Colonel Colthurst). If there was to be emigration at all, it was eminently desirable that it should be successful. It was not advisable that persons who had been sent abroad should be able to write to their friends, telling them how uncomfortable they had been. If the Committee had no choice between £5 and £10, he should vote for the £10; but he would prefer that the grant should be £7 10*s*.

MR. RATHBONE said, the emigration Mr. Tuke had conducted cost £6 5*s*. Though he admitted, if the Association had had more money at their disposal, they would have been able to have conducted the emigration more satisfactorily; he believed that with £7 per head they could have done the thing handsomely.

MR. HEALY asked where the emigrants were sent to?

MR. RATHBONE said, some were sent to the agricultural districts, and some to the manufacturing districts; in fact, they were sent wherever labour suitable for the families could be found. If Mr. Tuke's Association had had the assistance now offered by the Government, they could have emigrated, instead of 1,300, 5,000 or 6,000. He agreed with other hon. Gentlemen that it was most desirable that emigration should be carefully and well carried out; but he thought it would be admitted that it was not always by those who had most money that things were best done. If the Government were to give anything like £10, there would be a vast amount of jobbery, and the probability was that the emigrants would be worse off than if the fund was kept within moderate bounds. He did not at all wish to stop the liberality of the Government; but he would repeat that unless they evoked local interest and local aid emigration would not succeed.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he thought that when emigrants arrived in a foreign land they should have at least £1 or £1 10*s*. in their pockets; and, therefore, he agreed with his hon. Friend (Mr. Baring) that £8 would be a more suitable grant for the Government to make than £5.

Mr. T. C. Baring

COLONEL NOLAN said, they were now discussing the case of only five Unions in Ireland. The observations of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), were totally unwarranted as regarded the character of the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland. The right hon. and learned Gentleman wished to throw a very large responsibility on the Guardians. He (Colonel Nolan) was acquainted with the circumstances of the Clifden Union. Many of the Guardians had to ride 30 miles to the Union-house, and, of course, they did not care to travel that distance very often. The effect of the clause would be that its administration would be left to five or six people who lived in the neighbourhood of the meeting-house, and the consequence would be that the whole scheme would fail. In the Clifden Union alone, in 1848 and 1849, between 5,000 and 10,000 people were starved to death because there were no people to administer the charity sent over to them, and he believed a similar state of things prevailed in other Unions. It was now proposed to throw the whole work of a big scheme upon a small body of men. He strongly objected to the principle laid down by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson)—namely, that the scheme must be supplemented by local effort. The scheme must either be worked on Imperial principles—worked by some body in Dublin—or left to the charitable associations. The most sensible thing would be to omit £5, and insert £7. If the Government did that the scheme would be well done; but if they left it to the Boards of Guardians it would be badly done, while by the charitable associations it might be well done or ill done.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS hoped the Government would not make the allowance £7. This was a grant in aid, and it was not desirable to give the whole amount required; therefore, he hoped the Government would adhere to their resolution.

MR. GREGORY said, the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had really hit the difficulty, and that was that in working the Government scheme the Boards of Guardians would have to rely on extraneous assistance. The provision would not be self-acting, and the £5 could not be relied upon to provide the passage under these circumstances. He thought the Government would do well to consider whether they could not make their scheme sufficiently elastic to cover the emigration without relying upon foreign assistance by granting £7. That would not affect the total grant in any way; it would merely affect its distribution. The grant would remain at £100,000; but in order to make the scheme work it was absolutely necessary that there should be such powers of distribution as would render the grant sufficient without extraneous assistance.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN wished to know what the Government were going to do if they were disappointed with regard to voluntary assistance? He did not believe people in general would come to the assistance of the Government in this matter, the general idea being that when the Government put their hand to such a project they ought to be able to carry it through without assistance. He did not wish to facilitate the working of this provision at all; but he feared that if the Government did not get this additional money for the proper emigration of people they would then endeavour to emigrate the people on their own wretched £5. If this assistance did not come from the general public and the Boards of Guardians, what would the Government do then? Would they endeavour to emigrate the people on their wretched £5, and cast them like rubbish on the shores of America?

MR. TREVELYAN: I should require to hear a strong instance before I could feel justified in departing from the careful and matured scheme laid before us by the Local Government Board for Ireland. I say careful and matured scheme because, although this clause has recently appeared on the Paper, I know that the Local Government Board for Ireland have had the matter on their minds for a long time. The question is, whether this is to be a grant in aid to assist emigration, or whether it is to be a grant for the purpose of carrying out emigration. The object of the Government is not to deport the population of Ireland, but to encourage and render possible emigration from over-populated and suffering districts. It appears that if you assent to the principle that it is Government emigration solely, if you are to have a figure very nearly approaching what will cover the expense of transferring and supporting emigrants, you had better have a figure which will ensure that this expense shall be absolutely covered. In the opinion of the Government, to do that would be in the end demoralizing. You may be sure the districts never got into the state in which these districts are without someone being responsible for it. If you take Ireland round as a whole, you may judge that a very much smaller sum than £5 will encourage a great deal of emigration, for during the last 25 years hard-earned money of the ratepayers has been given in absolute aid of emigration by the Guardians themselves, and they have discovered in the course of those years that for £60,000 they could emigrate 18,000 people at a rate of £3 or £4 per head. If that is the amount of money which, taking Ireland as a whole, will induce people to emigrate, you may be pretty sure that there is no district in Ireland in which, if the choice is placed before the district whether it shall be depopulated of its supernumerary population with a grant of £5 a-head, or whether it shall retain those people, the choice will be to emigrate with the assistance offered. To give £10 would be altogether preposterous. £6 10*s*. or so is the average figure which covered the expense of emigration, which has been successfully carried out by an association of gentlemen, to whose exertions we have made frequent reference, and the Local Government Board themselves voted £8 as the outside figure which emigration, on a general scale, would require. This expression "per head" does not apply only to adults, but to the younger members of a family; and the association referred to calculated the expenses of an emigrated family at £40. Under these circumstances, the Government intend to stick to the figure of £5. Whatever the maximum is that is named, you may be sure that wherever a grant is given the maximum will have to be given. In regard to the Boards of Guardians, I rested the opinion of the Government very much on the great degree to which the rates will be swollen in the ensuing winter; and I showed that the expense of emigrating a person would be equal to that of maintaining him at the expense of the parish during the whole year. Under such pressure as that, we feel quite satisfied that the Guardians will meet the Government part-way; and it is needless to say that, unless they do meet the Government to this extent, the Government will not feel justified in giving money in aid of rates in any other shape but emigration. Under these circumstances, and as it is necessary, first, that the country should not be demoralized by too large a grant; and, next, that this grant, which is, after all, a very novel step for Parliament to take, should go as far as possible, the Government intend to stick to their figure.

Mr. DALY said, the Amendment proposed "not exceeding £10;" the amount would not necessarily reach £10. Under this Bill the Lord Lieutenant and the Local Government Board would have control over the emigration, and the amount of money advanced would depend entirely on their judgment. The Government calculated that 18,000 people could be exported for £60,000. There was no more melancholy recollection in the minds of the Irish people than the emigration which took place some years ago. He recollected the emigration from the city of Cork. With the means under the control of the Lord Lieutenant, assisted by the Boards of Guardians and Medical Inspectors of the Unions, and every facility for obtaining the most perfect information as to the exact cases of the people, he did think the Government ought to accept this Amendment. There was another feature in connection with this matter—there were some Gentlemen who wanted to take the minimum of £5; but they acknowledged that it was not sufficient. In plain words, they proposed to trust to Providence for the remainder; and he could only say that, without any disrespect to Providence, Providence heretofore had not been very kind to the emigrants. Any man with experience of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland would know that where the money had to come from the farmers' pockets it would be provided; but a good deal of the intent and meaning of this clause would fall to the ground if it depended upon supplementary aid from the Boards of Guardians. In the scheme for educating the children of Ireland the Boards of Guardians had ignored their duty, and persistently refused to give supplementary aid to national teaching. There was a great deal of truth in what had been put forward by the hon. Member in regard to this scheme. If there was to be a scheme for emigration, it should be made acceptable to the country. The emigrants should be sent out under the control of the Local Government Board, made fairly comfortable, and provided, on their arrival in another country, with as much money in their pockets as would enable them to look about them.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, the hon. Member who had just spoken with much practical knowledge seemed to be afraid that if the small sum of £5 was taken the result would be that an attempt would be made to emigrate people solely on the £5. He himself should not support the Government at all if he had no confidence that the Lord Lieutenant would take care that there should be no emigration, with which the Government had anything to do, until he had obtained reasonable security that there would be provision that emigrants, when they arrived on the other side, should find employment; and he did not think that by narrowing the grant down to £5 any great risk was run. If the emigration was to be conducted with recklessness, power had better not be given to the Lord Lieutenant at all. Then the question was whether they should take £5, or £10, or some other sum. The Committee which Mr. Tuke formed had conducted emigration for something less than £7 a-head; and for that sum, not only was the passage provided, but the people were conducted to places where employment was found. He agreed with his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary that on a large scale of emigration everything should be done by the Government. Mr. Tuke was no doubt able to make way with friends in America; but that could not be expected with regard to a large scheme. On the other hand, great saving might be expected in the actual cost of passage if a large number were taken. He imagined that the Local Government Board were not far off in their calculation that £8 would be as much as was necessary. Then came the question of the Government finding the whole money or not. He doubted whether it would succeed if it was purely a matter of the Government finding the whole money. It was not a mere question of money; there must be some voluntary or local help in the matter—some interest outside the Government—

otherwise the emigration would be a job all over Ireland. The great check to the scheme being made a job would be that there was some local interest outside the Government. His experience was that, however much they might try to do the whole thing with official agency, they would be enormously helped by having some representation of voluntary bodies by their side who were interested in seeing that the work was well done. There was another reason. He thought the ratepayers ought not to be acquitted of all share in this matter; it ought to be brought rather strongly upon them, because it was a great boon to them that persons whom they would be obliged to support in the workhouses should be emigrated. Owners of property ought not to be relieved where the cost would fall heavily upon them, especially in those cases in which there were so many holdings under £5 upon which they paid the whole rates. It would be a great advantage to be freed from some of their expenses. He would rather they were not acquitted of all share in this matter; and he thought the scheme was more likely to succeed if the principle was adopted of the Government giving at the start two-thirds, at least, of the whole cost, and left the other third to be found elsewhere. It was not merely the Guardians who would find that; there were voluntary associations and individuals to be looked to, and it was much better that they should find the balance required. He would assist emigration in every way; he would consult the wishes of the individuals themselves, and ascertain what they thought. Everybody knew how liberal their relatives on the other side of the Atlantic were; and, though they might not be able to do much this year, he believed if these poor people knew that for £5 they would be able to go to America, their relatives would send money to them, and whenever that was done the scheme would be successful. If their friends sent money over to them it was tolerably certain that they were making arrangements at the same time by which the emigration would succeed. This was just one of those cases in which success was much more likely to be obtained by a grant in aid of a local effort than by the whole sum being given. He believed this experiment was likely to be successful; it was, after all, an experiment, and he believed it would be much better done on the principle of £5 than £10.

MR. HEALY scarcely thought the right hon. Gentleman had read the whole clause when he said that the Lord Lieutenant would not give assistance unless other persons came forward, because the clause provided that the Lord Lieutenant was only to give £5 where the Guardians were unable to make any provision for emigration by borrowing. If so, the right hon. Gentleman's argument fell to the ground, because what then would become of his statement that the landlord and taxpayers should pay, seeing that the clause would never come into operation unless the Lord Lieutenant was satisfied that the Guardians were unable to borrow? The right hon. Gentleman also said the Lord Lieutenant would see that certain things were done. He was amazed at the multiplicity of the duties which the Lord Lieutenant had to discharge. He was to be the father of his people. Was the Lord Lieutenant neither to eat, nor drink, nor sleep? Was he to devote the whole of his time to looking after the wishes of the people? The Lord Lieutenant would perform his duties as all Lord Lieutenants had, in the most perfunctory fashion, and would simply sign warrants for sending these people to America, just as the right hon. Member for Bradford signed warrants for sending people to Kilmainham Gaol. This statement about the Lord Lieutenant was a little too thin. It made little matter to the British taxpayer what happened in this case. He proposed £10 because he found that in the Canadian scheme, if a man had £5, he would be able to get 160 acres of land on the other side; so that if the Government were so anxious for the welfare of the Irish people they could ensure the emigrants obtaining land whenever they went to Canada. If the Government had the future welfare of the Irish people at heart, why did they not adopt some such scheme as this? He should have thought it would have been better to have loyal men in Canada than dynamite agents in Pittsburg and New York. The present proposal would simply create Land Leaguers on the other side of the Atlantic, who would hate the Government equally well in Ireland or New York; and they would simply be encouraging additional agitation by sending out the Irish people under the present proposal. Those people would know under what circumstances they were emigrated, and they would blame the British Government for the conditions under which they were sent out, and they would be surrounded by inflammable materials in the shape of fellow-countrymen who held similar views. But if they sent a man to Canada he would be still under the Union Jack, and he would have 160 acres of land; and they were told that when they made a man a peasant proprietor they made him a Conservative. If the British Government were anxious for the well-being of these people he did not see why they should refuse to increase the amount for emigration in each case to £10. He did not see why they should refuse this, although he was, of course, certain they would, as he was perfectly well aware that it was impossible to get anything out of them but bullets and buckshot. The Government were lavish enough when it was a question of oppressing the Irish people—they were ready enough to put £180,000 on the taxes for police; but when they were asked to advance the material interests of the people nobody was more penurious, and they would not give more than £100,000 towards emigration, and this in spite of the fact that England made a very good thing out of Ireland. England robbed her of £2,000,000 a-year, and all she got back for it was the money which was spent in the country on the police and the soldiery. The Irish people did not get any benefit from English rule; and, that being so, when the Government were carrying out what was supposed to be such a philanthropic measure, why were they so mean about it? Why did they get so close and penurious? The Government must not suppose that these things were not taken note of in Ireland. They were taken note of, and they were taken to heart very much; and instead of doing any good by their emigration scheme, in his opinion they would only be emigrating their enemies to the place where they would have a fulcrum. These people could not work against the Government in Ireland, because they were disarmed, and the Government had their police about them; but when they were sent away to New York, or Pittsburg, or some other United States city, they joined O'Donovan Rossa's organization, or some other advanced political association, and became a part of those potent evils against which such frequent protests had been made. The Government were only postponing the evil day. There was a cancer in the West of Ireland, but the Government were creating a still greater one in America. These men they would be sending out to America would only be the pickets and drill-sergeants of future agitation.

Mr. LONG said, that, even if it had not been for the speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down, he should have voted for a larger sum than £5; but he felt he could not possibly go into the Lobby voting for a larger sum than £5 without giving his reasons for doing so. He did so because he could not believe that a scheme of emigration could be carried out successfully for so small a sum as £5, and because he believed it was no use legislating on a subject of such vast importance to the people of Ireland unless they did it in such a way as to make it successful. He ventured to think it would be better for the Committee to vote for the larger sum, even if they were exceeding the amount necessary, than to vote for a small sum, at the risk of failure, in the expectation of obtaining local aid. He had had some experience in emigration matters, and he knew the difficulty of raising money for the purpose even amongst rich people. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant said that the great reason for voting for the small sum was that they would be able to do more with it than they would be able to do with the larger sum. But he (Mr. Long) thought they had much better follow the advice of the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith), and emigrate a less number in a successful way, rather than a large number with a chance of failure. He should rather have thought that £7 per head, which was the amount suggested by the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone)—who had had considerable experience in this matter—would have been a sufficient sum, still leaving a margin to the local authority to improve the position of the emigrants when they arrived at their new homes. He should have thought that £5 would have been too small a sum, and would imperil the position of the emigrants when they arrived out.

MR. W. M. TORRENS said, they had, in the first place, to consider economy in the Exchequer; but beyond this there were several other considerations. He had had the honour to be a Member of a Commission of Inquiry which sat some years ago to consider the condition of the West of Ireland, and he had acted on that Commission under a man whom hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench could hardly disown—namely, the late Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Whateley)—a political economist—although, perhaps, being a political economist was now-a-days no recommendation to a man. Dr. Whateley, however, besides being a political economist, was a great scholar and a Christian priest. The Archbishop, with regard to the incidence of taxation for the relief of the poor in the West of Ireland, it having been suggested that the burden should be placed upon the Unions and the electoral divisions which most required relief, had said to him, in his own idiomatic way—" Why, this is nothing less than offering a hungry dog a nip of his own tail;" and that saying, after a lapse of many years, still remained pungent and pointed. The very property which it was thought should be most burdened was that which was least able to bear the burden. If emigration was worth talking about and legislating for, it should be dealt with altogether nationally, and it ought not to be left to the most distressed localities to supply the means. Then the Government should bear in mind that there was another party to this transaction—that there was another thing to be considered—namely, the feeling of the community to whom it was proposed to send this pauperized population. The day would come, and that at no distant date, when both in the Colonies and in America there would be resistance to our throwing our waste labour upon them. Such a course was unworthy of a great nation like Great Britain—it was both injurious and impolitic. What ought to be done with these emigrants was to put something in their pockets, besides paying their passage money, to enable them to live for at least a year. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might laugh—this might seem very ridiculous to those who had never known what it was to want. If they were to send their surplus labour to the United States they must do so with unblinded eyes as to the consequences. He would not advert to the political consequences, because they had been dwelt on by the hon. Member (Mr. Healy) with the frankness that was characteristic of him. If he (Mr. Torrens) did so it would be said that it came from another spirit; but his contention was that they had no right, from the point of view of humanity and policy, to saddle a friendly State with the burden of supporting persons they were not aware would be able to provide for themselves in a short time. He agreed with the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) that it was better to provide for the emigration of a few respectably, than of a large number, and run the risk of having the reproach cast on them of sending out their surplus population to be a burden to other States.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 230; Noes 58: Majority 172.—(Div. List, No. 289.)

MR. TREVELYAN said, he wished to strike out all the words from the words " for whose " down to the word " purposes," in line 12, inclusive, so that the paragraph would conclude with the word " person."

Amendment proposed, to leave out all the words after the word " person," in line 10, to the end of the paragraph.—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had another consequential Amendment in line 13—namely, to leave out " to the Boards of Guardians," and insert " for the benefit."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words " to the Boards of Guardians," in line 13, and insert " for the benefit."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, after the word " Unions," in line 14, to insert the words " or electoral divisions."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

MR. GREGORY said, the new clause he had to propose was perfectly voluntary in its character. Its object was to provide that when an arrangement had been made by which a tenant who was unable to pay his antecedent arrears agreed to give up his holding to the landlord, the landlord, in consideration of that, should forgive him his arrears, and the one year's rent to which the landlord was entitled under the Bill should be paid for the purpose of the emigration of such tenant. There were two classes of small tenants in Ireland, the one having a little money, and being in consequence able to maintain themselves on their small holdings, the other having nothing but their small holdings to rely upon. This latter class, which it was proposed to relieve from their arrears, he said, would really be in no better position afterwards, if they remained on their holdings, than they were in at that moment. To these persons, therefore, emigration would, no doubt, be a great boon, and it was for the purpose of assisting them that he proposed the clause of which he had given Notice. It had been said that emigration, under the circumstances indicated, might be carried out by an arrangement between the landlord and tenant without reference to this Bill. He admitted that; but then the voluntary arrangement pre-supposed that the money should be paid in the first instance to the landlord, and he thought it would be much easier to intercept this than to recover it for the purpose intended when once it had been paid. On these grounds, he ventured to hope the clause would commend itself to the Committee.

New Clause :—

(Provision for Emigration.)

"When any tenant who is unable to pay his antecedent arrears shall have effected an arrangement with his landlord for the surrender of his holding, in consideration of a release from such arrears, with or without any further or other consideration, and with a view to his emigration, the Land Commission may make an order for the application of the money which would otherwise be payable to or for the benefit of such landlord to or for the purposes of the emigration of such tenant,"—(*Mr. Gregory,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Mr. BIGGAR said, he hoped the Government would not agree to this clause. A scheme was before the Committee for which the Government were responsible, and he regarded the proposal of the hon. Member for East Sussex as tending to complicate the Government plan. He thought it more desirable to facilitate the progress of the Bill than to spend time in the discussion of these new proposals with regard to emigration.

Mr. RATHBONE said, it was not his intention to move the Amendment to the proposal of the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) of which he had given Notice.

Captain AYLMER said, he thought the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had treated the Amendment before the Committee in a very extraordinary manner in asking that it should not be considered. In his opinion, the Amendment of his hon. Friend would do more for the cause of emigration in Ireland than the clause of the Government. They were told that the tenants were so attached to their wretched holdings that it was almost impossible to get them to leave them, notwithstanding that they could get no living out of them, however small the rents might be. Now, it was evident that the time when a tenant would be most likely to accept money for the purpose of emigrating was when he was brought face to face with his position, and that would be when he found he could not pay the one year's rent required of him under the Bill, and when, in consequence, there was nothing but eviction before him. It was then that, under the clause proposed by his hon. Friend, the Land Commissioners would say to him—"If, instead of forcing your landlord to evict you, you will make terms with him, and give up your holding, we will give you the amount of one year's rent, and the landlord will probably give you something more in order to assist you to emigrate." It appeared to him that opposition to this Amendment was inconsistent, because it was equivalent to saying that, while the tenant in arrear should be assisted who could find one year's rent, no assistance should be given to the tenant who could find no money at all. For these reasons, he hoped the Government would accept the clause proposed by his hon. Friend.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, if this Amendment had stood alone as the only proposal with regard to emigration before the Committee, it would undoubtedly have been discussed with considerable interest. But the Committee had now been engaged for the greater part of two days in discussing a rather comprehensive scheme for emigration, which scheme had become part of the Bill. He pointed out that the emigration proposal of the Government was quite a distinct matter from the proposal to keep the tenant in his holding by the payment of his arrears; but the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Sussex mixed these two things together, and, to a certain extent, confused them in a manner which the Government regarded as highly inconvenient. Again, it appeared to him that the Amendment did not enter sufficiently into detail. How was the money to be paid over for the purpose of emigration; who was to be responsible for seeing that it was applied to that purpose? The Amendment undoubtedly represented the good will and intentions of the hon. Gentleman opposite, and he was bound to acknowledge that it was highly honourable to him to propose a method of furthering emigration which would have come within the scope of the Bill; but, the Government scheme having now been adopted, he trusted he would not feel it necessary to press the matter to a division.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he differed from the right hon. Gentleman as to the opinion he had expressed, that the hon. Member for East Sussex had mixed up the question of arrears with the question of emigration. But even if he had mixed the two questions together, he was bound to say that his hon. Friend would have been only a copyist in so doing, since the admixture of these two undoubtedly distinct questions had been initiated by Her Majesty's Government, by the introduction of these emigration proposals into a measure professing to deal exclusively with the question of arrears. The charge, however, could not be justly brought against his hon. Friend. He hoped the Government would reconsider the apparently hostile attitude which they had assumed towards the Amendment, because it was certainly in the public interest that any money which had to be paid by the taxpayer or from the Irish Church Fund, which was under the custody of Parliament, should be expended in a manner that would most conduce to the public advantage

MR. GREGORY thought the right hon. Gentleman had scarcely met the point of his Amendment. However, after what had been said, he supposed he must consign it to the limbo of good intentions, and ask permission to withdraw.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

New Clause:—

(Exemption in respect of public charges upon arrears of rent extinguished.)

"Any person otherwise liable to pay any tithe rent-charge, quit-rent, county cess, or poor rate which shall have accrued or been assessed upon any land in respect of which any arrears of rent shall be released and extinguished, and shall not be covered by the payments provided in respect of arrears of rent by this Act, shall be exempt from the payment of such tithe rent-charge, quit-rent, county cess, or poor rate for the period for which such arrears shall be released or extinguished; and, where any such rent-charge, quit-rent, county cess, or poor rate shall have been paid by such person, he shall be entitled to recover the same from the authority to whom such payment shall have been made,"—(*Mr. Gregory,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Motion *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in lines 1, 5, and 7, after the word "rent-charge," to insert the words "income tax."—(*Dr. Lyons.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Amendment proposed,

In Clause 15, page 8, line , between "same" and "every," insert "the collector shall be paid by the Land Commission such remuneration not exceeding one shilling in the pound of his collection as the Land Commission with the consent of the Treasury may determine, and the Clerk of the Union may be paid such remuneration (if any) as the Land Commission may with the like consent determine."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the following Schedule be added to the Bill:"—

Second Schedule.

Unions.

Belmullet
Newport
Swinford

Clifden
Oughterard

—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the Bill, as amended, be reported to the House," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. GLADSTONE: I think it is the general wish of the House that we should now proceed to read this Bill a third time. In making that Motion, Sir——

MR. SPEAKER: The first Question to be put is, "That the Report be now considered."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. GLADSTONE: In making the Motion that this Bill be now read the third time, I believe I need not detain the House for more than, perhaps, five minutes. I believe we are all of opinion that the points in this Bill have been thoroughly sifted, and indeed exhausted, by repeated discussions, and there are only two matters on which I will make so much as a single remark. This I do mainly in the interest of the future. The first of these is that this Bill is capable of being regarded in more lights than one, and that it is most important for the interest of the future that it should be regarded in its true light. It may be regarded as a Bill passed for the relief of distress; it may be regarded as a Bill for the prevention of evictions; and it may be regarded finally—and this I conceive to be the true character of the Bill, and it certainly has been the determining motive with the Government in proposing it—it may be regarded as a means of enabling a large portion of the poorest of the Irish peasantry to obtain, if they see cause, access to the Land Court. With respect to the first of these—namely, the relief of distress, it will hardly be said that that will be a justifying motive for the Bill. In fact, it is clear it could not be a justifying motive for the Bill, and if it were to be recognized as a justifying motive, the precedent would be one of very great danger. With respect to the prevention of eviction, and removing a cause of temptation to evict, that undoubtedly is a grave and serious cause. It is also one rather special to the present time, and it is one which, I think, may fairly be considered as operating, to a certain extent, on the minds of the Government and of the House in passing this Bill. I wish to record on the part of the Government—and I hope I may say on the part of the House—that the main cause for passing this Bill is in order to open a way for the poorest portion of the tenantry of Ireland to those adjustments of rent which have been found in many cases to be necessary, even in regard to the less needy part of the tenantry, and which are essentially connected with the policy of this legislation for the pacification and contentment of Ireland. I wish this to be recorded, not only because it is true, but because it is most important this should be borne in mind, lest the example of a public grant given for the relief of individuals in their difficulty should be treated as a precedent in cases where the determining motives which I have described do not apply. I do not feel I am now speaking in the interest of the Bill, or of the Government, but in a common and public interest, because I think it must be the desire of all, whatever view we take of this particular measure—whether we are opposed to it, or whether we are convinced of its necessity for the well-being of Ireland—it must be our earnest desire that in the interest of Ireland, as well as of the country at large, it should not unduly, and without warrant, be made a precedent for the future in circumstances that are not paralleled. The only other remark I wish to make is this—and I cannot help thinking it is one which ought to weigh upon the minds of Members of this House. This Bill has been largely criticized and steadily opposed, and the Government have never denied that any such measure is essentially open to serious criticism. We have never for a moment kept back the fact that in our view, as well as in the view of others, the objections to such a measure are very grave; but we have urged that the reasons in its favour are so much more grave as greatly to outweigh the objections. I do not wish to dilate on that point, but what I do wish to point out is this—that even among those who have opposed the Bill few indeed have alleged that it is not necessary for Parliament to pass a measure for the liquidation of arrears. That admission I will not say has been universal, but it has been general. I should find it very difficult to refer to any speaker holding a prominent position in this House who has gone the length of maintaining the broad assertion that we could, either in policy or in justice, go on without proposing some effective measure for the settlement of this question. Well, now, if that be so, what is my own proposition—and I think I may say my own? It is this—that there is no serious plan for the settlement of arrears before the House upon any basis excepting that which is embodied in the Bill of the Government. It is quite true that some Gentlemen of great weight, and having a great title to authority, and who, sitting on our own side of the House, have given us valuable support in measures relating to Ireland, have proposed a much larger scheme than ours for dealing with arrears—a scheme which, if it had been adopted, would have made the gift to the tenantry not less extensive than that which we propose to give, and would, at the same time, have made a loan to the tenants of Ireland of another sum still larger, and which would, in fact, have had a much larger operation than hon. Members contemplate. I think the opinion of the House has been made clear that a measure of that scale could not be adopted. I have carefully watched the speeches which have been delivered from the opposite side of the House on this subject, and I do not think that a single speaker has committed himself to the proposition that a measure purporting to advance probably £6,000,000 of public money—namely, £2,000,000 in the shape of gift, and £4,000,000 in the shape of loan—for the settlement of these arrears was a measure which Parliament would be justified in adopting. So far as these declarations go, hon. Gentlemen opposite have carefully abstained from committing themselves to what I may call a gigantic proposition of that character. They have spoken in general terms of the basis of loan as preferable to the basis of gift; but they have never pointed out any plan which they have in their minds, and upon which they proposed to found the settlement of the question. They have had before them a Bill which mapped out a plan, and I believe it is generally admitted a not impracticable plan of settlement. They have taken objection, and expressed preference in the abstract for a different basis for the measure; but they have placed no such measure or given the outline of any such measure before the House. I am not making these observations as a charge, but as a matter of fact—as an important portion of the facts of the present situation. You have before you the grave and admitted necessity for proceeding with some measure adequate to the necessities of the case, and, practically, you have before you no rival or competing plan. That there is a necessity for dealing with the question I think no Gentleman has felt himself allowed by his understanding or his conscience to deny. That being the case, I cannot help expressing the respectful hope that this House will, by a decisive majority, recognize the great necessity of offering to Ireland this great and important boon.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he rose to move that the Bill be read a third time that day two months. He felt justified in doing so by the unusual character of the measure. He did not underrate the inconvenience that would arise if opposition was offered to every measure that was considered by that House at every stage; but there was involved in this Bill so sharp a departure from those principles upon which the wealth and prosperity of this country had been built up, and by which its social and commercial integrity had been secured, that he was justified in asking the House even at the eleventh hour to reject the Bill. It had been said the Conservative Party were always ready to vote for coercion, and always opposed to remedial measures. He himself only gave one vote in support of the Prevention of Crime Bill, and that was a vote in favour of the Amendment extending the Alien Act to England. So far as he personally was concerned, therefore, he was not open to the charge which was made against his Party generally. He would endeavour to compress his remarks in the smallest compass; if he had had an opportunity of rising to move the rejection of the Bill at this stage at an earlier hour of the day, he would have felt justified in entering into some detail as to the reasons which induced him to object to the Bill. His objection to the Bill was fourfold. He objected to its origin; he objected to its provisions; he objected to the arguments by which it had been supported; and he objected to its probable effects upon Ireland. With regard to its origin, he had only to ask hon. Members to carry back their minds to the occasion when the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. Redmond) rose in his place to move his Bill dealing with the question of arrears. On that occasion the House were bewildered and amazed to find the Prime Minister accepting the principle, and even the details, of the measure. Hon. Members did not know then what they knew now; they did not know then that the principle of the settlement of the arrears of the tenants of Ireland by gift formed a clause in the "Treaty of Kilmainham," second only in importance to the release of certain "suspects" in Kilmainham. They did not know then what they knew now—that it was the first step in the new policy in the government of Ireland—that policy which had resulted in the resignation or assassination of those to whom the immediate government of that country was committed. But they knew it now; they knew where this Bill had its origin. They knew it had its origin in that part of the House where other practices had had their origin—practices which had gone far to lower that House, in the estimation of the people of this country, to the level of a village debating society or of a meeting of the shareholders of a bubble Company. However they regarded this Bill, and however it might be supported on the plea of necessity, they could not forget its origin. If he might travesty the words of one of Ireland's most accomplished poets, he would say—

> "You may twist, you may alter this Act as you will,
> The taint of the Land League will hang round it still."

He had said he objected to the Bill, in the second place, on account of its provisions. The provisions of the Bill had been so fully gone into in Committee that he would not allude to them further now. He would simply say that, although the Prime Minister had alluded to this Act as an Act in relief of charity, he (Sir Herbert Maxwell) did not consider it an Act of charity to Ireland. If he were to look for a parallel to the action of the Government in promoting this measure, he should call to the minds of hon. Members the parable of the unjust steward. Did not the unjust steward go about amongst his lord's debtors and say—"How much owest thou?" Was there not an unjust steward on the Treasury Bench who had been going about in Ireland and saying—"How much owest thou?" and who, when the tenants answered—"Two or three years' rent," said—"Take thy bill and write one year's rent—write one year's rent, and we will pay it for you?" And where was the unjust steward to get the funds to pay that year's rent? Was it not out of the pockets of the English and Scotch farmers, who had suffered far more hardly and far more heavily during the last three or four years than the Irish farmers had suffered, because an element had entered into their sufferings and their losses with which the Irish farmers had not had to compete—they had not had to compete with American imports. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members said "Oh, oh!" but he would like to know how tenants holding 5 or 10 acres of land were affected by the importation of any amount of food from America? It was not men of that class who were affected by foreign competition; it was the men—the farmers—of this country, whom the Government were now asking to put their hands in their pockets to meet the obligations of the Irish tenants. Thirdly, he objected to this Bill on the ground of the arguments by which it had been supported. He called them arguments, but, indeed, they were hardly worthy of that name. Certainly they did not commend themselves as arguments to him, or to many of those who sat around him. There was only one whose cogency they could at all admit, and that was that of "necessity" which had been most prominently put forward by the Prime Minister. But, who was responsible for that necessity? He denied that that necessity existed. The hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. Redmond) and those who sat near him were the only persons who were convinced of it. They were told that they should be apprehensive of evil consequences if this Bill were not passed. He quite believed it; but he believed evil consequences would ensue whether the Bill was passed or not. If it was not passed, the evil consequences would be immediate; if it was passed, they would only be deferred. But the responsibility rested not with those who rejected the measure, if it were rejected—and he still hoped it would meet with such opposition or such alteration that it would fail in some of the consequences which he anticipated—the responsibility was not with those who rejected the measure, but with those who created its necessity. If a person introduced a match into a powder-magazine, the responsibility for the explosion rested with those who stored the powder or with those who had introduced the match. Lastly, his objection to the Bill was grounded upon what he believed would be its effects upon Ireland. He denied that the payment of this bribe would have any effect upon the pacification of Ireland. Was there a man of common sense either in that House or out of it, who knew the Irish character, who believed that the people of Ireland would be content with what was contained in this Bill? What security was there against a further accumulation of arrears; and when arrears were accumulated, what was to prevent the tenants from looking to the same source from whence they derived relief now? He did not wish to detain the House further at that hour of the night. He supposed the Bill would pass through all its stages in that House, and he supposed that another step would be taken in that policy which he believed was swiftly and surely rendering Constitutional government in Ireland an impossibility. The loyal Members of that House, and the loyal people in this Empire, had grave cause of misgiving when they saw right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench ready to accept from the hands of those whom they themselves had denounced as instigators and aiders and abettors of crime in Ireland a Bill such as that, and to press it forward with all that vast power with which they had been invested by the people of this country for very different purposes.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day two months."—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

LORD ELCHO assured the House that he would only stand between it and a division for a few minutes, and on that account he claimed the indulgence of hon. Members while he ventured to give utterance to a few sentences. He desired to enter his protest against a measure of this character and of this importance, containing as it did principles so novel, being by agreement between both sides of the House passed through the three stages in the course of one evening. He had abstained from taking part in the discussion in Committee; indeed, this was the first time, although he felt very strongly in the matter, on which he had ventured to open his mouth this Session on Irish questions. He had abstained from speaking, because they had had so much discussion upon Irish questions that it was hopeless to endeavour to advance any new arguments, and because speech was powerless against the measures of the Government in the face of the ready following which obeyed the teaching of the Government, whether that teaching was consonant with Liberal principles or not. Knowing and feeling that speech was only useful for Obstruction, and that argument was utterly unavailing, he would not, that evening, have ventured to trouble the House were it not for the speech to which they had just listened from the Prime Minister. Speaking of the character of this Bill, the right hon. Gentleman said—"Call it, if you like, a Bill for relieving distress; you may call it a Bill for preventing eviction; but it is not a Bill for relieving distress, it is not a Bill for the prevention of eviction, but it is a Bill mainly to enable poor tenants to go into the Land Court." And, feeling the weakness of his own case, the Prime Minister admitted that, if it were a Bill for the relief of distress or for preventing evictions, it would be a most dangerous precedent. It was because they had been taught to look upon the Bill as one for relieving distress and for preventing evictions that he (Lord Elcho) regarded it not only with distrust, but as one of the most dangerous measures ever presented to Parliament. His hon. Friend who moved the rejection of the Bill explained what the payment of arrears meant. It meant, he said, that the hard-gained earnings of the loyal and law-abiding people of this country, of the English and Scotch workmen, were to be taken to pay the debts of those who some people thought were well able to meet their obligations; and that was to be done when it was known the harvests in Ireland in the last two years had been infinitely better than those in England and Scotland. Money was to be taken from those who could less afford it than the Irish farmers towards whose debts it was to go. That was a dangerous precedent; the right hon. Gentleman admitted it was so, and he hoped it would not be taken advantage of. He (Lord Elcho) was one of those benighted individuals who believed that principles were eternal, and that a Minister, however powerful, however willing his following was, could not say to a principle—"Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." For anyone to think he could confine a principle to Ireland, or to England, or to Scotland, or to any particular description of property, was nothing but the most extraordinary short-sightedness, or the most extraordinary belief in his own powers that could be imagined. Was there any sane man in the House who heard him who did not believe it, that if it suited the purpose of any persons in this country to agitate in favour of the payment of the rent of the poor people in this country the matter would not be brought forward in Parliament? He ventured to think, further, that there was more ground for paying the house-rent of the poor people in the crowded streets and alleys within a few minutes' walk of that House than there was for paying the debts which the Irish farmers had for so long studiously refused to pay. One word on the question of eviction. They were told this Bill was not brought in for the purpose of preventing eviction. He was under the impression that that was one of its main objects. Had they not heard in these debates how the Irish landlords had been abused for what was called harassing the Government by evictions and other means of securing their just debts; and had not the Chief Secretary complained, in querulous tones, of the landlords of Ireland being unpatriotic and cruel? Naturally it was supposed that these terms referred to the action of the landlords towards their tenants. But it was subsequently explained that this querulous complaint had not referred to their conduct to their tenants, but to their conduct in regard to the Government. It was complained that they harassed the Government, and that implied that the Government were very much opposed to eviction, and that, by evicting, the landlords acted unpatriotically and cruelly. When the Land Bill was passed the Government thought they had done everything they could and ought to do for the benefit of the Irish tenants, and they then intended to leave Irish landlords to settle with their tenants, and to exact their rents, or whatever was due. What, then, was the reproach of the Prime Minister? He reproached the Irish landlords for not backing up the Government, and taking the law into their own hands, and endeavouring, by what means the law had left them, to get what was due to them. He was under the impression that it was the Prime Minister who complained; but, at any rate, language was used by a Minister to the effect that the fault of the landlords was that they had not backed up the Government by endeavouring to get their arrears of rent, or, at least, that portion of their rents to which they were still entitled after the Land Act had taken their property from them. In corroboration of that view, he wished to state that he knew it as a positive fact that, whatever might be the views now advanced by the Chief Secretary in that House in the month of June, the policy of the Irish Government in the month of January, or thereabouts, was that the landlords should ask the Government to help them systematically in evicting their tenants. But the landlords declined to come to the Government for assistance, and why? Because they said if they did that, and the Government supported them, and their acts became unpopular, they would then be thrown over. That being the language spoken in January, a Bill upon this very question was passed in June; and that, he thought, ought to throw some light on the way in which affairs were managed in Ireland, and in this country. It would show the people what kind of statesmanship it was which governed Ireland, and by which the people of England were still so much deluded.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought the noble Lord who had just spoken had put his case before the House as clearly as it could possibly be put, and he had no wish at that moment to detain the House by any lengthened speech, or to enter into any arguments on the matter. The time for argument was already passed, because the arguments already brought before the House were, in his opinion, conclusive, although the Government, by their numbers, had set them aside. The Prime Minister had that night made two admissions which it was necessary to take note of. The first admission was that this Bill contained principles which needed the gravest possible consideration at the hands of the House, and had not had more consideration than the gravity of the principles involved really required; and the Party with whom he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) acted would have neglected a solemn duty if they had not brought forward arguments to show that, in their opinion, these principles were wrong. The second admission he regarded as of more importance, because the Prime Minister had gone out of his way to make it the special opinion of the House that the principles involved in the Bill were not to be made a precedent for future legislation. That showed how the Prime Minister must feel the danger of adopting these principles. No one could doubt, and no one felt that doubt more than the Prime Minister, that there was a great danger which, in late years, the country had been subject to in cases of this kind. If a Bill was once passed in which sound principles were interfered with, they could not tell where legislation would lead them; and the Prime Minister had made an observation which would never be forgotten —namely, that when an Act of Parliament contained a germ it was likely to develop in future legislation into a great many Acts as the result of the false step originally taken. The Prime Minister had given the House a warning that this Bill contained principles which were not to be followed, except in circumstances such as the present. Then the Prime Minister said that no other plan had been suggested by any Member of that House. No other plan could be proposed when the principle upon which any measure was founded was so bad and vicious as in this case. It was for the Government to produce another plan, and not for other Members of the House to do so. He objected to this Bill, because, in its origin, the Government thought it right to procure submission to the law by concession to agitation. He objected to it because he believed it was wrong in principle, and also because he believed it would be demoralizing to the people whom they hoped to assist. It would be demoralizing to the Irish nation. If it had been a voluntary Bill, by which the people might by agreement take advantage of certain things, he should not have objected so strongly; but by the compulsory measure now proposed a principle was introduced which would involve bad legislation in the future; and, therefore, he hoped the House, even at the last moment, would enter a protest against the Bill, and he should be very thankful if only they rejected it.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he was not anxious to aid in passing this Bill at all; but he was anxious to shelve it as soon as possible. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that the time for argument was passed, although he should not follow the right hon. Gentleman's example and immediately argue against the Bill. The Bill had been discussed, and he could not regard seriously the proposal to move its third reading this day two months. What he wanted to refer to was the action taken in regard to this measure, and the hopes entertained for its future success. The Irish Members had done their best to assist in passing this measure, although they objected to it on many points, and especially with regard to emigration. Upon that clause they had offered their views; but they had interposed no objection to the settlement of the question. If some parts of the Bill fell short of what they had a right to expect, there were other parts which were unsatisfactory, and might be a source of future danger; but, having expressed their views, they recognized the necessities of the case; they saw that the Government must be looked to not to do what they would be quite willing to do, but to do what was in their power under the circumstances; and they were, therefore, glad to assist the Government in passing this measure. They had one hope—that when the Bill passed from that House it might come back no more. It had yet to go through a certain ordeal, the result of which might be its return to this House less strong and less effective than it was on leaving. He wanted to impress on the Government the fact that the Irish Members accepted this Bill as the minimum which, in the present condition of things, would be of the slightest use to meet the difficulties of the Irish distress; and he would urge the Government most earnestly if, by any chance, the Bill was mutilated and weakened in "another place," to stand by the principle of their Bill as it now stood. Fatal consequences had resulted from the mutilation of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which were the foundation and origin of all the evils that had arisen; and the Government, remembering that, must not allow an irresponsible and unrepresentative Body to mar this measure, which, after so much patience, they had passed with so much success.

VISCOUNT GALWAY said, he wished it to be clearly known that the taxpayers of this country were to be called upon to pay their share of £2,000,000, not to relieve distress in Ireland, and not to facilitate emigration, but simply to aid the Government in carrying out their Bill of last Session.

COLONEL MAKINS wished to ask the Government with what face they could request the House to deal with corrupt practices when they themselves had passed a Bill which involved a gigantic piece of corruption and enormous bribe? Money required for bribery was generally provided by those who would benefit by it, and in this case the Government were drawing money from the hard-pressed taxpayer of this country in order that they might make a bargain with the ex-Government of Kilmainham. He thought they should look at home before they passed a Bill of this sort. [*Murmurs.*] He could quite understand the impatience of hon. Members opposite, for they did not like the Bill to be designated by its proper name; and he was quite sure that, sooner or later, the country would see the true meaning of the Bill, and its effect would recoil upon the Government. Sooner or later they would have to ask for another amount of money for the purpose of fulfilling their bargain, and to maintain that law and order which this bribe would fail to secure.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 283; Noes 177: Majority 106.

AYES.

Acland, C. T. D.
Acland, Sir T. D.
Agnew, W.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Bellingham, A. H.
Biddulph, M.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brooks, M.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Butt, C. P.
Byrne, G. M.
Caine, W. S.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H.C.E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Col. D. La T.
Corbet, W. J.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, Sir D.
Daly, J.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, W.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Earp, T.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gill, H. J.
Givan, J.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gordon, Lord D.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grenfell, W. H.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Healy, T. M.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Johnson, E.
Johnson, rt. hon. W. M.

Jones-Parry, L.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Laing, S.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Lee, H.
Leeman, J. J.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Leigh, hon. G. H. C.
Lloyd, M.
Lymington, Viscount
Lyons, R. D.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Coan, J. C.
Macfarlane, D. H.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Magniac, C.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, E.
Martin, R. B.
Marum, E. M.
Mason, H.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Nelson, I.
Nicholson, W.
Noel, E.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Major F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donnell, F. H.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Kelly, J.
O'Shea, W. H.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Playfair, rt. hon. L.
Porter, A. M.
Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Pugh, L. P.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, G. W. E.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sheil, E.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, E.
Smithwick, J. F.
Smyth, P. J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Vivian, A. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Walter, J.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

NOES.

Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Baring, T. C.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burnaby, General E. S.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Chaplin, H.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Cole, Viscount
Collins, T.
Coope, O. E.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, rt. hon. G.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Digby, Col. hon. E. T.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. W.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, Sir G.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Maj.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzpatrick, hn. B. E. B.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Fort, R.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Grey, A. H. G.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Macartney, J. W. E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Mac Iver, D.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
March, Earl of
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mulholland, J.
Murray, C. J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
Noel, rt. hon. G. J.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Onslow, D.
Paget, R. H.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.

Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
Salt, T.
Schreiber, C.
Sclater-Booth, rt.hn.G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hn. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, rt. hon. Col. T. E.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tottenham, A. L.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.
Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—OBSERVATIONS.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he wished to say a word on the question of Supply, as the Prime Minister was not present when he ventured to make a few observations on the subject at a recent Sitting. He found that out of 190 Votes there still remained 177 to be considered, and it was obviously like child's-play to attempt to discuss Votes in Supply when brought forward at the beginning of August. There was another point to which he wished to direct the attention of the Prime Minister, and it was this. On the 26th of June, the right hon. Gentleman obtained a third Vote on Account—a most unusual proceeding; but, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he had no alternative but to ask for it at once. As this money was obtained on the 26th of June, it would be seen that the month's Supply then granted must be now nearly exhausted. It might be taken that the proposal of any further Vote on Account would receive most serious opposition. He would not detain the House longer than to say that during the time the late Government were in Office they were accused of being backward with Supply; but they were always a month or six weeks in advance of the present Government. He made all allowance for the difficulties Her Majesty's Government had had to encounter; but Supply, which was very backward last year, was even worse this Session; and he had expressed a hope last night that there would not be a Saturday Sitting, and that no Government Bills would be considered until Supply had been seriously undertaken and considered.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he did not think the House would be satisfied to sit on Saturday to take Supply. If there had been the remotest prospect of the House consenting to take it, of course it would have been the duty of the Government to propose it. The state of the House as to legislation was deplorable, and its state with regard to Supply was also deplorable; but he did not think it was worth while debating the positive and comparative degrees. Had it not been necessary to ask for a Vote of Credit on Monday, Supply would have been taken immediately after the third reading of the Arrears of Rent Bill. It would now be taken after the Vote of Credit.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he would take that opportunity of asking a question of the Prime Minister, and that was, whether on Monday he would make his Statement as to the Vote of Credit with the Speaker in the Chair or in Committee?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not make an announcement on the point at that moment.

PARTNERSHIPS (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Barran, Mr. Lewis Fry.*)

[BILL 179.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 10th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

(*Of Partners, and their liability and authority in respect of Partnership Dealings.*)

Clause 6 (Partnership defined).

Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. WARTON said he would move that the Chairman do leave the Chair. The Motion was a strange one, but he made it on principle, because he thought this Bill was one which ought not to be brought forward. It was not here a question of the period of the Session being too late for the consideration of the Bill. If it were the first day of the

Session he should oppose the measure just the same. The Bill came from a number of gentlemen calling themselves a Chamber of Commerce; but some of the greatest commercial authorities of the country were opposed to it. The only thing that could be said in favour of the Bill was that it was a Code; but he maintained that it was not a complete Code. It was a sort of commercial man's *vade mecum*—a sort of pamphlet to support the vanity of those who, having been on the Select Committee which had been appointed to consider the subject, felt bound, as a point of honour, to support that Committee, though their Report had been shown to be absurd. This was not a Party question, and he would appeal to the hon. and learned Attorney General to support that view. The hon. and learned Member was a partizan, he knew; was a man who would do anything for his Party; who would always vote for his Party, as he (Mr. Warton) always voted for his. He would ask the hon. and learned Member to support his Motion, and not to give his vote for a Bill of this kind which could do no good whatever. The Bill, if passed, would operate like one of those 1*s.* handbooks which, while it made people think they knew all the law, was the very best friend of the lawyers. The Bill was very careful to tell them what a "firm" was—a thing which everybody in business knew perfectly well. He knew the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was very fond of the Bill; but that was because the right hon. Gentleman fancied himself a lawyer, which he was not.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair." —(*Mr. Warton.*)

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 67; Noes 109: Majority 42.—(Div. List, No. 291.)

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, the House had been continuously at work now for a long time; the Sitting had commenced early, and it had been arranged that Business should commence again at midday. He would appeal to the Government whether it was not putting too severe a strain upon all the officers of the House to compel them to keep on duty so late, night after night, and recommence again each day at an early hour? He begged to move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Captain Aylmer.*)

MR. T. C. BARING said, it might be fairly asked, if the Bill was to come before the House so constantly, and to be supported so persistently by hon. Members opposite, that there should be some official expression of opinion upon the Bill from the Law Officers of the Crown. He had heard indirectly what their opinion was said to be; but he should like to have that opinion expressed in the House. Whenever the Bill was called on, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General became conspicuous by their absence; but, seeing that this was a Bill affecting the law of the country, surely the House had the right to expect a distinct opinion from these legal authorities.

MR. MONK said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had made the Motion had done the like on several previous occasions; certainly he did so when the Bill was before the Committee on the last occasion. The Committee must be aware how few were the opportunities a private Member had of bringing forward Business, and at that period of the Session he could seldom do so before 1 o'clock in the morning. This Bill was very much desired by the commercial community in the country; it was a Bill which had been drafted by a very distinguished member of the Bar; it was a Bill which had been revised by, and had received the approval of, the first authority on Partnership Law in the country—Lord Justice Lindley—and, therefore, it was a somewhat strong measure to prevent the Bill being considered in Committee. The Bill had been considered by a Select Committee, and it had been before the House in three Sessions at least, and it had had on the back of it the name of the Solicitor General; and that last fact was a sufficient answer to the remarks of the hon. Member for South Essex (Mr. Baring), as determining whether the Bill had, or had not, the sanction of the Law Officers of the Crown. He must say it was rather hard upon a private Member who brought forward a measure of this sort, certainly from no desire of his own to intrude on the House, but who, from circumstances he could not control, was obliged to bring it forward—it was very hard upon him to refuse consideration of the Bill in Committee. He had carefully gone through the Bill with the President of the Board of Trade, and it had been carefully considered by his right hon. Friend with the draftsman, and every clause in it had the sanction of Lord Justice Lindley. The Bill had been considered by the Lord Justice, and there were certain Amendments placed on the Paper by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey), several of which he (Mr. Monk) was willing to accept, so that he believed in the course of an hour the Committee might very well finish the Bill.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, looking over the list of names, he did not find that of the Solicitor General on the back of the Bill.

Mr. MONK explained, of course, as this was not a Government Bill the Solicitor General's name was not upon it; but his name was upon it formerly when he was not a Member of the Government.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND could only say that the Solicitor General — and, he might add, the Attorney General—invariably went away the moment the Bill was announced; and why should those two legal authorities leave the Committee to the mercy of the President of the Board of Trade and constant allusions to Lord Justice Lindley? For the opinion of the Lord Justice he had the greatest respect; but against his judgment he could quote the eminent authority of the Master of the Rolls, and having the Bill in Court, as it were, he (Sir Henry Holland) had a right to cite this last witness as altogether opposed to the measure.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he did not pretend to offer an opinion as between the two authorities quoted; but he would point out that, by the course of opposition adopted, the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) was rather harshly treated in the circumstances under which the Bill came before the House. It had been introduced in previous Sessions, and the hon. Member had been unable to obtain the consideration of the House for it. This Session he was more fortunate, and after a consideration and considerable amendment by a Select Committee, it came before the House for consideration in Committee. It had been down for such consideration again and again; but on every occasion it had been met, at the outset of the discussion, by Motions to report Progress, and that the Chairman do leave the Chair, from the other side of the House. And now it was said these Motions were justified by the fact that the Bill did not receive the support of the Law Officers of the Crown. To that he had to say the Bill received the support of the Government, of whom the Law Officers formed a part; and he would further point out that although it was a matter, no doubt, that concerned the interest of lawyers, yet it concerned, in a greater degree, the interest of the commercial classes; and he was not quite certain that the two interests were always identical. But he was quite certain that if the commercial classes had to wait for a consolidation and amendment of the Law of Partnership until they had the support of lawyers generally, they would wait for an indefinite time. He was quite certain that his hon. Friend was within the mark when he said the majority of the commercial classes who had considered the subject were in favour of the Bill—he would not say of every detail of the Bill, but of the Bill generally. The Committee were aware that very great complaints were made, from time to time, as to the neglect of the commercial interests by the House. That neglect arose partly from general causes that interfered with all legislation; but it arose chiefly from the fact that the commercial interest had no great political force at the back of it. But the best confirmation those complaints could receive would be found in the treatment of this Bill. At the same time, if it was, as it appeared to be, the fixed intention to impede the Bill, and to refuse to it even consideration, at an hour when it was not unreasonably late, considering the period of the Session, then he must say, all he could do was to advise his hon. Friend to accept, under protest, the decision of what was, after all, a considerable minority, and which, under the existing Rules of the House, they had the power to give effect to, and he would be able to report to his clients that he lost no opportunity to obtain consideration for the measure.

MR. T. C. BARING said, it should be explained that, though the right hon. Gentleman was right in saying the Bill had been before the House on several occasions, he could not go further, and say that it had been debated on any occasion.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: You will not allow it to be.

MR. T. C. BARING said, there never had been a debate of any sort or kind on the second reading; and during the years the Bill had been before the House, it would have been easily in the power of the Government, of which the right hon. Gentleman was so eminent a Member, to bring a subject so important to the commercial class—a class of which the right hon. Gentleman formerly was, and he (Mr. T. C. Baring) still was, a member—before the House on some night when it could be debated. It was stultifying the House to say the Bill had been before it so long, when it was not the less true that it had never been discussed in principle or detail.

MR. HORACE DAVEY protested strongly against what the President of the Board of Trade had said as to the Bill being opposed in the interest of lawyers. What did the right hon. Gentleman suppose was the interests of lawyers in opposing the Bill? And, to individualize, what interest was it to him (Mr. Horace Davey) to oppose the Bill, unless it was his interest to oppose a radically bad Bill, which he had no hesitation in saying this Bill was? He thought that when a Bill of this kind was brought on for the purpose not of introducing changes in the law, but for codifying and consolidating the law, though he conceived and quite agreed that the commercial classes ought to be consulted, and ought to express their opinion as to retaining portions of the law, or changing portions of the law, or the mode in which the Code was to be expressed, he did not deny that the commercial classes had the greatest interest in a subject of that kind; but he did say that when the House was supposed to be not making a new law, but, as they were told, consolidating and codifying the present law, then the people to whom they would go to know what the present law was, and whether the Bill adequately represented it, were the people who knew something about law. What did the right hon. Gentleman suppose was the interest of lawyers in opposing such a Bill? On the contrary, it would be for their interest to be able to burn their text-books and have nothing but the Code. Speaking for himself, he would be glad to burn the whole of his library on the subject, and have nothing but a Code which he could keep in his pocket. Was it the interest of lawyers to have to consult a number of text-books? Would they not very much rather have the law in a handy consolidated form than in the form of some 500 volumes? The people who had most interest in codifying the law were lawyers who had to deal with it; but they had also an interest in taking care that this was properly done; and he would say that the public ought to be indebted to those of the Legal Profession who had sat up night after night in the House for the purpose of seeing that the Bill should be in such a form that it did express the law, and in taking the trouble to point out the defects in the Bill, where it would change the law, and what would be the effect. It was certainly remarkable that on every occasion when the Bill came before the House, it was not the Attorney General or the Solicitor General who expressed opinions from the Government Bench, but the President of the Board of Trade. A very unfair use had also been made of the name of Lord Justice Lindley in this matter. He had had for a long time the pleasure of enjoying the friendship of Lord Justice Lindley, and no man had a greater admiration for the ability and experience of the Lord Justice. He had no doubt—in fact, he knew—that the Bill, in its original form, when it was proposed to be introduced, was submitted to Lord Justice Lindley, and he was good enough to make several alterations in the drafting of the Bill, many of which were the greatest improvements; but he was certain of this, and he was stating what he knew, that Lord Justice Lindley did not make himself responsible for every clause in the Bill. Another learned Judge had been mentioned, a name which was at least entitled to as much respect—the Master of the Rolls, and with that learned Judge he had been through the Bill, clause by clause, and the opinion expressed was that it was a thoroughly bad Bill, one of the worst of the proposed Codes; and he might be allowed to say that the greater number of the Amendments he had placed on the Paper had the approval of the Master of the Rolls. It was under such circumstances that his right hon. Friend rose and made scoffing remarks as to the interest of lawyers in opposing the Bill.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, the President of the Board of Trade had made a great point of the support the Bill had received among the commercial community; but it could not be disputed that he (Mr. Fowler) represented a great commercial constituency, and he could say that from no one of them had he had a word in approval of the Bill. On the other hand, it was opposed by eminent lawyers, and also by the hon. Member for South Essex (Mr. Baring), one of his constituents, and a man eminent among the commercial community.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, as he was one of those who had deprived themselves of natural rest in assisting his hon. Friend to make head against the machinations of hon. Gentlemen opposite, his hon. Friend might listen to an appeal from him. Nothing was more glorious than the sight of a good man struggling against adverse circumstances, and that was his hon. Friend's position now. He had done all he could for his clients; he had brought on his Bill again and again; the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) had given testimony to his zeal; but as it was palpable he had only one more night and could not have another, and as hon. Gentlemen opposite were determined there should be no progress made, was it any good to divide the Committee again and again before doing what would have to be done in the end—to yield to persistent opposition?

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress.

MOTIONS.

—⁂—

PENSIONS COMMUTATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE, Bill to authorise the Commutation of a portion of a Pension, in pursuance of "The Pensions Commutation Act, 1871," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 252.]

POOR LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DODSON, Bill to amend "The Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876;" and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DODSON and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 251.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Saturday, 22nd July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) * (205).

Their Lordships met;—

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be *printed;* and to be read 2ª on *Thursday* next (*The Lord Privy Seal*). (No. 205.)

And having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 22nd July, 1882.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Entail (Scotland) * [248]; Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation [124].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) [75].

Committee — Report—Educational Endowments (Scotland) [147-253].

QUESTIONS.

—⁂—

EGYPT—PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS —ALLEGED FURTHER MASSACRES OF EUROPEANS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can state the terms of a convention between France and England with regard to the

Suez Canal, which the French Prime Minister stated on Tuesday in the Senate to have been just concluded; whether he can state what steps Her Majesty's Government are taking, or intend to take, in order to preserve Cairo and the rest of Egypt from the fate of Alexandria; and, whether, in view of the fact that the British Government alone have been willing to resort to force, and that the interests of England in Egypt are greater than those of the rest of Europe, Her Majesty's Government will refrain from inviting the other five Powers to share in the occupation of Egypt? He had given Notice yesterday of a further Question on the same subject, which, unfortunately, had not been put upon the Paper, and which he would now ask. It was—Whether the attention of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had been called to reports of very horrible massacres of Europeans which were alleged to have taken place in various parts of Egypt, and especially to the alarming position of Port Said, as reported in *The Daily News*, in which it was said there were 12,000 Europeans who were at the mercy of the Native population; and also whether his attention had been called to a statement made by the Correspondent of *The Standard* and confirmed by the Correspondents of nearly every other London morning journal, to the effect that we had now 5,000 men actually in Alexandria, while two more regiments were expected to arrive there either to-day or to-morrow, and that, were it not for orders from home, that force would be able to put an end to the Egyptian difficulty in 24 hours? In these circumstances, he wished to ask the hon. Baronet whether he was able to give the House some assurance that these orders, if they existed, would be removed?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I must decline to answer the second and third branches of the Question on the Paper for the reasons stated by the Prime Minister on Thursday; and I must, at the same time, decline to answer the other Questions asked without their being placed upon the Paper. With reference to the first branch of the Question which is upon the Paper, I have to state that I have carefully read M. de Freycinet's speech, and that it would be contrary to rule for me to make any observation with regard to it; but as the hon. Member refers to what purport to be the words of the speech, I must inform him that, having read the speech, I can find no such words in it. The French Minister said nothing whatever about a Convention; and if the hon. Member had himself read the official report—I do not know what report he has seen—he would have found that it did not state that any Convention had been concluded between England and France.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: It is all in the newspapers.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I cannot find it anywhere. It is certainly not in the official report of the speech, and M. de Freycinet could not have stated anything of the kind. The terms of the agreement between England and France I read to the House the other day, and they are now on the Table of the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that he should like to call attention again to the statement which he had read to the House—namely, that there were 7,000 men at Alexandria, and that they could put an end to the trouble in Egypt in 24 hours. ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has put his Question and has received an answer; he cannot raise a debate.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he hoped that it would be understood that he disclaimed any intention of raising a debate. As he had omitted to put a portion of his Question upon the Paper, he merely wished to ask the hon. Baronet a second time whether, in view of the serious state of affairs, he was still unable to give the assurance that the orders from home would be removed?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: That Question seems to be one which, besides the difficulty of not having it upon the Paper, comes exactly within the statement of the Prime Minister on Thursday.

MR. ONSLOW wished to ask the Secretary of State for War whether there was any truth in the report that the Indian Native troops were not to be employed in the expeditionary force in Egypt; and whether, if the statement were true, the right hon. Gentleman could conveniently give the House the reasons why these troops were not to be so employed?

MR. CHILDERS: In the first place, Sir, I have received no Notice, either public or private, of this Question; in the next place, it should have been addressed to the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, and not to me; and, in the third place, it is a Question which, in view of the statement to be made by the Prime Minister on Monday, ought not to have been asked at all.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether there is any truth in the report of further massacres at Cairo; and whether further Papers on Egypt which we have been promised will be distributed to-day? When I left home they had not been distributed.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I have heard from the printers just now that both sets of Papers have been sent to Members' residences. With regard to the massacres in Cairo, we have not heard anything; but we have heard of the reported murder of two Englishmen in the interior, but not at Cairo.

Colonel ALEXANDER: I beg to give Notice that on Tuesday next I shall ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, as soldiers and sailors guilty of acts of pillage can no longer suffer corporal punishment, he approves of the action of Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour in flogging the Native population of Alexandria for looting?

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: It was understood that the Prime Minister was to state to-day the amount of the Vote of Credit he would ask for on Monday. Would the Secretary of State for War kindly state at what period of the proceedings to-day the Prime Minister will give the House that information?

Mr. CHILDERS: The Prime Minister is not here at this moment; but I am able to say that he will lay the Estimate upon the Table in the course of the day.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I think it was distinctly understood that the Prime Minister would make the announcement to-day.

Mr. CHILDERS: It is not my duty to do it.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: It was distinctly understood that the Prime Minister, in his place here at 12 o'clock to-day, would make a statement as to the amount of the Vote of Credit, and it is for the convenience of the House that we should know it verbally in the House to-day. If it is simply laid upon the Table of the House, we should not get it until Monday.

Mr. CHILDERS: I am sorry that I did not say more in my answer just now, so as to make myself clearly understoood. The Prime Minister will make his statement to-day—he will state how much the Vote of Credit will be; but it is not my duty to do so, and I shall not anticipate the statement of the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: It would be for the convenience of the House to know at what period of the proceedings to-day the Prime Minister will make that important statement. I understand that the Government Business is likely to last for some considerable time; and therefore, if we have to wait until that is disposed of before the statement is made, we may be kept here all day.

Mr. CHILDERS: It would be very difficult for me to make that statement in the absence of my right hon. Friend; but I will at once communicate with him, and state to him what has just passed in the House. There is not the smallest desire to conceal the amount.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: It would be contrary to all practice that the statement should be made in the middle of Business. Perhaps the House will consent to wait for a quarter of an hour or so until the arrival of the Prime Minister.

Mr. CHILDERS: I will take care that the Paper on the subject is circulated. [*Cries of* "No!"] The statement of the Prime Minister will consist of one sentence and no more. In the case of the previous Vote of Credit, when the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was in Office, the Paper alone was circulated, and no statement was made.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: That is so, no doubt; but I think that the right hon. Gentleman is very bold in saying that the statement of the Prime Minister will be confined to one sentence. I would really press upon the House that, for the convenience of Members who on a Saturday have come down for a special purpose, we should wait until the Prime Minister arrives before we go on with Business.

Mr. C. S. PARKER: Perhaps, Sir, I may be allowed to suggest that on the first Order of the Day there is a Motion against it of an obstructive character by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who is not in his place; but there is present another hon. Member who is to make a similar obstructive Motion with regard to it; and possibly, if the Order of the Day were read, there might be an opportunity for the Prime Minister to make his statement before the Order was disposed of.

DR. CAMERON: I rise to Order. I beg to ask whether the hon. Member for Perth is in Order in intimating that a Resolution on the Paper is obstructive?

MR. ONSLOW asked whether it was competent for any hon. Member to impute Obstruction to any other hon. Member?

MR. SPEAKER: The House at this stage is engaged in—

MR. WARTON: What? [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The House is engaged in Questions being put to Ministers, and answers are being given to these Questions. The House is aware that in putting Questions no debateable matter should be introduced into those Questions; and I am bound to say that the hon. Member for Perth (Mr. Parker) did introduce debateable matter into his Question.

MR. CHILDERS: After the very strong request of hon. Members on both sides of the House, although it is not my proper duty to state to the House what the Prime Minister will state—which is only one sentence—I will take upon myself to do so in deference to the wish of the House. The sum that will be asked for on the Vote of Credit is £1,300,000, and I shall also ask myself for a Supplementary Vote for 10,000 men for the Army. Beyond that there is nothing to say, because explanations will be given by the Prime Minister on Monday.

SIR JOHN HAY: Does that Vote of Credit include the Navy?

MR. CHILDERS: The Vote will include £900,000 for the Army and £400,000 for the Navy.

MR. W. H. SMITH: It was also understood that the statement on Monday would be completed by some proposal as to the taxation. The Prime Minister said that after the Vote of Credit was agreed to on Monday the House would be asked to go into Committee of Ways and Means in order to add to the Money Bill the Ways and Means to make good the Vote of Credit. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will also now state what those Ways and Means will be?

MR. CHILDERS: No, Sir; that would really be going beyond my duty; it is for the Prime Minister to make that statement. I stated the other two sums because, as the head of one of the spending Departments, the matter may fairly come within my duty to explain to the House; but I cannot go any further than I have done.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Is it the intention of the Government to take the Vote of 10,000 men immediately after the Vote of Credit?

MR. CHILDERS: I think so; but it would not be right that I should say so absolutely without consideration.

MR. BOURKE: I wish to give Notice of a Question which I propose to ask on Monday, but have not yet had an opportunity of consulting my right hon. Friend (Sir Stafford Northcote) upon the subject, and possibly he may wish to change the Question. But, unless I am better advised, I shall ask the Question as I have framed it on Monday. With the permission of the House, I may explain that when the Vote of Credit of 1878 was asked for, the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington) asked whether my right hon. Friend the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Stafford Northcote) would, after making an important statement in Committee of Supply justifying the Vote of Credit, immediately move to report Progress, in order that the House might have some time to consider the effect of that statement and the proposals of the Government; because, he said, it would be impossible for the House to know the reasons why we were asked to vote that money, and to consider them in so short a time. I wish to know whether that course will be followed upon the present occasion? I shall ask whether that course will be adopted on the present occasion, and whether the Prime Minister will on Monday move to report Progress immediately after he has made his statement, which will, of course, be a very important one? I shall ask whether the present case is not much more in favour of following such a course than it was when the precedent was made, because we have only Papers on the policy of the Government down to the end of May. There are no Papers as to the Conference. There are no Papers as to the Joint Note to the Porte. There are no Papers as to the bombardment. There are no Papers with regard to the important declaration as to the Suez Canal; and, more than all, there are no Papers with regard to the report that Italy has been invited to join the other Powers in respect of the protection of the Suez Canal. In these circumstances I shall, unless I am otherwise advised between now and then, ask Her Majesty's Government whether they will report Progress directly after the important statement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has promised to make?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: May I ask the Secretary of State for War what will be the course of Business on Monday? Will the Prime Minister make his statement on the Motion that Mr. Speaker leave the Chair, or will all the Motions on going into Committee of Supply come before the statement?

MR. CHILDERS: My impression is that the Prime Minister's statement will come first; but I am not prepared to give a definite answer.

Subsequently,

MR. CHILDERS said, Sir, with the indulgence of the House, I desire to correct the statement which I made at the commencement of the Sitting as to the amount of the Vote of Credit which will be asked for on Monday. I was unexpectedly asked the amount of the Vote of Credit. I had come down to the House to answer a Question of secondary importance, and I had no intimation that a Question respecting the Vote of Credit would be put to me. I stated quite accurately the amount of the Military Vote—namely, £900,000; but I gave the Naval Vote incorrectly. The amount of the Naval Vote will be £1,400,000, and the total charge will be £2,300,000. I feel assured that the House will excuse the error, kindly recognizing the fact that it was at the request of the House that I made the statement when I was unprepared to do so, and that, therefore, the blame for such a mistake will be less than it would be under other circumstances.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

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EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 147.]

(*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

DR. CAMERON, in rising to move as an Amendment—

> "That the abolition of free primary education is quite as undesirable as the endowment of secondary education is desirable, and that no Bill dealing with Educational Endowments in Scotland can be deemed satisfactory which, while fettering the discretion of Commissioners appointed under it as to doles, representation, areas, and other points, leaves them power to appropriate to other uses the revenues of a class of free schools affording good elementary education to thousands of working-class children,"

said, he was sorry that the Amendment which he had felt it right to place on the Paper had ruffled the usual placidity of the hon. Member for Perth (Mr. Parker). That Amendment was directed to the enforcement of the rights of primary education. The hon. Member did not appear to sympathize with him in regard to primary education; but probably, by the time he had been another score of years in that House, he would so far have completed his primary education in Parliamentary tactics as to know that an hon. Member who had an objection to a Bill introduced by the Government, or anybody else, on an important question of principle, had a perfect right to put down an Amendment on going into Committee. By this Bill it was proposed to carry out certain reforms in connection with the educational endowments of Scotland, with which he was in thorough sympathy, and of which he heartily approved; but it appeared to him that the Bill was intended altogether to stamp out free primary education in Scotland. He took particular care, before putting down his Amendment, to ascertain that he really was not mistaken as to the intention of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella); and having satisfied himself that the right hon. Gentleman was directly at variance with him on that point, then, and then only, he took this opportunity of bringing his views before the House. The Bill professedly went on the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission, and proposed to appoint an Executive Commission to deal with the educational endowments of Scotland. But it departed from the recommendations of the Commission in numerous particulars. As originally introduced, it departed from them in most essential and important particulars; and now, after all the Amendments which the right hon. Gentleman had given notice of his intention to introduce, it still departed from the recommendations of the Commission on which it was said to be based. It withheld from the Executive Committee powers which the Colebrooke Commission recommended should be given to it, and gave to the Executive Committee powers which the Colebrooke Commission did not propose to intrust to it. With a great deal that was good, it embodied a very considerable amount of what was bad and retrograde. The concessions made by the right hon. Gentleman had practically eliminated some of this; but they had by no means eliminated all that was bad—so much so that, in his opinion, if the Bill passed as it now stood, it would at a single stroke do such an amount of harm in one direction as would almost, if not completely, counteract the good that might be expected to result from it, at least so far as the class of the community was concerned in whose interest it was to be passed. The Colebrooke Commission reported that a large number of bursaries, amounting to £4,000 or £5,000 per annum, were worse than wasted, an yet these bursaries did not come within the scope of the present Commission, but were specially reserved. He was aware it was proposed to issue an Executive Commission to deal with Scottish Universities, but he submitted that to the Commission under this Bill the duty of dealing with educational endowments properly belonged. Again, the Colebrooke Commission recommended that the provisions for maintenance and clothing, when insignificant as compared with the educational endowments, should be dealt with by the executive body proposed. These were safeguarded under the present Bill. The Colebrooke Commission was dead against the retention of apprentice fees; but by the Bill they were safeguarded from the proposed Commission. But he was more concerned with the proposal to give to the Executive Commission powers that the Colebrooke Commission did not recommend should be given. The Colebrooke Commission was most careful to protect the rights of popular representation. It had recognized the importance, and, indeed, the necessity, of a certain proportion of local representation, and the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had given way so much on this all-important point justified the attitude he (Dr. Cameron) and others had taken in demanding and insisting on a discussion of the Bill. Popular representation was the only safeguard to the people of Scotland against a despotic bureaucracy, which had always shown itself careless of the opinion of the country whose educational matters it governed. He did not blame the Government for tying the hands of the Commissioners, so as to compel them to work on certain lines. At best it was the Commission that would

> "Shape our ends,
> Rough hew them as we may."

The Bill carried out, so far, the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission that it proposed to appoint this Executive Committee, but it exempted from their discretion funds which that Commission thought might properly be appropriated to the purpose of secondary education, and it safeguarded funds which the Commission thought were being misapplied and wasted. Among the funds which the Colebrooke Commission thought might be better employed for promoting secondary education were funds for clothing, maintenance, and apprentice fees, and funds devoted to free primary education, and all except the last-named were safeguarded. The expectation on which the Colebrooke Commission based its Report, that the application of the Act of 1872 would reduce the cost of education, had been entirely falsified. Everyone, they were told, was now entitled to free elementary education, and to devote endowments to that purpose was only to save the rates. He could not admit that though endowments might save the rates, it constituted any argument for appropriating them to any purpose for which they were never intended. If that were so, it would hold good with reference to charitable endowments, and the common good of burghs which went in aid of the rates. It was not a question here of education, but of ability to pay fees. People must now send their children to school, and there was, therefore, much greater poverty among a certain class of persons whose children now attended the schools than there was formerly, and the need for assistance was greater than ever. They were told that fees could now be paid by the parish; but such a system was demoralizing in the highest degree, involving, as it had done, expense in litigation, degradation to parents in being brought into contact with the authorities for not sending their children to school, and a slur on them and the children when the fees were paid by the parish. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that, and had proposed a remedy, which would be an excellent one were there the smallest chance of its ever being practically adopted. The endowments for free education should be applied to meeting cases where parents were unable to pay; but these endowments the right hon. Gentleman proposed to sweep away for the benefit of middle-class education. [Mr. MUNDELLA: No, no!] The Commission reported that these primary endowments were a boon when instituted, and he submitted that they were much more a boon now. He contended simply for the *status quo*. He asked them to let things alone unless they could make out a case for changing them. He was a true Conservative in this matter, with a perfect desire to make any reforms so far as they were consistent with the maintenance of this important principle, but with the desire not to upset everything, but to maintain those vested rights for those who possessed them for many years. As an example, take the case of the Wallace Academy in Dumfriesshire. The founder left a sum of money as an educational endowment, to be employed in providing elementary and secondary education for the inhabitants of the district; and he made an express provision in his will that there should be no fees exacted, and that if a teacher should accept a fee he should *ipso facto* lose his post. Under the late Commission all that was upset. They did away with free education, and with the schools as free schools, and erected a boarding establishment, to which the inhabitants of certain districts were entitled to admission on the payment of £5 per annum. The effect of that reform was that farm labourers receiving 14*s*. a-week, whose children formerly received a good education free at this place, were now obliged to pay fees ranging up to 10*d*. a-week. There existed a system of free schools in Scotland, established under an Act of Parliament passed in 1836, for the purpose of giving effect to what was considered to be the desires of the founder of a most important educational endowment. He referred to Heriot's Free Schools, which were by far the most important centre of free education in Scotland. The Heriot endowment having outgrown its purpose, the Governing Body, nearly half-a-century ago, came to that House and asked for powers to apply the surplus funds in what they supposed to be in accordance with the wishes of the founder. They proposed to establish free schools, to give a good education free to the burgesses of Edinburgh. That system had been carried on for upwards of 40 years, a term which constituted prescription in Scotland, and he thought it was a very violent proceeding now to come to that House and say they would not respect that settlement, because, forsooth, it was not in accordance with the expressed instructions of the founder. It was not argued that the fees in connection with Heriot Free Schools were wasted or misapplied. On the contrary, some 5,000 children received free education there at an expense of £9,000 per annum. The education was conducted more economically than in the board schools, without any cost to the rates or to the State, and it was given to a class of persons who were entitled to the utmost consideration, the parent of the children so educated earning, on an average, 17*s*. 4*d*. a-week. The Colebrooke Commission reported that these schools enjoyed the reputation of being the best elementary schools in Edinburgh, and that statement was corroborated by the Assistant Commissioners. As a matter of fact, the average attendance at these schools was very much higher than any other schools in the country. So much was this the case that the Commissioners were obliged to explain that there was such a competition amongst parents to get their children into them that the Governors were able to insist on regular attendance as a condition of admittance. It was absurd to give a Hospital education costing £50 or £60 a-year to the children of working men; but it was quite a different thing to provide them with the sound elementary education provided in the case of these free schools. The Governing Body of Heriot's Hospital might, as was alleged, be corrupt—that was rather a strong word—wasteful, and injudicious; but he did not wish to interfere with any reforms that might be necessary in the constitution of that Body. He did not ask that the right hon. Gentleman should exclude it from the operation of the Commission. All he asked was, that the funds devoted to the maintenance of free elementary schools should be applied to the purpose to which they had been consecrated by an Act of Parliament, ratified by 40 years' prescription. It was said that Heriot's Free Schools did not earn the Government grant because they did not adopt a time-table or a Conscience Clause. He had no objection to their being made to earn the Government grant or to their usefulness as free schools being extended. All he objected to was their being deprived of their funds for the benefit of another class of education altogether. The Vice President of the Council deliberately refused to these free schools that protection which he afforded to the bursaries, the doles, the apprentice fees, and the charity swaddling clothes, and had drafted this Bill so as to enable the Heriot Free Schools to be stamped out and their funds appropriated to other purposes. If it were necessary, in order to foster secondary education in Edinburgh, that this £9,000 hitherto applied to Heriot's Free Schools should be appropriated, he should be content to allow it; but it was not necessary. There was no town in the Kingdom so well provided with secondary education as Edinburgh. He knew there was room for something more. There might, for instance, be a *real-schule*, as proposed by the Colebrooke Commission. They had, however, educational endowments in Edinburgh to the amount of £60,000 a-year. Let them carry out their reforms for middle-class education with middle-class money, and leave the money which was devoted to the free education of the working classes to continue to be employed in that way. The Commissioners said it had been given in evidence that the people did not want this secondary education. He had no sympathy with those who did not want it; but he thought those who wanted it should not procure it by appropriating all the money applied to free elementary education. If they stamped out these free schools, there would not be one child benefited by the secondary education so procured for every 10 children now benefited by the primary education given in these schools. The simple reason of this was, that the children of the poor had no time for secondary education. It was only the promising children of the middle class that could benefit by it. The Vice President of the Council proposed to draw a distinction between the will of the founder and the Act of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman had remarked that it was certainly a new doctrine for Gentlemen sitting on the Radical Benches to maintain that an Act of Parliament could not undo what an Act of Parliament had done. He (Dr. Cameron) would be the last man to stand up for an evil thing merely because it was sanctioned by an Act of Parliament; but he thought it seemed very like a Parliamentary hypocrisy for a Government which was doing so much to overturn founders' wills now even to profess such a profound regard for founders' wills in this particular instance, and to repeal an Act of Parliament merely because it did not go exactly in the line laid down by Heriot's testament. The Vice President of the Council might find himself in a rather awkward fix as the Bill was drawn. The Bill constantly referred to the schemes having regard to the founder's intentions, and the phrase "founder's intentions" was repeated half-a-dozen times.. Why, was the right hon. Gentleman aware that half-a-dozen of the most important schools in Edinburgh devoted to secondary education were devoted to that purpose under Act of Parliament, and in direct contravention of the wills of the founders? He referred the right hon. Gentleman to a letter which had been published in the Edinburgh newspapers by the late Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren), in corroboration of his statement. Gillespie's Hospital, under Act of Parliament, had been diverted from its original monastic purpose, and made a secondary school; the same had been the case with Watson's Hospital, with Daniel Stewart's Hospital, and a number of others. Thousands of pupils were at present receiving education at these schools; but if the Commission wished to improve these schools, and formulate any scheme regarding them, they might find themselves dragged into the Court of Session, and the Court of Session, having regard to the words of the will and the founder's intentions, might give a very different interpretation to the scheme than that proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to have made up his mind that these free schools should be put an end to as free schools. [Mr. MUNDELLA: Not at all.] At all events, the right hon. Gentleman had made up his mind that they should be handed over to the Commission. [Mr. MUNDELLA: No doubt.] Wherever he had thought it necessary to restrain the action of the Commission, he had inserted restraining words in the Bill; but he had here refused to insert any restraining words in the Bill. That showed what his intentions were; and as he himself appointed the Commissioners, it would be his own fault if his intentions were not carried out. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to have cast his eye on these endowments very much as Ahab cast his eyes on the vineyard of Naboth, saying—"Give me thy vineyard, that I may make it a garden of herbs;" and he completely lost his temper when Edinburgh replied—"God forbid that I should sell thee the birthright of my fathers." The right hon. Gentleman might effect a very complete reform by taking the money spent on Heriot's Hospital itself; but he ought to leave the Free Schools alone. He had not the smallest hesitation in saying that these funds were only taken in order to set free some other funds to be employed for the advantage of a class at the very opposite end of the scale. He did not imagine that the Commissioners would take £9,000 a-year from free schools in order to instruct upper-class children in sculpture and painting; but they would work in the same way as the baker in the story, who managed to get up a first-class dinner for a large family out of a very small shoulder of mutton. He gave the very small shoulder he had bought for himself to the person who had sent him one a little larger to be cooked, and by adopting this plan throughout was able to secure the largest to himself. That was the way the Executive Commission might be expected to set to work in Edinburgh. There was at present ample money for the promotion of secondary education, and he protested against the right hon. Gentleman seizing this money, which had been excellently employed, according to every authority, for the benefit of a most deserving class, and the class which had a prescriptive right in it, and applying that money to quite another purpose, and a purpose which could be perfectly well carried out without touching those schools at all. So pernicious did he believe the stamping out of those free schools to be, if carried into effect, that certainly so far as Edinburgh was concerned, it would do more harm than good; and, therefore, he had felt it his duty to take the stand against the principle, and give the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of publicly stating what his intentions were, and, if he had misrepresented him, to give him an opportunity of safeguarding these institutions in the Bill. He begged to move the Resolution which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the abolition of free primary education is quite as undesirable as the endowment of secondary education is desirable, and that no Bill dealing with Educational Endowments in Scotland can be deemed satisfactory which, while fettering the discretion of Commissioners appointed under it as to doles, representation, areas, and other points, leaves them power to appropriate to other uses the revenues of a class of free schools affording good elementary education to thousands of working class children,"—(*Dr. Cameron,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. BUCHANAN said, that, after the exhaustive speech of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), he did not think he need detain the House very long. But he could not allow this stage of the Bill to pass without stating how largely the Bill in its present form would affect his constituents, and pointing out the bearing it had on their interests, and without entering his protest against what he conceived to be its injurious effects upon them. He could not for a moment allow that taking objection on the present occasion, and perhaps raising what might otherwise be described as a second-reading discussion, was in any sense to be termed Obstruction. He had endeavoured not to show any unreasonable opposition to this Bill; and yet if he were not to oppose it as it stood at present, were he not to protest against it, he thought he should be failing in the first duty which he owed to the constituency that had sent him there, because there was no disguising the fact that this Bill affected the City of Edinburgh, more particularly the Heriot Foundation in that City, more than any other city or any other foundation. He had been favoured that morning with an extract from a newspaper by some anonymous friend, in which the Amendments suggested by the right hon. Gentleman were described as containing the "virus of Heriotism." He did not know what that was. The object of the Bill was supposed to make endowments useful. They were all in favour of making these endowments useful; but some of them were strongly opposed to the principle of taking funds away from primary education and devoting them to secondary and *vice versâ*. They were not at all opposed to a Bill for the promotion of secondary education, and if the right hon. Gentleman brought forward such a Bill, he, for one, would give it his thorough support; but if they were to endeavour to encourage secondary education in Scotland, they should do so openly, and if they were to build up this educational ladder, which they were told was the great object of the Education Department, they should pay for it out of their own pockets, and not out of the pockets of other people. But there was a slight change in the contemplation of the framers of the Bill as to the principle involved. They now said the principle of the Bill was to have due regard to the spirit of the founder's intentions, and, more particularly, in certain cases, to the founder's directions. He confessed he was rather surprised to hear on that side of the House that very great regard was to be paid to the founder's will, and still more to the letter of the founder's will. It seemed to him that the only way in which they could beneficially re-organize endowments in Scotland, or anywhere else, was to look at them one by one—to look at their present condition, see whether their funds were beneficially employed, and, if not, alter them so that they should be beneficially employed — [Mr. MUNDELLA: Hear, hear!]—and make the founder's will and the founder's directions entirely subservient to that. The other points which directly affected the case to which he alluded were the proposals of the Bill with regard to diminishing the open character of the Governing Bodies under the 6th clause and the question of free primary education. The 6th clause distinctly pointed to the diminution of the open character of those Governing Bodies, and was a distinct attack upon the past administration of those Bodies, which had been mainly in the hands of Town Councils. The Town Councils, as had been already said, had been in the great majority of cases the Governing Bodies of such institutions in Scotland. They had discharged their duties, he thought he was entitled to say, with general satisfaction to the people of Scotland; and he could not agree with the hon. Member for Glasgow when he said they had been wasteful and injudicious in their management, especially in the case of Heriot's Hospital. The original capital of that Institution was £23,000, and the income of the Trust now amounted to £26,000 a-year. Heriot had not left any land in Edinburgh, and this result has been attained by judicious investment and management. Therefore, he held, the members of the Town Council had a fair claim to remain in preponderating numbers on the Governing Bodies. With reference to the bearing on this Bill on the question of free education, more particularly the very important free primary schools under the Heriot Foundation, these schools, as the House had already been told, were established by Act of Parliament in 1836, and from that time forward had steadily increased in numbers, and at the present moment, as the right hon. Gentleman himself allowed, they were among the best elementary schools in Scotland. They had a larger average attendance than the board schools, and a larger average than the average for Scotland at the present moment. Well, the right hon. Gentleman had expressed his willingness to save free elementary education which came under the founder's directions. He asked him whether he intended by his Amendment to Clause 13 to include those schools? [Mr. MUNDELLA: Certainly not.] That, he was sorry to say, confirmed what he had hesitated to say last Saturday—namely, that he was very much afraid, from the words in which the right hon. Gentleman concluded his Amendment, that his Amendment was illusory and a sham. He should now like to ask another question. Would the right hon. Gentleman inform him of any endowment in Scotland which would come within the terms of that Amendment? If he intended that Amendment to be interpreted in a way which would ex-exclude Heriot's Free Schools, it would exclude almost every endowment for free education in Scotland, because the endowments of under £100 a-year were taken out of the operation of the Bill by Clause 32, while the larger endowments — the most important of all being Heriot's Hospital—the right hon. Gentleman had just told the House, were not meant to be included in his Amendment. They, therefore, had got to a very direct issue. They had got a distinct statement as to what was the purpose of that Amendment, and he was bound to state that he was exceedingly sorry that it should have been so. Last Saturday the right hon. Gentleman had stated, amongst other things, that Clause 13 was the basis for the maintenance of free education. The right hon. Gentleman's object was, he said, sufficiently to guard free education, and now, by his interpretation of his Amendment, he expressly excluded the only free education in Scotland that was worth preserving.

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, I rise, not so much to answer the two speeches of my hon. Friends, as to make an appeal to the House. It seems to me, Sir, that, after the debate which took place last Saturday, this discussion, if not Obstruction in the minds and view of hon. Members who put these Notices on the Paper, is really obstructive of the real progress of this measure. The House has given us a Saturday to pass this Bill through Committee. The whole question which has been raised by the hon. Gentlemen was fully raised last Saturday and dealt with. No division was challenged on the principle of the Bill; and now to-day the whole question is raised afresh, when we have 13 pages of Amendments to go through, and when it is known that we are at the end of July, and any delay will imperil the existence of the Bill. If I answer very briefly the speeches of the two hon. Gentlemen who have spoken, it is not from want of respect to the subject or to them. The hon. Member for Glasgow dealt with the desirability of continuing free primary education, and instanced a case to that effect.

Dr. CAMERON: My sole object in choosing that case was to show the method of payment.

Mr. MUNDELLA: Exactly; but the hon. Gentleman said that was the class of cases to which the endowments could be applied. The object of the hon. Gentleman is to apply the endowments of Scotland for the relief of the Poor Act. That is simply a relief of the taxpayer and the ratepayer, and depriving the public of the benefits and spirit of the founder's intention which it was intended to confer. The hon. Member for Glasgow says if the Bill passes as it now stands, it will do as much harm as good; and he all through implied, and indeed stated, that the Government had an animus against free schools and against the Heriot Trust. The Government has no such animus. If animus exits at all on the question, it exists solely in the mind and imagination of the hon. Member. This Bill has not been drawn with the view of dealing with the Heriot Trust in particular. There are more endowments than the Heriot Trust in Scotland. Yet we have heard nothing but Heriot for the last Session. We have heard a little too much about the Heriot Trust. Hon. Members seem to forget there are hills beyond the Pentlands, and land beyond the Forth, and that the endowments of Scotland are not limited to this single endowment. The whole fight with respect to the Scotch Education Endowment Bill is whether you shall maintain free education for 5,000 children in Edinburgh. Is it worth while deliberately wasting the time of the House upon this question? What has the Heriot Trust to do? It educates 5,000 children at a cost of about £10,000. Now, what are the average fees of the school board? They amount to 10*s.* per annum. So, for a cost of £2,500, the Heriot Trustees might send these same 5,000 children to the board schools of Edinburgh, and use the other £7,500 as a ladder to raise these children to the higher schools, and put them on the way of a better education than Heriot could afford to give. The hon. Member (Mr. Buchanan) has said no town in Scotland is so well off for middle-class education as Edinburgh. Yes, for the middle classes; but what education is there for the poorer classes in Edinburgh? That is the real effect of this endowment. We spend in Scotland about £1,000,000 a-year upon public elementary schools, and there are about £200,000 a-year for endowments. The whole object of a very few of the Scotch Members is to apply these endowments to save the rates and taxes, whereas this £200,000 might be so applied as to raise the whole character of the education of Scotland, giving to every poor but clever boy or girl a chance of rising to something better than they could otherwise attain, and enable them to be useful to themselves, to their parents, and to the State. The hon. Member has rather taunted me with having too much regard for the founder and the founder's will, and in doing so has used very strong language. He said it was something like Parliamentary hypocrisy to do this. I have always spoken of the spirit of the founder's intention, not the letter of the will. Instructions given 200 years ago are no longer applicable to the state of the country. Why was the Bill introduced which established Heriot's Schools 40 years ago but to adapt the uses of the endowment to the altered circumstances of the time? But if the circumstances of the time 40 years ago required alteration, a good many things have happened since then. We have passed the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, and you find that Scotland, instead of occupying the foremost place in the education of Europe, as once she did, is now in a backward place with regard to secondary education. You have no means by which you can raise the character of Scotch education except by these endowments. I say, with respect to this measure, there is no measure by which the rights of the poorer classes are more completely safeguarded than this. This measure, if passed, will, four or five years hence, be considered by the working classes of Scotland as one of the greatest boons ever conferred upon their class. They will see the real advantage that will spring from it. The hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) said if I will bring in a measure for secondary education, he would be willing to entertain it, and that the Scotch people would pay for it out of their own pockets. I do not see any proof of wanting to pay for it out of their own pockets when they want to appropriate the endowments of Scotland to save the pockets of the ratepayers. The object of the benefactors was in all cases to benefit the child in some way in which the child could not otherwise be benefited, in consequence of the limited means of its parents, or its peculiar circumstances in life. Now, how can you best carry out the spirit of the founder's intention but by giving the child something more than the rates provide? The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) spoke of the degradation of the working men having to receive relief from the Poor Law Board. Then why not introduce into the Scotch Education Act some provision such as is in the English Act, that school boards may remit fees, and thus get rid of the whole machinery of pauperism in Scotland? What is the answer of the hon. Member? That you would exempt Roman Catholics. I should like to know how many Roman Catholics there are in Scotland—[An hon. MEMBER: 200,000.]—who would be affected by this measure?

DR. CAMERON: I said the school boards would not have the power; and that there is a strong opposition from the Roman Catholics.

MR. MUNDELLA: If the school boards will not have the power of which the hon. Gentleman thoroughly approves, he must educate the school boards, and convince them of the necessity of it. If he wants to establish general free education—a question which I think is a very fair one to discuss—the very last thing to do is to touch endowments. By touching endowments you weaken your case. Free education, to be free, ought to be universal; it should not be partial. It should not be the educating free of 5,000 children alongside of 15,000 who have to pay, many of whom were less able to pay for their education than those receiving it for nothing. The best proof is, that the hon. Gentleman himself brought in a Bill for establishing free education in Scotland. What basis did he rest it upon? He said that education should no longer be maintained by rates and fees, but by rates only. The hon. Gentleman has only to convince the ratepayers on that point to gain his end. But to appropriate these endowments to save the pockets of the ratepayers would be an injustice to the class to whom they were left, an injustice to the country, and would simply be a relieving of the ratepayers and taxpayers from the duties which devolve upon them. The hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel Alexander) said the other night that I flattered the Scotch Members on the previous Saturday by appealing to their characteristic common sense. At the risk of again being open to that charge, I must appeal to the Scotch Members—Are we going to waste the time of the House to-day when we have so much real Business to perform, on what, after all, is only an academic discussion, or whether they will allow us to go to the real Business of the day, and deal with these questions on the different clauses of the Bill? I do hope the hon. Gentleman will withdraw his Motion, and allow us at once to go into Committee on the Bill.

Mr. M'LAREN said, he hoped the hon. Member for Glasgow would not accept the advice of the right hon. Gentleman. There was nothing which more clearly showed the necessity of having a decision on this measure than the fallacious utterances to which they had listened. The assumptions which the right hon. Gentleman had dragged into this question were entirely unfounded. No man in the House took a greater interest in secondary or higher education than he (Mr. M'Laren) did; but what they failed to see in this Bill was a real *bonâ fide* intention to provide for secondary education. He admitted that the right hon. Gentleman possessed a more than usual knowledge upon this question, having devoted a long life to the consideration of educational matters, and there was no abler or more sincere friend of the cause they had at heart than the right hon. Gentleman. Then how did it happen that the Minister of Education—a Member of the strongest Government the country could ever expect to have—did not bring in a wide and comprehensive and statesmanlike measure for providing secondary education for Scotland? What did the right hon. Gentleman do? He brought in a Bill, to which he attached the greatest importance, which, so far as they could learn, was simply intended to appropriate certain endowments from the poor and apply them to a sort of half-and-half system of secondary education of which the House absolutely knew nothing. It seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman had really surrendered his judgment and common sense to a clique of crotchet-mongers in Downing Street, whose names they did not know, and who only came forward behind the back of the right hon. Gentleman to try and get a Bill passed which he maintained was most distasteful to popular feeling in Scotland, and for what?—to save them the trouble of applying their minds to the question on a broad basis. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, he thought, should really lend Scotch Members some assistance in preventing the Government, under this Bill, taking away the property of the poor. Such a measure, if applied to England, would never be sanctioned, because the English Representatives would have such pressure put upon them that the Government would have to withdraw it. For his own part, although he did not represent a Scotch constituency, he was a Scotchman, and he would be ready to support a measure for Scotland taking the same lines as the Elementary Education Act, enabling the Education Department to establish secondary education in all parts of the United Kingdom. He would be quite ready to tax the people for that purpose, having regard to the great benefits that would be conferred upon the country. But a proposal like that was very different from the present one, which contained clauses which were directed against institutions that already possessed the confidence of the Scotch people. The fact that a large number of Scotch Members supported this Bill, so far from justifying it, ought to make English Members regard it with suspicion. He was strongly inclined to believe that the support given to the Bill was really done in the hope that out of the general plunder they would be able to get a few pickings, so that their own constituencies might be able to establish secondary schools. In a matter of this kind the Scotch people ought to be left to manage their own affairs; but it was perfectly clear that under the Bill the management of their own affairs was to be taken from the Scotch people, through the action, too, of Scotch Representatives. The endowments at present were administered by Boards and Governors, who were in every sense of the word elected by the people. Although the right hon. Gentleman had sneered at Heriot's Trust being dragged into the discussion, it was managed in a most admirable way by the Town Council of Edinburgh. What was proposed was to take away the management of these funds from a body of gentlemen who were doing the work well, and give it to those of whom they knew nothing. To do so would be most unfair. The endowments of Scotland were found in every part of the country, and, if they could be managed well now, why should they put them in the hands of others? The right hon. Gentleman hoped the debate would not be continued. He hoped it would continue, not in any obstructive way, but so that the English and Scotch Members would really know what this Bill was about. When they did go into Committee he had a strong hope that pressure would be put upon the Government to make further concessions, and thus render the Bill what it really might be—a useful measure.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he could not help expressing surprise at the course this Bill had taken. He was in favour of preserving the funds for the education of the poor, and last Saturday he understood that the right hon. Gentleman conceded all that was desired in this respect, and he was sanguine that the Bill might become law. But, to his astonishment, the right hon. Gentleman to-day made a speech in which he did not say one word in favour of the preservation of these funds for primary education, but, instead, gave the strongest reasons why the money should be applied to secondary education; and, therefore, certain trusts, such as the Heriot Trust, were to be excluded. That being so, it seemed to him the situation was entirely changed.

Mr. MUNDELLA: I did not say the Heriot Trust was excluded. I was asked if I would exclude that, and I stated it would be wrong to do so; but I believe, with free primary education, the Heriot Schools would be vastly improved.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had misunderstood the question, and he was glad to hear the remarks now made. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman as to the number of children which might be educated by the Heriot Trust for the £10,000 which they now spent. The same could be said of the trust with which he was connected—the Pilch Trust in the Kirkcaldy Burghs, where they educated 600 children, for he believed if, instead of keeping up separate schools, they paid for the education of the children, they could educate 2,400. If he was to understand that the object of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman was to take away those funds which were not directly applied in Edinburgh by the will of the founder, but by an Act of Parliament, he must vote with his hon. Friends the Member for Edinburgh and the Member for Glasgow in an attempt to preserve those funds.

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he had no desire to intervene in the debate at any length, being wishful to see the House go into Committee on the Bill; but he rose merely for the purpose of making a correction. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) made a statement in regard to an Institution in Scotland, regarding which he happened to possess information. He had the honour of a seat on the Endowed Institutions Commission, and amongst the applications with which the Commissioners had to deal was one from Wallace Hall Academy, in Dumfriesshire. The hon. Member for Glasgow stated, regarding that academy, that the Commissioners had abolished free education, that they had made their Provisional Order so that a boarding establishment was erected, and that the institution was now imposing a fee of 8*d.* per week for the education of the child of the working man. He had to state that the Commissioners did not abolish free education. What they put a stop to was indiscriminate free education, and one of the reasons why they did so was that it was proved that the indiscriminate free education given previously was very little valued, as was shown by the fact that the average attendance of scholars, as compared with the number on the roll, had been for the four and a-half years before the subject came before the Commission, as low as 62·6 per cent. But while indiscriminate free education was put an end to, there was still to be free education for one-third of the scholars, such as were considered by the Governing Body to be suitable objects for that benefit. Regarding the fees, there had been no such fee as 8*d.* charged. That was the maximum fee which could be charged for the higher subjects; but the Governing Body had charged 6*d.* only, not 8*d.*; and the people of the parish belonging to the working class who had children at the school were not asked to pay any fee whatever for the higher subjects. Instead of erecting a boarding establishment, the Commissioners allowed boarders to the extent of a certain number to be accommodated in a boarding-house that had been built at the cost of a former teacher. Then, again, as to average attendance, the school was never better attended than at that moment; the average attendance, compared with the number on the roll, instead of being 62·6, was 84·9 per cent. At present, out of 44 children of the parish, studying the higher subjects, there were 30 belonging to the working classes. The Governing Body, while not imposing fees upon the children who were scholars before the Order was passed, had given an opportunity to parents voluntarily to pay fees, and the consequence was that for the present year there was paid voluntarily by pupils, who might have education free if they chose to ask it, £5 14*s.*, while the fees paid compulsorily by others amounted to £12 12*s.* 6*d.*, and the fees paid by children not belonging to the parish amounted to £63 15*s.* 9*d.* These fees were for the higher subjects only. This school was certainly not an illustration of any evil effects from the doing away with indiscriminate free education, and continuing free education under conditions that were favourable to stimulating the interest of the parents in their children's progress.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had made an appeal to Scotch Members not to delay the Bill getting into Committee. He should be very sorry to obstruct the Business of the House in any way; but he must remind the right hon. Gentleman that the debate last Saturday was compressed into two and a-half hours, and of that time the right hon. Gentleman occupied half-an-hour, so that Members were compelled to be very brief in their remarks. For his own part, he had stated at the time that he would reserve what he had to say on the Bill till the next stage, and he thought it rather hard that when they had reached that stage they should be requested to forego the only opportunity they had of discussing the principle of the Bill. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India stated the other night that a Saturday Sitting was the greatest infliction that could be imposed upon the House, and the right hon. Gentleman spoke as if it was a boon conferred upon Scotch Members to give them a Saturday Sitting. It was all very well for English Members to give Scotch Members a Saturday Sitting, from which they carefully absented themselves; and it was rather amusing, now that they were relegated to a Saturday, to find themselves asked to forego the only opportunity and the duty they had of stating fully their opinion of the important matters involved in this Bill. Members who had had Motions on the Paper had been taunted about not bringing them on last Saturday. This was rather unfair, seeing that they had refrained from doing so out of deference to the convenience of the House. There was not time last Saturday for discussion; and, besides, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council made very important concessions which satisfied hon. Members around him and himself; but these he had very materially altered by the statement he had made to-day. The right hon. Gentleman had shown himself to-day determined, as far as he could, to get quit of all the free primary schools in Scotland, and his argument was simply this—"Free education is good, but where it exists it ought to be abolished because it is not general." That was an argument which he thought the House would not accept. The right hon. Gentleman said that the discussion had turned almost exclusively on Heriot's Hospital; but who was to blame for that? It was not the Members who had advocated the cause of Heriot's Hospital, but the individual promoters of such a Bill as this, who had based almost their entire case for the Bill on the charge of corruption and maladministration in connection with the present management of Heriot's Hospital. That had made it a Heriot's Hospital question, and nothing else. Now, the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. M'Laren) defended the administration of Heriot's Hospital. That Hospital had been administered in a manner that was an example to the whole country. He would not say, of course, there were not single instances in which children had got the benefits of that Trust who ought not to have enjoyed them; but he ventured to say there had been fewer cases of maladministration than in any other trust in the country, and certainly than in any such trust in England. Now, in defending the primary schools of the Heriot's Hospital, he did so not only on account of the advantages those schools conferred upon Edinburgh and the country, but also because these free schools were a testimony to the value of free education, and served to keep alive that principle in the country at this moment. That question had begun to take hold of the public mind, and was gradually making way; and it would be absurd in those who advocated the adoption of it by the nation to allow these chief examples of free education to be lost at the very time when they ought to be pressing the extending of the principle to the whole country. That, he thought, was a very sufficient ground for resisting any measure which seemed to threaten the existence of the Heriot Free Schools. With regard to the principle of representation in the Governing Bodies of the schools, he thought the Government had dealt in a very remarkable way with that principle. Two years ago they introduced a Bill into the House of Lords on the subject, in which they gave to a Commission power to alter to any extent the constitution of the Governing Body and to abolish the existing Governing Bodies. While doing that, they did not take the slightest precaution to see that in the new Governing Body there should be a single atom of the representative element. The Bill, which went into the House of Lords with power to abolish the Governing Bodies, came out with power to remove them. He supposed the House of Lords thought the word "abolish" too strong. Then, in 1881, another Bill was introduced, which did not give either the power to abolish or to remove the Governing Bodies, but gave power to alter the constitution so as to provide for adequate representation on the Governing Bodies of the representative element. This year the Bill was introduced extending the representative element. It proposed to give to boards in which a majority or more were representative members a majority at least, and to give in other boards in which less than a majority were representative such a number as the Commission might think proper; but for those in which there was no representative element it made no provision whatever. But last week the right hon. Gentleman made a concession for which he thanked him. He said, where a majority consisted of those representative members such as members of Town Councils, not less than two-thirds should be in the Governing Bodies; that where less than a-half were representative members, then a-half should be the new Governing Body; and that where the present Governing Body was not representative, one-third should be allowed. Now, these were important concessions; but they did not go far enough, and the principle he advocated in his Motion was this—that the proportion in any Governing Body which now existed should in no case be diminished. Now, the right hon. Gentleman, he observed, stated to a deputation that his reason for formerly refusing to introduce the representative element was that these public trusts did not administer funds received from the rates. That might be so; but even if it was, he questioned the soundness of the inference that there should be no representative element. Admitting that these funds were on a different footing from funds derived from the rates, why do away with the representative element, unless it could be shown that it worked badly, or that the principle was a wrong one? Now, public opinion in Scotland certainly showed that it had neither worked badly nor was wrong in principle. He found that of the founders of trusts in Scotland four-fifths had provided for the representative element in their trusts, and that out of 199 trusts in Scotland 107 had actually provided that two-thirds and upwards should be members of Town Council, and that only 92 had given less than two-thirds. In those two-thirds the annual funds to be administered amounted to £74,194, and in the 92 where less than two-thirds of the representative element existed, the funds to be administered were only £38,490. But he did not defend the retention of the condition of this representative element simply on the ground that the founders wished it to be so. He defended it on the ground which led these founders to adopt that principle themselves, and that was that representative men were most likely to be able men for such work, likely to be men of declared fidelity, being constantly under the public eye, and amenable to public opinion. That principle ought to hold still, for it was as sound now as ever it was. He did not wish to detain the House; but with respect to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman that because these trusts were not constituted in regard to funds received from the public rates, but out of private endowments, therefore the representative element was not required—he maintained that while these endowments were rightly to be regarded as private property so long as they were administered by Governing Bodies created by private trusts, they ceased to be so the moment they were dealt with by such legislation as proposed in this Bill. By such legislation they were dealt with and made public property, and brought into the same position as all other public property. Now, he was glad to find the Government recognized the value of this principle to a certain extent, because it could only be on that ground that they had agreed to introduce a certain representative element where at present there was none. But they limited the application of the principle, and he supposed they did so in deference to the founders' intentions. But, if so, why should the Government not defer to the founders' intentions by retaining the principle to the full extent to which it now existed? That he could not understand. The administration of the Heriot Hospital Trust was an incontestable proof that the Governing Bodies so composed were the very best for the purpose. He regretted very much indeed that the Government, in its dealing with this principle in the Bill, had shown such a grudging spirit in reference to the representative element. He did not see why it should be so. We had a Liberal Government, and he believed the Vice President of the Council was possessed of true Liberal principles. Why, therefore, did the right hon. Gentleman set himself against the principle of popular representation? His action had raised a great deal of bad feeling in Scotland and mistrust of this Liberal Government. ["No, no!"] He spoke from what he knew himself, and if hon. Gentlemen had a different experience they could state it; but, undoubtedly, so far as his knowledge went, he found that the action of the Government and the apparent hostility that they showed to the representative principle had had a very bad effect in the country. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, who had given some concession, would go further, and consent that where there were two-thirds representative members they should not be diminished.

Mr. BRYCE said, he would support the appeal that the House might now be allowed to go into Committee. He did so on the ground that the points raised could be more profitably discussed in Committee on the 13th and 15th clauses.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, that, having been a Member of the Endowed Schools' Committee of 1873, which reviewed the working of the Endowed Schools' Commission for England, and having in his mind a strong recollection of certain defects in the Act of 1869, he could not refrain from putting down an Amendment drawing attention to the want in this measure of a recognition of the representative principle in the Governing Bodies. In examining witnesses before that Committee nothing came out more clearly than the gross injustice and the immense mischief which came from the unsuccessful working of many of the schemes through the want of preponderating power in the representative body. His right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council was very proud of the change of position made, but he knew nothing that could more influence Ministers than opposition such as that which had been set up to this Bill. The attempts that had been made in the Upper House to frame educational schemes for Scotland had been of a most inadequate character, and he admitted that his right hon. Friend had dealt with the question far in advance of the proposal originally made; but it was notoriously true that the Education Department, like other Departments, needed the influence of popular opinion, and, at times, an opposition to their own proposals, in order that their schemes might be worthy of the acceptance of the country. The opposition of the hon. Members for Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other towns had been characterized as Obstruction; but he might be permitted to say that there was occasionally such a thing as an attempt at smuggling in legislation, and nothing was truer in these matters than the old adage that sometimes there was a great deal more haste than speed. If he wanted any confirmation of that, he should have ample in the testimony of the Endowed Schools Commissioners of 1873, for they stated that the country was not prepared for the measure, which was literally hurried through Parliament without scarcely any examination, and nothing came out more clearly than the justice of the charge that the Endowed Schools Bill of 1869 was a skeleton Bill. The Commissioners of 1873, in their Report, stated that their own experience had convinced them that the country was badly prepared for its reception. In the desire to legislate there was a danger of Ministers hurrying on Bills for which the country was not prepared. He was bound to say that a discussion of two and a-half hours on a question of this character on a Saturday could hardly allow hon. Members a legitimate opportunity of opposing an Act which they thought would end in comparative failure. He hoped that he had satisfied Scotch Members that he had not improperly intruded himself in this discussion. He sincerely trusted that the measure in Scotland would, as regards popular representation, be far in advance of the measure passed for England. Nothing was truer than that the Scotch people were so educated and so interested in education that the government of these schools was not in safe hands unless it was entirely trusted to them.

MR. J.W. BARCLAY said, he thought that whatever hon. Members might do in voting, many would be of his opinion that the more explanations they got from the Government in regard to this Bill, the more unsatisfactory did it appear. The discussion to-day was entirely due to the evasive policy which the Vice President of the Council had pursued throughout in regard to this Bill. The Bill was introduced three years ago, and he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had opposed it, and was quite willing to bear the responsibility of having done so. In justification of the policy he had pursued, he might point to the improvements which had been made in the Bill. They had had various concessions in regard to popular representations, and also in other respects. If the right hon. Gentleman was disappointed at the present discussion, the speeches delivered must have made it clear to him that it was due to the character of the explanations that he himself made last week, and the misleading inferences which were drawn from the declarations which he then made. If the going into Committee were postponed to-day, it would be a very great advantage; because it was only now that the people of Scotland would begin to really understand what the object of the Government was in this Bill; and he was very confident that that object would not command the approval of the people of Scotland. He would not yield to the right hon. Gentleman or any Member in his desire for good secondary education in Scotland; but the speech of the right hon. Gentleman showed very clearly that he did not understand the social relations in Scotland, or the kind of education which was there given in what he called the primary or elementary schools. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had been educated at a parish school, and these parish schools really gave as good a secondary education as was given in many of the secondary schools in England. The sons and daughters of landed proprietors, and of farmers, and of paupers were educated there, and there was not that hard separation of classes which existed in England. Although the right hon. Gentleman referred to the free education of Heriot's Schools, there existed in those parish schools in the Eastern districts of Scotland a system of free education, which, from his own observation, he was able to say had done a great deal of good. The right hon. Gentleman did not understand the feeling of the people of Scotland against the receipt of parochial relief, even in cases of necessity, else he would not have made the speech that he did today. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to take up two positions. He had said that the Bill was not opposed to free education. Quite so; and yet the right hon. Gentleman had objected to admit a clause which would preserve free education at Edinburgh, where, according to the Reports of the Government Commissioners, free education was thoroughly efficient. But, after considering the matter and the statement made on behalf of the Government, he had come to the conclusion that the Government had in view a certain object which they were afraid to declare in the Bill, and that they were going to have a Commission to accomplish that object. He hoped his hon. Friend would take a division upon this particular principle, not whether they were to have free education throughout Scotland, but whether the free education of deserving poor which now existed should be maintained or not. The right hon. Gentleman had impliedly declared himself against that policy, and he thought the people of Scotland should know that it was so. Another important principle in the Bill was that of representation. Were these endowments to be remitted in future to close Corporations or to public representative bodies? He must confess that he was unable to understand the position of a Liberal Government and a Radical Representative in pursuing the policy they had done in this respect. If the Government were in favour of a system of education which was generally favoured to the people of Scotland, would they not intrust that education to the Representatives of the people? It was incumbent on the Government to give some general indication who were to be the non-representative members of these bodies. They ought also to know something more what the intention of the Government was in respect to the secondary education which was to be promoted under this Bill. It had been already alluded to, and he thought there was very great reason to suspect that the intention was to promote the crotchets of some people in respect to secondary education, who had special views of their own, and whose views were not in accordance with those of the people of Scotland. For himself, he thought the Bill did not go far enough, and that the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) had very much hit the nail on the head when he said that the measure seemed to be somewhat premature. The people of Scotland, during the last three or four years, had had their attention more and more directed to this question, and, in his opinion, they were prepared to go very much further in dealing with those trusts than the Bill seemed to do. In fact, the Bill seemed to be drawn in a particular way so as to include certain particular trusts which the draftsman had specially in his eye. The attempt to apply the clauses of this Bill would, in his (Mr. J. W. Barclay's) opinion, be provocative of a great deal of litigation, and very great difficulty would be experienced in determining whether any particular trust came within the scope of the Bill or did not. He should have thought that in dealing with this question a Liberal Government would have taken a comprehensive view of the various educational and charitable trusts, and would have framed a general scheme which would have provided a good secondary education throughout Scotland. Secondary education was already, to a very large extent, provided in the parish schools, and he must confess he was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman state that the education of Scotland had gone back in recent years.

Mr. MUNDELLA: I did not say so. I said, that whereas Scotland was formerly at the head of Europe, other countries had made such advances, that Scotland was no longer at the head.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he believed that some other countries of Europe had gone in for free education, and he did not think that the appeal to other countries would favour very much the view the right hon. Gentleman took in respect to this Bill. He maintained that the education of Scotland during the last 10 years since the passing of the Education Act had made very great advances indeed, and the statistics of the Education Department supported that view. He thought that if a general scheme for the whole of Scotland were considered, there would be ample funds for providing the secondary education which it was desirable to have. He was entirely in favour of a very good elementary education, and for providing the means for deserving students reaching the highest education which could be provided in Scotland. A very large amount of means already existed. At the Aberdeen University, in the third or fourth year of the curriculum, about three-fourths of the whole students were provided with bursaries, and the people of Scotland were not in the starving position with regard to secondary education which the right hon. Gentleman supposed. There was a sufficiency of means without interfering with those funds devoted at the present time to the free education of the deserving poor. He hoped a division would be taken on two questions of principle: the first was, whether it was the opinion of the House that the free education of the deserving poor in Scotland should be extinguished; and, in the next place, whether these endowments were to be administered in the future by close Corporations or by popular representation.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 89; Noes 19: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 292.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Interpretation of terms).

MR. A. GRANT said, that, in his unavoidable absence, his hon. Friend the Member for the Falkirk Burghs (Mr. Ramsay) had asked him to take charge of the Amendment which stood in his name. The object of the Amendment was to provide that the property and funds, heritable and moveable, of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge should be included within the scope of the Bill. He understood the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) was willing to include this society in the operation of the Bill, and that the directors of the society had said they had no objection whatever to come under the influence of the Commissioners. The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge had long been a subject of contention amongst the people of Scotland. It was a very old institution, incorporated many years ago, and at the time of its incorporation it included within its beneficiaries most of the people of Scotland. Owing, however, to ecclesiastical changes of late years, the benefits of the endowments of the society had been very much limited; they were limited to members of the Established Church, and these, in the districts in which the society's efforts were devoted, formed a small proportion of the population. Upon looking at the Amendment, it seemed to him there was a little difficulty about the wording of it, but that the Amendment might easily be altered. The Amendment of his hon. Friend was to insert, after the word "mean," in page 1, line 26, "and include the property and funds, heritable and moveable, of the Society for Propagating Christian and;" but he (Mr. A. Grant) would suggest that the Aemndment should take the form of an addition to the clause after the word "purposes," and should run—"and shall include the property and funds, heritable and moveable, of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge."

THE CHAIRMAN said, an Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) came before this Amendment.

MR. WEBSTER said, he had an Amendment on the Paper to insert, after the word "purposes," in line 30—

> "Except as hereinafter specified; and it shall include the property of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, so far as applicable or applied for educational purposes within the meaning of this Act."

The Amendment was very much to the same purpose as that now moved by his hon. Friend the Member for Leith (Mr. A. Grant); but it included the point which he presumed his hon. Friend found his own Amendment was deficient in. He thought, however, that the Amendment which he had to propose would more properly come in on the Report stage of the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member move his first Amendment—namely, to leave out "dedicated to charitable uses and," in line 27?

MR. WEBSTER said, he would propose this Amendment with the view of bringing the funds and property of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge within the meaning of the Bill, so far as they were applicable to educational purposes.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 27, leave out "dedicated to charitable uses and."—(*Mr. Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. ORR-EWING: Is the first Amendment withdrawn?

THE CHAIRMAN: It comes later.

MR. MUNDELLA said, it was necessary to retain the words "dedicated to charitable uses and," because they indicated the source from whence educational endowments came. He admitted it was of the utmost importance that the funds of the Society for the Propagating of Christian Knowledge, so far as they were applicable to educational purposes, should come within the scope of the Bill, and he was glad to find that the directors of the society were willing and anxious they should come within the scope of the Bill. But the Committee had to consider whether the words as they now stood would really include the funds of this society. He had been very anxious they should be included, and he was sure his hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate had done his best to bring them within the scope of the 1st clause in such a way as should not offend a proper sentiment on the part of the society against their being named in an invidious way in the clause. There was, after all, some doubt as to whether the society would be included in the Bill. In the first place, it would be a scandal if, after passing this measure, they were to have litigation by which possibly bad feeling would be created amongst the religious persons in the society, and the funds of the society wasted. What the Government proposed to do was this. The hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) had an Amendment upon the Paper which was very fairly applicable to this clause, but which should come in another place. He (Mr. Mundella) would suggest that in the miscellaneous clauses at the end of the Bill some such words as these should be inserted—

> "The funds and property of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, so far as applicable or applied to educational purposes, shall be deemed to be an educational endowment within the meaning of this Act."

That would meet the point in question. The only object in naming the society was that there should be no litigation hereafter. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. WEBSTER said, he had to thank the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council for so frankly and readily conceding the point with regard to the express inclusion of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. With regard to the proposal to omit the words "dedicated to charitable uses and," let him just ask the attention of the Committee for a moment. If the Committee would look carefully at the clause they would find that the words "dedicated to charitable uses" governed and regulated the whole endowments which were to be brought within the scope of the Bill. It would be an essential condition, precedent to any endowment coming within the scope of the Bill, that it should be dedicated to charitable uses, and that, it seemed to him, would practically tend to defeat some of the objects of the Bill. It could not be properly said that all or many educational endowments were dedicated to charitable uses, and, therefore, it appeared to him that the retention of these words would entirely limit the application of the Bill. It must be the earnest wish of everyone connected with the endowments of Scotland that there should be no obstacle whatever introduced which would interfere with the usefulness of the Bill, but that the Bill should be made as practical as possible. The retention of the words "dedicated to charitable uses" would impair the usefulness of the Bill. It could not be said that such words appeared in any previous Acts of Parliament of a similar character. In the Act of 1878 no such words occurred, and in the English Act of 1869, upon the lines of which the present Bill was framed, no such words occurred. The words "dedicated to charitable uses" had no meaning in the law of Scotland, and, therefore, it appeared to him they ought not to appear in the Bill. If the words which he proposed to omit were omitted, the clause would then have an ordinary common-sense reading, thus—

> "Educational endowment shall mean any property, heritable or moveable, which has been applied or is applicable in whole or in part, whether by the declared intention of the founder or the consent of the Governing Body, or by custom or otherwise, to educational purposes."

His own conviction was that if the objectionable words were retained they would very likely occasion serious misconstruction in the Courts of Law.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, it appeared to him that the words "dedicated to charitable uses" were requisite to define the quality which belonged to any charitable foundation or educational endowment to be dealt with by this Act. He took it the words were intended to mean that an endowment should possess the quality of having been given either by present, gift, or by testamentary bequest to charitable uses. If the words were omitted, the result would be that a very large number of things, which could not in any reasonable sense be educational endowments, would be brought in. For instance, if a particular society might vote £5 a-year to some educational purpose, there might be serious risk, without these precautionary words, of all the funds being held out to be an educational endowment. He thought, therefore, it was important to define what was the main quality, indeed the essential quality, of educational endowments.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he rose to support the Amendment, and he was sorry he was unable to follow the explanation the Lord Advocate had given of an educational endowment. In the clause "educational endowment" was defined to mean any property applicable in whole or in part, whether by the declared intention of the founder or the consent of the Governing Body, or by custom or otherwise, to educational purposes. Now, that seemed to him to cover very clearly and distinctly the very property with which the Bill proposed to deal. He did not see at all how the giving of £5 by any body for the purpose of education would come within the purposes of the Bill, except as to the £5 which had been given. As he was very favourable to the extension of the Bill as far as possible, he was disposed to support the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Webster). It was exceedingly desirable that the language of the Bill should be as clear and as explicit as possible. If they failed in this respect, they would have a large amount of litigation, and instead of promoting the cause of education in Scotland, they would only promote the interests of the lawyers. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would accept the Amendment to omit these qualifying words.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK proposed to insert, after "purposes," in line 30—

> "But the words educational endowment shall not apply to a school maintained, or funds paid, out of an endowment which may, in the discretion of the governing body, be applied to other than educational purposes, but shall not include the funds, whether capital or revenue, of any incorporation or society contributed or paid by the members of such incorporation or society by way of entry moneys or other fixed or stated payments, nor to burgess fines paid to any such incorporation or corporate society."

The object of the Amendment was a simple one. There were certain associations—corporate bodies or incorporations—which had funds derived from entry-moneys, fines, subscriptions, and other sources, and these associations occasionally devoted some portion of their funds to educational matters. He believed the intention of the right hon. Gentleman was not to interfere with funds of that nature. At the same time, there was some doubt expressed by members of such societies in some of the large towns, and also in some rural districts, and therefore he had put this Amendment on the Paper in the hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would clear up the doubt which existed. He hoped the Government would either accept the Amendment, or, in some way, make it apparent that there was no intention to deal with funds such as he had described.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 1, line 30, after "purposes," insert "but the words educational endowment shall not apply to a school maintained, or funds paid, out of an endowment which may, in the discretion of the governing body, be applied to other than educational purposes, but shall not include the funds, whether capital or revenue, of any incorporation, or society contributed or paid by the members of such incorporation or society by way of entry moneys, or other fixed or stated payments, nor to burgess fines paid to any such incorporation or corporate society."—(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, the Government were quite prepared to accept the Amendment.

MR. BRYCE asked whether, if this Amendment were adopted, there could be any difficulty arising out of the inclusion by name of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge? There were many societies in Scotland which received money by way of fines and the like, and which were, at the same time, charitable in the way of education.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that if the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge had not been expressly named, a difficulty would have arisen, because this Amendment would very likely have sent it outside the scope of the Bill. That was one of the considerations which led them to do what they were somewhat unwilling to do—include the society by name. In accepting the Amendment, he would suggest the addition of the words "except as hereinafter provided."

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he quite understood the difficulty which existed in reference to the point the Lord Advocate had alluded to. He would consent to the insertion of the proposed words.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to add "except as hereinafter provided."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be added to the said proposed Amendment."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, that very large accumulated funds connected with these societies, which were devoted by the members to educational purposes, would very properly come under the Bill. He did not see any reason why they should be exempted, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman should be somewhat cautious in accepting this Amendment.

Question, "That the words 'except as hereinafter provided,' be added to the said proposed Amendment," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, he desired to put it to the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) whether it would not be advisable to introduce into this Amendment the words "unless with the consent of the managers or the Governing Body of such society?"

Amendment proposed to said proposed Amendment, to add, at end, "unless with the consent of the managers or the Governing Body of such society."—(*Mr. C. S. Parker.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, if his hon. Friend (Mr. C. S. Parker) would withdraw the proposal he had just submitted, he (Mr. Mundella) would bring up on the Report words providing that any Governing Body having funds at its disposal for educational purposes should be able to come under the clause.

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, in that case, he would not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ORR-EWING wished to point out that the funds the Committee were now dealing with were the funds belonging to the existing members of the different societies and institutions referred to, and not bequests left to any Governing Body. The money was contributed by the members of the particular society coming within the scope of the Amendment, and in many cases the funds were very large. The case was different, therefore, from that of dealing with bequests.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, it was proposed to provide for making exceptions in such cases as had just been pointed out, unless where the particular societies or institutions themselves desired that their managers should come within the provisions of the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, Amendment made in page 2, line 3, at end, by inserting the words "'Burgh' shall mean Royal or Parliamentary Burgh."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 2 (Short title) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Commencement of Act) *agreed to.*

Commissioners.

Clause 4 (Appointment of Commissioners).

Mr. MUNDELLA moved to leave out in page 2, lines 32, 33, and 34, in order to insert the words—

> "The Commissioners shall be paid, on scales to be approved by the Treasury, the personal and travelling expenses incurred by them on the business of the Commission. The Assistant Commissioners, officers, and clerks shall be paid, on scales to be approved by the Treasury, the personal and travelling expenses incurred by them when employed on the business of the Commission out of Edinburgh."

This, he said, was simply a Treasury clause, and was merely verbal.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. HENDERSON wished to ask when the names of the Commissioners would be given?

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he would name the Commissioners in the usual way at a future stage of the Bill.

Mr. LEAMY said, he believed that the aggregate sum of the endowments proposed to be dealt with by the Bill was very large. He understood that the funds of the societies that would come within the provision of the Bill amounted to something like £200,000. He had found this statement in *The Times* newspaper, and although he could not say whether the statement was accurate, there could be no doubt that the total amount was very considerable. Under these circumstances, he thought that the expenses of the Commissioners' secretary and officers might well be borne out of the funds of the societies themselves instead of out of moneys to be voted by Parliament. He did not intend to press this suggestion in the form of an Amendment; but, at the same time, he thought it right to call attention to the matter.

MR. MUNDELLA said, it was very refreshing to hear an Irish Member defending the Treasury in this way when everything connected with education was paid out of the Exchequer. He did not think it would be desirable to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member.

MR. M'LAREN said, he had understood from a statement that had been made on a previous occasion that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take up the whole question of the mode of paying these expenses; and it appeared to him that to put a clause of this kind in the Bill was merely to put another obstacle in the way of settling the question in a way which he was sure many of his hon. Friends wished to see carried out as well as himself. There were a great many persons who desired to see these endowment made self-supporting, and he felt that the object was one which ought, if possible, to be carried out.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he hoped the Committee would not diverge in questions affecting the general management of Educational Charities on this clause. When the proper time arrived the whole question would be dealt with.

MR. BUCHANAN asked if it was contemplated that the payment of salaries should apply to the Commissioners?

MR. MUNDELLA replied, that the proposal did not apply to the Commissioners, only to the Assistant Commissioners.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. WARTON said, it would be desirable, after the Amendment just made, to assert an Amendment, at the end of page 2. There were the words, "such travelling and other expenses," and as it would be as well to preserve the sense of the clause as amended, he would move that the words "personal and" be inserted before the word "travelling," in the last line of the page.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 39, after the word "such," insert "personal and."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that the word "such" made the words "travelling and other expenses" referential. He did not, however, object to the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 40, after "travelling," leave out "and other."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered to* stand part of the Bill.

Clause 5 (Powers of Commissioners).

MR. BUCHANAN said, he desired to amend the clause by inserting, in page 3, line 4, after the word "power," the words, "after such examination or public inquiry, as they think proper." This would make the clause read thus—

> "Subject to the provisions hereinafter contained the Commissioners shall have power, after such examination or public inquiry as they think proper, to prepare drafts of schemes for the future government and management of educational endowments,"

and so forth. These words would have the effect of making it necessary and compulsory for the Commissioners to institute some sort of inquiry, while, at the same time, it would be a matter for their discretion how far the inquiry should go. He had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would accept the words suggested by this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 3, line 4, after "power," insert "after such examination or public inquiry, as they think proper."—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, if his hon. Friend (Mr. Buchanan) would turn to the Amendments to Clause 20, he would find that he (Mr. Mundella) had put down an Amendment which was intended to provide for a public examination or inquiry.

MR. BUCHANAN said, as Clause 20 was drafted, it was only provided that the Commissioners "may" make an examination or inquiry. By an Amendment, he proposed to insert in Clause 20 the word "shall" for "may," and if the right hon. Gentleman would accept that, along with his own Amendment, it would render the examination or inquiry compulsory.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he thought it would be found that the object of the Amendment would be met by that which he intended to propose to Clause 20.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, that what the hon. Member (Mr. Buchanan) desired to secure was that the inquiry should be compulsory.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, it would be better to leave the matter until Clause 20.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. WEBSTER said, he should like to know, in order to save the time of the Committee, whether the Government were prepared to accept his Amendment, which was to insert, in page 3, line 7, after the word "endowments," the words, "including the removal of any religious tests or qualifications applicable to teachers." The insertion of those words would make the clause read thus—

> "Subject to the provisions hereinafter contained, the Commissioners shall have power to prepare drafts of schemes for the future government and management of educational endowments, including the removal of any religious tests or qualifications applicable to teachers."

He should like to hear the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on the point.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he was somewhat surprised at the proposal, especially when he considered the question of the teaching of Catholic children, and the provision necessary to be made for their teachers. Surely the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Webster) would not say he would remove the religious tests in a case like that?

Mr. WEBSTER said, he should be prepared to add the words "the religious tests or qualifications imposed on teachers by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge." He had provided for the case pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) by an Amendment he had put on the Paper to Clause 8, and which would save any such difficulty as the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of with regard to the Roman Catholic endowments, or to any endowment given to any Church or religious denomination. But there was a special evil existing in the case of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and he should be quite content to confine his Amendment to the case of that society.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, surely the hon. Member (Mr. Webster) could not ask the Committee to insert words which aimed only at removing tests in the case of one particular society, and thus excluding the Roman Catholics, the Free Church, and the other Churches that existed in Scotland. They could not say that in one single instance there should be no religious test, and that these tests should remain untouched in other cases. He hoped the hon. Member (Mr. Webster) would not trouble the Committee to divide on this Amendment.

Mr. WEBSTER said, he was afraid he must press his original Amendment on the Committee. He did not think that the case of the Roman Catholics, or of any other Church, would at all alter the aspect of the question in regard to the particular instance to which he desired the Amendment to apply. In point of fact, he thought that by confining the Amendment to the case of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge he should be able to make out the strongest possible case for the acceptance of his proposal by the Committee. It must be remembered that in regard to the special case of this society there was a decision, or decree, given by the Court of Session in 1846, which set forth—

> "That the said society is, by its constitution, indissolubly connected with the Established Church of Scotland. That it is not lawful for the said society to appoint as teachers, catechists, or missionaries, or for the execution of any of the purposes of the society, any persons who do not belong to the Established Church of Scotland."

He would say, at the outset, he did not in the least desire to press his Amendment on the Committee from any denominational point of view, and he frankly confessed that the application of the Bill did not extend to the religious or missionary purposes of the society. It applied simply to the teachers employed by the society. He would remind the Committee that the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge possessed the largest funds of any similar institution in Scotland. From the third Report of the Royal Commission on Endowed Schools and Hospitals in Scotland, of which Commission Sir Edward Colebrooke was Chairman, in 1875, it appeared that—

"The largest fund in Scotland applicable to educational purposes generally—that is, without restriction to any particular institution or locality—is that of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Their total property may be valued at about £200,000, accumulated since their incorporation in 1709. Their annual income is about £6,000. Except a few hundred pounds a-years appropriated by the donors to particular schools or churches, the whole of this revenue and capital is at the disposal of the society under the terms of their Letters Patent. Under the first Letters from Queen Anne" [in 1709] "the funds are applicable 'towards the further promoting of Christian knowledge and the increase of piety and virtue within Scotland, especially in Highlands, islands, and remote corners thereof, where error and ignorance do mostly abound by reason of the largeness of parishes and scarcity of schools.' To this end power is given to erect and maintain schools to teach and read, especially the Holy Scriptures and other good and pious books; as, also, to teach writing, arithmetic, and such degree of knowledge, and to use such means for instructing the people in the Christian Reformed religion as may be competent. In 1738, by second Letters Patent, the society was empowered to cause such of the children as they should think fit to be instructed and bred up to husbandry, housewifery, or in trades and manufactures, or such like manual occupations as the society shall think proper."

So that it would be seen that under the first Letters Patent, in 1709, the object of the society was school teaching in the Highlands, islands, and remote districts of Scotland; while, under the subsequent Letters Patent, obtained in 1738, the society was empowered to give industrial training, both being mainly, and almost exclusively, for the benefit of the Highlands, islands, and remote corners of Scotland, the industrial teaching in the case of the girls having been restricted to sewing. At the date of the Report from which he had just quoted, between £4,000 and £5,000 a-year was devoted to the education of children, and between £700 and £800 a-year to the religious teaching of adults. They had seen what had been adjudged by the decree of the Court of Session in 1846 respecting the teachers employed by the society, who were to belong to the Established Church of Scotland. He asked the Committee to consider what must necessarily be the effect and operation of that decision. He did not wish it to be supposed that he found any fault with the judgment itself; but its practical effect had been most disastrous. Shortly after 1843, it would be remembered, the whole of the population of the Highlands and islands of the Western part of Scotland, to which this particular endowment applied quitted the Established Church and had remained outside that Church ever since. During all this period they had, rightly or wrongly—but this was not a matter he desired to argue at that moment—refused to benefit at the hands of the teachers employed by the society. The effect had been that the funds of the society devoted to education had dwindled to a very low ebb; for, although the Commission of 1875 had reported that between £4,000 and £5,000 a-year was spent on the education of children since 1872, many of the schools had ceased altogether, until at the present moment, as he found by the last Report of the society, there were in 1882 only 28 male teachers in the Highlands, and 16 female teachers, and but six teachers employed by the society in the Western Islands. He would put one further instance. This society had an endowment that was specially applicable to the Island of St. Kilda, and the endowment, of which no part had been paid for the people since 1846, had accumulated since that period and must now be very large. The result would be that if such a state of things was allowed to continue owing to the operation of the religious test in the case of this society, there would be a useless waste of the funds that were intended for the employment of teachers in the Highlands and islands of Scotland and the remote corners thereof. It should be remembered that it was not in the power of the society to appoint teachers except such as belonged to the Established Church; and he considered that it was absolutely necessary in the case of this society that an express provision should be made under which the Commission should have power to remove the existing tests.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 7, after "endowments," insert "including the removal of any religious tests or qualifications applicable to teachers."—(*Mr. Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. C. S. PARKER said, he hoped the Government would accept these words, as he believed it was the general feeling among the Scotch Members that they should be inserted. It would be a very simple thing to put in the words without coupling them with the name of any one society, but rather keeping them as at first moved by the hon. Member.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he concurred in the views expressed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Webster); but the question was how were they to deal with the matter in a general clause? It would not do to have a general clause burdened with an individual exception; and, therefore, he thought it would not do to name any particular society in that clause. The matter would, perhaps, come more naturally in the clause in which this society was specially included, and he would suggest that they should postpone the discussion on this question until they came to that clause.

Mr. JERNINGHAM said, the Amendment as originally proposed by the hon. Member would be applicable to a great many persons in Scotland who would suffer from the introduction of such words; and he (Mr. Jerningham), as representing the Roman Catholics in this country, must enter a strong protest against the proposal. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had justly said they should legislate for all, and not for one particular class.

Mr. ORR EWING said, the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) wished to take advantage by this Bill to do damage to the Established Church. It was true that a great many Highlanders left the Church in 1843; but as time went on there were a good many who, to all appearance, were very anxious to return. This Bill provided that if the funds of a society were not properly managed the Commissioners would take good care that such changes were made as to insure that they should be managed properly. The grievance brought forward by the hon. Member (Mr. Webster) was not one of such a nature as to justify the acceptance of the Amendment he had proposed. It would be very invidious to mention only one society in the whole of Scotland, and would certainly be regarded as very injurious to the Roman Catholics; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would not yield to the request that the Amendment should be inserted.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr Ewing) was somewhat uncharitable in imputing that the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) had been actuated by sectarian motives. The fact was that the only desire by which the hon. Member for Aberdeen was actuated was that the funds set apart for educational purposes in the Highlands should should be made available for those purposes. The feeling on this subject had been very strong ever since the decision of the Court of Session that none but teachers of the Established Church should teach in the schools referred to; and it was clearly wrong to allow a state of things that had the effect of neutralizing the benefits which might be obtained from the existing endowments. The object of the Amendment might, however, be met by inserting a clause at the end of the Bill.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, they ought to be very careful in not making it appear that trusts which were of a perfectly legitimate character were sectarian trusts. He quite sympathized with the objection of his hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) that there should no disqualification by reason of religious tests, but would ask him to withdraw the Amendment, on the understanding that he (Mr. Mundella) would bring up certain words on the Report with the view of meeting the case. He was unable to accept the words of the Amendment proposed by the hon. Gentleman, but would himself bring up words that would give the Commissioners power to deal generally at their discretion with what would be deemed right in respect to this matter.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was of opinion that some provision ought to be made in the Bill to enable the Commissioners to remove religious tests. It was not so very long since the Scottish Universities were closed to those who would not submit to the religious tests then imposed; but since that time they had been able to get rid of all of them from the Universities, and there was a strong feeling in favour of their being removed in other quarters.

Mr. WEBSTER said, after the assurance given by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, he was willing to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. BRYCE said, the Amendment he had placed on the Paper was that the words "uniting two or more existing governing bodies or" be inserted after the word "and," in line 9 of this clause. This Amendment had been put down wholly with a view of meeting a verbal difficulty in the construction of the clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 9, after "and," insert "uniting two or more existing bodies or."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, there was no objection to the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 6 (Provisions where governing body wholly or partly consists of members of town councils, &c.)

MR. J. W. BARCLAY moved, in page 3, line 12, to leave out from "where" to "public body," in line 15. This Amendment raised a very important principle—namely, whether these educational endowments should be administered by close corporations, or by representative bodies. He did not desire to enter into any long argument; but he would like the Government to declare what the object was which they had in view, and who were the special parties they wished should be nominated. He would not say that the administration of Town Councils was perfect; but it was better than the administration of close corporations. Heriot's Trust had been much discussed in connection with this Bill, and he thought the way in which those funds had been nursed by the Town Council was the strongest proof of the wise, and honest, and straightforward administration of these bodies that could be given. He could not see the object of the Government in giving the administration of these trusts to irresponsible bodies. His proposal was that the funds, being public funds, should be administered by Governors who were responsible to the public. He recognized the necessity of giving the new Commission very large and extensive powers; but they ought only to give such powers as were necessary. The powers conferred on the Commission ought to be restricted. The people of Scotland had been entrusted with the management of the primary education; and he was at a loss to know why a Liberal Government should propose a close corporation in this particular case, which would not be responsible to the public, over which Parliament would have no control, and which could do as it liked with the funds.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 12, to leave out from "where" to "public body," in line 15, both inclusive.—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he thought he had made a very large concession last Saturday, and it was not necessary to discuss the whole question of Governing Bodies over again. These trusts, it must be remembered, were not derived from taxation, and he could not admit the electoral principle absolutely to the exclusion of any other. What had been done in this Bill had never been done in any other measure; and there never had been a more liberal provision for the representation of the people in a measure dealing with endowments than this Bill contained. Who were the Governing Body of Heriot's Trust? Three-fourths of the Town Council; and who were the other fourth?

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: Ministers of the Established Church.

MR. MUNDELLA: Quite so; but surely if they got Town Councils, and school boards, and ministers, they might go to people outside to help the administration of the funds, especially in regard to technical and scientific instruction; men who were well acquainted with applied science, and who could give the best advice, both to the board and to the Town Council, as to the method of providing technical education. There was no provision necessary for allowing these persons to be appointed in their respective localities. Nothing had worked better in the English endowed school system than the fact that there were a certain number of gentlemen—some from the great Universities, some eminent in science—who took great pains to assist with their advice and experience the Governing Bodies in matters of this kind. Mr. Mark Firth had recently given a magnificent endowment to Sheffield; how was the Governing Body constituted? At its own request it contained a certain portion of the Town Council, a certain number of the school board, some gentlemen from the London University, Professor Roscoe, of Manchester, the President of Trinity College, Oxford, and a number of other gentlemen possessing special knowledge and ability to aid the elected members in forming the best scheme. The present Amendment was hardly a reward for the concession he made last Saturday.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, the right hon. Gentleman had misrepresented the proposal he had placed before the Committee. He did not propose that three-fourths of the Governing Body should consist of members of the Town Council and school boards; but that the members should be elected by school boards or Town Councils, and he had drawn the Amendment precisely with the view of attaining the object the right hon. Gentleman indicated—namely, to enable school boards and Town Councils to bring in such gentlemen from outside as were specially qualified to aid the administration of these endowments. Would the right hon. Gentleman explain the method by which those gentlemen were to be introduced into the Governing Bodies? He thought the Committee were entitled to some explanation as to what the Government hoped to do, and how they hoped to accomplish their object. There should be added to the present Governing Bodies a certain number of men specially qualified in respect to education, to give advice and guidance to the Governing Bodies; and, at the same time, they should be indirectly under the influence of public opinion, so that the public might be satisfied that they were gentlemen who knew, and who understood and would pay attention to the education of the people. He was quite prepared to have the clause limited so as to provide that a certain proportion of members which the school boards and Town Councils elected should be outside those bodies. Having made that explanation, he thought the Government must have some special object in view in desiring to cast discredit on popular Representative Bodies; and it was quite true the Committee were not dealing with public rates, but they were dealing with public funds, and it was only because they were public funds that they were entitled to deal with them by a public measure.

MR. BUCHANAN said, he did not wish to repeat what he had already said as to the constitution of Governing Bodies; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman had spoken rather with regard to the new sub-section which he would introduce than with regard to the question raised by the hon. Member. The contention of the hon. Member was that these Governing Bodies should consist mainly of representatives of public bodies. With regard to the other portion of the dispute between the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member (Mr. J. W. Barclay), as to men outside their own Body, he would give an instance as to the way in which such men had been elected. The Town Council of Edinburgh had the power, in regard to the Curatorial Board of the Edinburgh University, of electing four out of the seven members of the Board; and they had almost always elected at least one member who was not connected with the Town Council.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he thought the hon. Gentleman had selected an unfortunate instance in support of his view. The Town Council of Edinburgh had the patronage of the University of Edinburgh up to a recent period, and the results of that patronage with regard to higher education proved the truth of the enlightened opinion of educationists throughout the world—that popular representation in matters of culture and art was not only unnecessary, but might be injurious. What was to be said as to the results of such a system could not be better said than in an article which appeared in *The Edinburgh Review*, in 1834, written by one of the most profound thinkers of this country. The article was written immediately after the revelations made on the subject of the management of the Edinburgh University. The writer said—

"It is melancholy that such a system should be tolerated in our country. The Edinburgh Town Council were, from their education and rank in society, wholly destitute of that information and intelligence which such patrons ought to possess; they were a collection of individuals, numerous, transitory, obscure . . . . . wholly incapable of an active exercise of their trust. . . . . The history of the University shows that the highest merit, and the public opinion of that merit, most emphatically pronounced, have never in a single instance prevailed, when a perverse influence has been adequately brought to bear on the electors. . . . . The most transcendent claims were of no avail against the merits of a municipal relationship.

> A large proportion of the electors were necessarily in dependent relations, and some hardly above the condition of paupers. They were thus wholly incapacitated from resisting the various sinister influences which assailed their integrity; and even direct bribery, which is known sometimes to have been tried, was probably not always unsuccessful. . . . Indeed, it is only in a country far behind in all that regards the theory and practice of education that the notion of entrusting a body like a municipal magistracy with such a trust would not be treated with derision . . . . and their continuance as patrons would seal the downfall of the University of Edinburgh."

That fate had fortunately been averted by wise legislation; and he hoped the example in that case might be a warning to the Committee as to entrusting powers relating to education of the higher sort to public representation, when representation was not necessary for dealing with such questions.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that up to the time referred to by his hon. Friend the Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) the Town Council of Edinburgh had been a close Corporation.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, that was perfectly true; but the writer (Sir William Hamilton), in the collected edition of his works, published in 1853, after the reform of the Town Council, repeated his regret that they still were unable satisfactorily to act as patrons of the University.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that even as a close Corporation it had well managed the affairs of the Edinburgh University; and from the time when the Corporation had been reformed, the date at which the management had been taken out of the hands of the Town Council, the University had attained to its highest eminence, for it had certainly reached nothing higher since. The Amendment now before the Committee raised one of the most important principles in the Bill; and he thought the Committee would not object to devote some little time to the consideration of it. The principle was that of the representative element in the Governing Bodies. He would not occupy the time of the Committee repeating the arguments he had already used on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair; but would simply say that in dealing with Trusts in such a way as to imply that they were public funds, they ought to make full provision that the funds should be administered in the same way as other public property. The whole of the opposition to the representative element in the Governing Bodies was based on the state of matters as it existed in England, and because Englishmen seemed always to think that it was necessary to thrust every Scotch institution into an English mould. In the English Act provision had been made for the representative element in Governing Bodies such as was now asked for in the Scotch Bill; but then, in England, the endowments had almost all been close bodies, and in them even a limited introduction of the representative element was a decided improvement; whereas in Scotland, as he had already shown, 107 out of 199 Trusts had, under the founders' directions, had at least two-thirds of the Governing Bodies members of the Town Council; and, therefore, it was anything but a reform in them to make no more provision for the representative element than was proposed in this Bill. He again wished to ask why it was that the right hon. Gentleman, the Government, and those who educated the Government in this matter, whoever they might be, showed such a want of confidence in the representative element as to desire to reduce it where it had existed? The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the necessity of having scientific persons and educationists on the Trusts. He, too, thought that desirable, but not altogether necessary. Those Trusts, and the Edinburgh Trusts in particular, had hitherto admirably managed their endowments without any special knowledge of that kind, because they had, like sensible men, always taken advice on such matters from men having the necessary qualifications; and, acting on that advice, their management had hitherto been productive of the greatest good. He would not repeat what he had already said at a former stage of the Bill regarding the excellent management of the Heriot's Trust, beyond expressing the regret that so many Members had allowed themselves to be poisoned by statements that were almost calumnious in their character. He would like to remind the House that under the Bill the Commissions would have power to reduce the number of the Governing Bodies. The Colebrooke Commission had recommended that in no case should the Governing Body exceed 15; and if any such number as that were to be the limit of new Governing Bodies, they would only be required to select a number of the members of Town Councils; and if these bodies did not consist of persons having the qualifications which the right hon. Gentleman desiderated, still there were some men among them who possessed such qualifications, and, doubtless, they would be selected as the members of the new Governing Bodies. But, besides, it was extremely likely that the Town Councils would be permitted to elect men not members of the Town Council; and if that were so, they would be enabled to choose persons to represent them if there were none among their own number who had the qualifications upon which the right hon. Gentleman laid so much stress. Further, he would remind the Committee that the Governing Bodies would have very limited powers under the new schemes. It would be left to them to determine the proportion of any part of the funds. Their function would be simply to administer the schemes within the strict lines laid down by the Commissioners. To do that the chief qualifications wanted were not high attainments in educational or other sciences, but common sense, diligence, honesty of purpose, and, above all, a sense of responsibility to the public. That was the most important qualification of all; and where they had that to a large extent in a public Trust, that Trust could never go far wrong, as the weight of public opinion would be immediately brought to bear upon it. He reminded the right hon. Gentleman that the Duke of Richmond, in introducing the Bill of 1879, distinctly stated that there had been no maladministration proved in the case of any Scotch endowment. It was admitted that they had all been well administered up till that time, and in that respect presented a striking contrast to the English endowments, in the case of which gross abuses had been shown to have extensively existed; yet it was proposed to apply to endowments in which there had been no abuses measures which had only been warranted in the case of England by the corrupt condition of things which had been utterly unknown in Scotland. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would make the concession to public opinion which was asked for by the Amendment before the Committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) had made an attack on the Town Council of Edinburgh with regard to their administration of patronage in Edinburgh University; but he had taken his instances from an anonymous article published in the year 1834, when the Town Council was the closest of all close bodies, and consisted of only 32 members. It seemed to him (Mr. Buchanan) that the argument would rather tell against the close Governing Bodies that might be established under this Bill. His contention with regard to the Board of Curators was this. Previous to the University Act the patronage of the University was vested wholly in the Town Council. By that Act it was taken away from them to such an extent that they were left in a majority of four to three on the Board; and yet, in the exercise of their power to elect members outside of their own body, they had almost invariably elected at least one who was outside their own body, thereby renouncing their actual majority on the Board.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that they were dealing now with an Amendment directed solely to the preservation of the vested interests of that institution of which some hon. Members seemed so proud—Heriot's Hospital. It was intended, by this proposed Amendment, to tie up the hands of the Commissioners so that they should have no freedom of action at all. The clause, as it stood, did not prevent there being three-fourths in cases where the Commissioners were satisfied that that would be right; but the Amendment was intended to insist that there should be two-thirds in every case whether there was any electoral principle at all just now or not. That he thought was going further than was absolutely necessary, or than was expedient; and he was in favour of leaving the matter pretty much as it stood at present. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had accused other hon. Gentlemen of making calumnious statements about that somewhat rotten institution —Heriot's Hospital.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE: I said certain persons—not hon. Members.

Mr. ANDERSON said, of course, those certain persons who were not willing to give Heriot's Hospital all the concessions it had been so clamorous in asking for. He did not believe in Heriot's Hospital quite so much as the hon. Gentleman did, and did not believe it had been quite so well managed as the hon. Gentleman appeared to think. Was it a calumnious statement to say that in the year 1878 that institution spent £818 16*s.* 1*d.* in deputations to London? It was a charitable endowment, and that was the way in which the charity money was spent. There had been deputations up for ever so long this year, and, no doubt, next year's account would show an even larger expenditure upon them. Then they were also told that the schools educated 5,000 children, at four times the cost that ought to be incurred for the purpose, and that was another instance which led them to disbelieve in the admirable management of Heriot's Trust. They would like to see the institution placed under the surveillance of the Commissioners, in order that the Governing Body might, if necessary, be placed upon a better footing, and that abuses might be checked.

MR. A. GRANT said, he thought the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) was rather hard upon Heriot's Trust when he accused them of the maladministration of their funds, because of their deputations to London. The spending of the money seemed to him to rest really at the door of those who had been attempting to rob the citizens of Edinburgh of the funds which were left to them. [Mr. ANDERSON: Absurd.] However, he quite acknowledged that the proposals made by the right hon. Gentleman were a great improvement on the former proposals, and even on those which were in the printed Bill; and if the right hon. Gentleman would only go a little further he might frame proposals which would meet with general acceptance. The weak point of the Bill seemed to him to be the want of sufficient protection for the interests of poor children, and he thought they might assume that where a founder had left the control of his endowment to representative trustees, they were the best guardians of the rights of the beneficiaries to whom the money was left. He thought that if the right hon. Gentleman would so alter his proposal as to provide that two-thirds or one-third, as the case might be, of the new Governing Bodies should be appointed by the former Governing Bodies under the original rusts, that was an arrangement which might be accepted. It was true that the right hon. Gentleman secured two-thirds of representative members; but he proceeded afterwards, in the latter part of the clause, to give power to the Commissioners to water down that two-thirds or one-third by the introduction at their dissolution of whatever school board members they might choose to appoint. But it must be remembered that the interests of the school board members might be very different from those of the beneficiaries under the trusts; and if the Commissioners chose to use their power, of introducing any number they liked of school board members, they might take away from the beneficiaries a very large sum which they would otherwise enjoy. In an Amendment which he (Mr. A. Grant) intended to move a little further down, he proposed to make it clear that these Town Councils or other public bodies might be allowed to select members of the new Governing Bodies outside themselves, and he thought that would be useful. Perhaps the clause provided for that at present, but it did not seem to him to be quite clear. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consent to that proposal.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he could not deviate from the concession he had already made. He had gone as far as he thought it right to go in fettering the action of the Commissioners, and he could not consent to go any further. So far as Heriot's Hospital was concerned, it must be remembered that this Bill was not for Heriot's Hospital alone, but for the general government of all these trusts. There had never been any Endowed School Bill which had fettered the action of the Commissioners in the appointment of the Governing Body—they had been governed entirely by their own good sense and discretion, and he believed that when the words "adequate provision" were put in, no Commissioners would think of omitting from the Governing Body a number of the representatives of Heriot's less than those who would now be omitted by this Bill. He believed the same thing would happen whether the words were put in or not, and it was not just or fair to lay down a rule that in all cases two-thirds of the Governing Body should derive their qualification from election. In some small trusts there were only five members—trusts, for instance, of £50 or £100. How could two-thirds of five derive their qualification from election?

Dr. CAMERON said, the indignation into which several hon. Members had lashed themselves about Heriot's Trust was perfect nonsense, so far as this Amendment was concerned, for whether it was carried or not the position of Heriot's Trust would remain precisely the same. The only question was, how far should they go? What had been said by the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick), against Governing Bodies being popularly elected, really applied to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman in regard to some of the most important Trusts in Scotland, quite as much as the proposal of his hon. Friend. The question was not as to election, for the principle of election was generally admitted—it was simply how far should they go? As to the impossibility of dividing five members into thirds, that could be easily remedied by converting the odd number into an even one.

Mr. HENDERSON said, this was a matter in which it was only reasonable that there should be difference of opinion. He thought the proposals of the Government were generally acceptable, and he hoped the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) would not proceed to a division. He thought the concession made as to Governing Bodies on which there was no popular representation at all was a very valuable one, and that they ought to meet the Government on that point. He differed from what had been said by one hon. Member (Mr. A. Grant), with respect to school board members, for he thought that school board members had special qualifications for membership of Governing Bodies; but he was dissatisfied with the way in which the existing school boards were elected, and he hoped the Government would turn their attention to this subject, and abolish the cumulative vote, which prevented school boards from being fairly representative of the wishes of a majority of the people. In almost every parish in Scotland these school boards, as now elected, represented some small sectarian interests; and he believed the school board elections had done more to foment sectarian feeling throughout Scotland than anything else.

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he would support the appeal for the withdrawal of the Amendment, because the proposal of the Government was for a minimum—not less than two-thirds—so that, in certain cases, a much larger proportion might be given. It was impossible, of course, in a clause which referred to endowments generally, to legislate for particular cases; and, therefore, the decision was left to the Commissioners to give what proportion they pleased, so long as it was not less than two-thirds.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he thought they were almost bound as a matter of courtesy to accept the concession given; but he was afraid the concession was rendered valueless by the last part of the sub-section. They must look at the possibilities of the case. Suppose the Governing Body consisted of 24 members. Under the Government clause, 16 of them would have to be popularly elected; but there was no limit to the number who were to come from the school board, so that there might be nine members of a school board, and only seven popularly elected.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 95; Noes 12: Majority 83.—(Div. List, No. 293.)

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, that, without taking up the time of the Committee, he wished to move his Amendment, the effect of which was to secure that in Governing Bodies, if there were more than two-thirds of the members with representative qualifications, then that proportion should remain. The right hon. Gentleman had said that under a new scheme the Commissioners would respect the existing proportion of members; but it was better, he thought, that the Amendment should be inserted, to insure that this should be done.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 18, after "that," leave out to "consist," in line 19, inclusive, and insert "the governing body shall consist in a not less proportion than in the present governing body."—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he hoped that after the remarks he had made the Committee would not be called upon to discuss this further, and the last division showed that opinion was decidedly against it. He had gone as far as he possibly could, and he could not really accept the Amendment.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he would withdraw the Amendment, seeing that he had no hope of carrying it. It was sufficient that he had made his protest.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 3, line 18, by leaving out "a majority," and inserting "two-thirds."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, the clause as it now stood left it open to the Commissioners to entirely dispense with the services of Town Councils and other public bodies; but it was important to the administration of these trusts that they should be continued under such management. He did not wish to make any reflection upon the school boards of Scotland; but their financial administration had not been particularly successful. The administration of the funds of the trust was of the greatest importance; and now that it was provided that there should be not more than two-thirds as the proportion of representation, then he thought that provision should be made that the two-thirds should be members of the Town Council, leaving the remaining third to be the school board or others interested in education. With this object he proposed to leave out the words "persons elected by," so that the clause would read, "two-thirds shall consist of the Town Council."

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 19, leave out, "persons elected by."—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. PRESTON BRUCE said, he gathered that the intention of the Government was different from what he intended by his Amendment, for the words "persons elected by the Town Council" would not necessarily imply that they would be members of the Council. Believing it was desirable to put this beyond doubt, he suggested the addition of the words, in line 20, "from its own members."

Amendment proposed, in line 20, after "elected," insert "from its own members."—(*Mr. Preston Bruce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WARTON rose to Order. The Committee had already agreed that "persons elected by" should stand part of the clause; and, therefore, they had got beyond the point where it was proposed to insert the words.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, pending the ruling on the point of Order, he would explain that the intention of the clause was not to restrict the selection of persons by the Town Council to members of their own body. It would be an advantage, he thought, to leave them free to choose their own members if they thought fit, or, on the other hand, they might take some or all from outside, if they cared to do so. The matter was left entirely open, and that was preferable to limiting the power as the Amendment suggested.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, it was an important point whether the Commission should have the power to compel the Town Council to elect from their own body, or whether the Town Council should have power to elect from their own number.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, there would be no compulsion on the Town Council or other body to elect from their own number or from outside.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, it was not necessary for him to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice, the object of which was to provide for the point just decided—that persons elected by the Town Council or other body need not necessarily be members of such body.

MR. BUCHANAN said, the Amendment he had to move was the omission of the sub-section after "aforesaid." This raised the question whether members of a school board who were to form part of the new Governing Body were to be included in the two-thirds or not. He was by no means hostile to members of a school board being on the Governing Bodies of institutions for mixed or higher education; but he did object to their being put on as part of the concession they were supposed to have got towards the maintenance of representation on these new bodies. He remembered that the right hon. Gentleman, on introducing the Bill, said he hoped to make a satisfactory proposal with regard to the constitution of these new bodies; but it seemed to him that the second half of the sub-section really took away a great part of the value given by the first part, because, in introducing members of the school board as part of the representative element, the Government were combining together two principles which had been separately contended for. Some Members of the Committee had urged Amendments with the view of establishing a new Governing Body on the old lines; others, and especially the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), had contended for the principle of popular representation pure and simple; and these last were willing, he knew, that members of school boards should be included in the two-thirds majority. When he moved to strike out the reference to school board representation in these new bodies, it must be distinctly understood that he was very far from having an objection *per se* to school board members forming part of the new Governing Bodies; but everyone who knew anything of elections in the large towns knew that school board elections were exceedingly unsatisfactory. Instead of individuals being elected because of their educational knowledge and the probability of their being able to discharge the duties attending the office in a satisfactory manner, they were often elected on sectarian grounds. Therefore, it seemed to him that by introduction of a large school board element on these new Governing Bodies a very dangerous sectarian element might be imported, an element which had not hitherto appeared on such Governing Bodies.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 20, after "aforesaid," leave out to end of sub-section.—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he hoped this Amendment would not be pressed. It was a plain direction to the Commissioners that they should, in a large number of trusts, put some members of school boards on the Governing Bodies. Whatever might be the method of school board elections, and however objectionable that method might be, there could be no doubt that the school boards of of Scotland did their work exceedingly well. They might be elected in a sectarian manner, on Independent, or Presbyterian, or on Free Church principles; but then he was afraid that a good many Members of the House of Commons were elected in the same way. But, however the candidates were elected, the school boards had done their work well; they were bodies especially charged with the duty of education, and to keep them off these Governing Bodies would be really to cast a slur on school boards. If two-thirds were made up of members of Town Councils, what room would be left for school board representation on the Governing Body?

Dr. CAMERON said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed to a division, for, of course, there was not the slightest chance of its being carried. And there was not much principle involved either, for the one body was popularly elected quite as much as the other.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, it was not correct to say that school boards were popularly elected, the fact was they were not. So much were they affected by sectarian feeling that constituents would not take the trouble to vote—witness the last election in Edinburgh, where only 12,000 voted out of 24,000. If the men elected to the school board had a knowledge of education it would be something; but they had not, and he thought the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson) had stated the objections when he concluded by saying they were not fit members of a Governing Body, and he looked forward to the time when school boards would be got rid of. He trusted his hon. Friend would stand to his Amendment.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he had not the slightest intention of casting a slur upon school boards, and he thought he had carefully guarded himself against that. He should have thought that in the third that was left there was room for members of the school board, whom the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think would be unduly shut out. But considering the evident sense of the Committee, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he was not quite certain whether the words "public bodies" would or would not include "parochial boards." It was a fact that in Scotland at the present time "parochial boards" did pay a considerable sum, perhaps 15 per cent, towards education; and it did not seem unreasonable that they might be thought fit by the Commissioners, under special circumstances, to be appointed. If the words "public bodies" were allowed to include "parochial boards," then he would be satisfied; but, if not, then he hoped his Amendment would be accepted.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 23, after "boards" insert "and parochial board or parochial boards."—(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he could not accept the Amendment. Parochial Boards were *ex-officio* administrators of the Poor Law, and he had the very strongest objections to associating the machinery for dealing with pauperism with educational matters.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. MUNDELLA moved, in page 3, line 33, after "extent" to insert "not less than one-half."

MR. WARTON asked, would the words exactly read? It seemed to him that the word "being" was necessary to the context—"being not less than one-half."

MR. MUNDELLA said, the hon. and learned Member was so successful in maintaining his points of phraseology that he scarcely liked to differ from him. Certainly, it did seem to him that the word should be added, and he would move the Amendment in that form.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 33, after "extent," insert "being not less than one-half."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. MUNDELLA moved to insert a new sub-section to the clause.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, at end, insert as a new sub-section —"(3.) Where the governing body of any educational endowment as at present constituted includes no persons deriving their qualification as members thereof, either directly or indirectly, from their election to be members of the town council of any burgh or of any other public body, provision shall be made in any scheme under this Act relating to such endowment that the governing body thereof as altered by such scheme shall consist to such extent, not less than one third, as the Commissioners shall determine, of persons elected by such town council or school board or other public body as the Commissioners, having regard to the locality or localities interested in such endowment, shall determine."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he was not favourable to the Amendment, and it appeared to him it would tie up the hands of the Commission. In most cases——

MR. WARTON rose to Order. He moved that the word "being" be inserted in the proposed Amendment after the word "extent."

Amendment proposed, to amend the proposed Amendment, by inserting the word "being" between the words "extent" and "not."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question, "That the word 'being' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL resumed. In most cases it might be desirable there should be some representative element on the Governing Body of an endowment; but this Amendment would make it obligatory on the Commissioners to introduce the representative element to the extent of not less than one-third, where there might have been nothing of a representative element before. Now, there were many endowments which were, to a considerable extent, of a private nature, and where the Trustees or Governing Body had always been persons in an official position, who were so nominated by the founder, or so provided for in the founder's will, but not members of town councils, or school boards, or other public bodies in the way defined by the previous section. To make it in all cases imperative that so large a proportion of the new Governing Body as one-third should consist of such persons might in some cases be inconvenient. He could give an instance of a case that came before the late Commissioners, where the obligation to appoint members with these qualifications would have been exceedingly inconvenient. It was a Roman Catholic endowment, and it would have been out of the question to appoint Town Councillors or members of a school board to act with the other members of the Governing Body. He thought, in most cases, there would be no objection to have members of the school board; but what he objected to in the Amendment was the large proportion of these which was prescribed. He should not be sorry if the Amendment were withdrawn, and the matter left entirely to the Commissioners; but if it was to be pressed, it was not, he thought, an unreasonable request to substitute the word "more" for "less," so that it should read, "not more than one-third, as the Commissioners may determine," &c.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed new sub-section, in line 7, leave out "less," and insert "more."—(*Mr. J. A. Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'less' stand part of the proposed new sub-section."

Mr. A. ELLIOT said, he should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman could see his way clear to withdraw this Subsection 3. He was aware that this was denominated one of those concessions that would be acceptable to the people of Scotland; but he did not think, if the matter were fully debated, and the views of Scotch Members considered rather than pressure from outside, there would have been so many of these concessions made. It was deeply to be regretted that when a Bill of this kind was brought forward, and when a Commission was to be appointed in whom considerable powers were to be vested, that the House should take on itself the power of the Commissioners, who would make inquiry, would go into the thing, and do what in their opinion they considered right. He hoped the sub-section would be withdrawn.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, there was a good deal of sense and sound argument in what had been advanced. When he put in this sub-section, certainly he and his advisers had not considered the importance of guarding the cases of such trusts as those to which the hon. Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. J. A. Campbell) referred; but since he had looked into these trusts he had found that there were cases in which it would be very inconvenient to introduce the elective principle. For instance, such a case as a Roman Catholic Trust, where the sole object was the education of youth for the priesthood, it would be impossible to put members of these public bodies on the Governing Body of such a Trust, they being of other religious persuasions. He thought, therefore, he must accept the Amendment or make a special provision for such cases, and it would be best, perhaps, to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for the University of Glasgow. Proper direction had been given to the Commissioners by pointing to the fact that it was intended the principle should be carried out, that not less than one-third of elective representation should be put on the Governing Body; but they must have a certain power to deal with Roman Catholic Trusts, and other Trusts of a religious character.

Mr. HENDERSON said, he was quite aware that, as far as Members of the House were concerned, there was a strong feeling in favour of the Bill and against concession; but he did not know that many hon. Gentlemen had taken the opportunity of explaining the Bill and this provision to their constituents, and getting the opinion of their constituents upon the measure. He was sure the apathy of Scotch Members arose from the fact that the Bill had not been discussed in Scotland, except in two or three constituencies. As far as he was personally concerned, he had taken a very strong interest in this measure, and he had thought it to be his duty last October to call a meeting of his constituents, and to explain to them the provisions of the Bill and the course he intended to take with regard to it. Fully 3,000 of the electors attended the meeting, and he was happy to say that they expressed approval of the view he took and the Amendments he intended to propose. He rather thought that if all the Scotch Members had taken a similar course, the Committee would have found a much stronger feeling on the part of the people of Scotland against this provision than had appeared during the course of the discussion. In answer to the hon. Member for Roxburghshire (Mr. A. Elliot), he had stated that the feeling of Scotland was against this Amendment; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would not minimize what had been called the concession on that ground. It had been stated that it would be necessary to deal with Roman Catholic endowments; but, as the right hon. Gentleman well knew, in Scotland there were Roman Catholics represented on the school boards, and there was nothing to hinder those representatives being elected to the Governing Bodies of endowments in which their communion was concerned. He (Mr. Henderson) hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not give way on the clause he had submitted to the Committee; and he must say that the intention which the right hon. Gentleman had announced last Saturday had weighed with him in the course he had taken in regard to the clause.

MR. BRYCE said, he hoped the Vice President of the Council would reconsider his decision as to adopting the Amendment. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would find it an awkward acceptance to have made. He saw considerable difficulties in the way of persevering with the Amendment. How, for instance, would they find their Commissioners? In some cases they would it desirable to have a half or two-thirds elected; but what they were doing in the Amendment was to lay down a hard-and-fast line that there never should be more than one-third elected. He would suggest that, unexpected difficulties having presented themselves, the point should be relegated to the stage of Report, and that before that time the matter should be carefully considered.

MR. PRESTON BRUCE said, the sub-section, modified by the acceptance of the Amendment of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. J. A. Campbell), would not make the clause satisfactory. There were many places where it might be exceedingly desirable to make the new Governing Body largely constituted of elected representatives; and to introduce this restriction, or to prevent more than one-third of such members being placed upon the Governing Body, would be a wrong thing to do. In the former division, when he voted against the proposal to have in all cases two-thirds, he did it, not with any feeling of dislike to Governing Bodies constituted in this way, but because of a feeling that, in laying down a hard-and-fast line to apply in every case, difficulties would be sure to arise, and the best Governing Bodies could not be formed in each case in reference to the characteristics of each particular endowment.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he was extremely anxious to meet the wishes of the Committee, and, at the same time, to keep faith with them. That in the Governing Bodies of all public trusts there should be not less than one-third elected members was laid down in the concession he had made last Saturday; but he thought it must be obvious to every reasonable member of the Committee that there might be some exceptional cases, and that they must give some sort of margin. He would, therefore, ask his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. J. A. Campbell) to withdraw his Amendment, and allow his (Mr. Mundella's) Amendment to be introduced just as it stood; and, on Report, he would endeavour to bring up a Proviso at the end of the clause which would meet the case of Roman Catholics and other exceptional cases.

MR. WEBSTER said, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that a Proviso intended to meet this case stood already in his (Mr. Webster's) name in connection with a subsequent clause—namely, Clause 48.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he should be content to leave the matter in the way suggested by the right hon. Gentleman; and he would, therefore, withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, it was unfortunate to introduce sectarian questions in a matter of this kind. In the cases in which this Roman Catholic question arose, he did not think they were Trusts at all, because, when they had a great number of Trusts connected with religion, how were they going to apply the same principle? There might be considerable difference between the Established Church and the Roman Catholic Church, and between the Established Church and the Free Church, and the same principle would apply throughout. Were they going to carry the same principle into the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, which was a sectarian Trust connected with the Established Church, or how did they propose to deal with it? But, as he had said, in dealing with educational endowments, he did not see why sectarian differences should be at all raised. The question applied not only to Roman Catholic endowments, but to a great many others.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he wished to move, in page 3, at end, to add the following sub-section:—

"Where the governing body of any educational endowment as at present constituted consists in part of persons deriving their qualification as members thereof from their holding certain public offices, provision shall be made in any scheme under this Act relating to such endowment that the governing body thereof as altered by such scheme shall consist to such extent as the Commissioners shall determine of persons holding the said public offices, but so that the proportion of such members of the governing body of such educational endowment shall not be greater than in the governing body as at present constituted."

Having provided for the elected members, who were now upon Governing Bodies, he thought there should be similar regard paid to the claims of those who were not elected, but who were members of existing Governing Bodies, in virtue of holding certain public offices. He trusted that this proposal was not too late, and that the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to accept it.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he trusted the Committee would not accept the Amendment. They must trust to the Commission to act fairly. He hoped that his hon. Friend who had moved the Amendment would set a good example in this matter, and would act in a spirit of reliance upon the Commissioners, because, for his own part, he had no fear at all but that they would deal justly with the interests committed to their charge. He hoped the Committee would not endeavour to lay down in any clause of this Bill a provision of this nature. If they did so, the only effect would be to hamper the working of the Commission.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. WILLIAMSON said, he wished to move the following sub-section:—

"(4.) Members of governing bodies so chosen by town councils or other public bodies shall hold their appointments for five years, and may then be re-elected."

There was nothing in this clause to determine the period during which members of Governing Bodies should hold office. If the matter were left to the Commissioners, they might so arrange things as to render the persons elected permanent members of the Board; but he thought the period of three years, which was the term for which Town Councils and school boards were elected, and which would in many cases operate on the constitution of Governing Bodies, was too short for the proper management of trusts. He had a great hope that Section 7 of this Bill would be largely operative in regard to secular and higher education. Some members of deputations who had waited on him in London had pointed out to him that there was a feeling in Scotland that the period of three years was too short for even primary education. The elections would be too frequent, and he thought, therefore, that the suggestion he now made that the period should be for five years, with eligibility for re-election, was worth considering.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, at end, add the following subsection:—"(4.) Members of governing bodies so chosen by town councils or other public bodies shall hold their appointments for five years, and may then be re-elected."—(*Mr. Williamson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. HENDERSON said, he sympathized with the hon. Member in putting down this Amendment, because it was evidently sought to prevent persons having a life tenure in their office, and also against their being removed too soon. No doubt there should be some sufficient time fixed, so as to secure that the members of the board would be able to make themselves familiar with the duties they would have to perform. He had had a pretty large experience of Town Councils and school boards, and he knew something of the manner in which those bodies were constituted. The members of a new Governing Body would have to be elected in the same way as the school boards—that was to say, that although the machinery of popular representation was not resorted to, the

Town Councils or the school boards would have to select the persons to represent them. Well, his experience of the manner in which these boards were constituted was, that if a term of service was fixed, an impression was created that the persons elected were only to serve for that term. If they were to provide that a member should be appointed for three years or five years, the impression was at once created that when he had served for three years or five years, he had filled the office for all the time it was intended he should serve, and that he should then give place to someone else. Thus he was afraid they would not secure the continuity of service that was desirable. He did not say that it was the intention of the hon. Member to create the impression that these persons should only be appointed for a certain period, but that that would be the effect of the Amendment on a Town Council or a school board. In the case of a Free Library with which he was connected in Dundee for many years, the Town Council had elected one-half of the board of management from themselves, and one-half from the residenters outside their own body. This was done annually by every new Town Council; and it had been found that in this way continuity was practically secured. Those who were familiar with the duties were retained, and the result was much more satisfactory than if a certain period of years was fixed; unless there was any particular object to a member of the body they were all continued in their office as a matter of course. He wished to point out to the Committee another disadvantage in adopting this Motion. A Town Council would, in the first instance, appoint one of its members whose period of office might expire in one year, so they might have members of the board who were not representative; and what a great many of the Scotch Members had been fighting for was to secure the popular element on the Governing Boards. They wished men to be sensitive to public opinion outside; and that could not be secured unless the elections took place frequently—and, as he had said before, they would certainly encounter great opposition if they proposed to secure a man for some four years as a member of the Governing Body after he had ceased to be a member of the body that had appointed him to the board. He thought it of great importance that the election should be an annual one; and, as he had already pointed out, as far as his experience went, the effect of that would be to secure continuity of service, which would be destroyed if the Amendment were adopted. He would move an Amendment to that of his hon. Friend to secure that the election should take place annually.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out all the words after the word "shall," and insert the words "be elected annually."—(*Mr. Henderson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. MUNDELLA thought it would be much better to leave the bodies to fix their own period—it would be much better not to lay down any hard-and-fast line in the Bill. No doubt, there should be some continuity, and persons should not be turned out of office when they had got warmed to their work, so to speak; but he thought that question might be left to the good sense of the Town Councils and school boards. He hoped the Amendment would not be passed.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, it was not stated in the clause how long members were to be in office. It was merely stated that they were to be elected by Town Councils and school boards; and he thought it should be clearly expressed in the Bill that the election should be from year to year.

MR. C. S. PARKER said, he did not think it was necessary to make any such provision. It would be better to leave it to the Commissioners to deal with individual cases as they thought proper, and not to tie their hands in such matters of detail.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he begged to move, in page 3, the insertion of the following Sub-section:—

"Persons elected by a presbytery, kirk session, or other ecclesiastical body recognised by law, shall be deemed to be elected by a public body for the purpose of determining the proportion of the governing body to be elected in future, but shall not in any future reconstruction of the governing body rank as elected members."

This was an Amendment which looked at first sight somewhat formidable, but, as a matter of fact, it was only explanatory in order to ascertain what, according to the proper construction of the Act, was a proper body. If he could obtain a sufficient explanation on this matter, so that there would not in future be unnecessary litigation about it, he would not press his Amendment. The difficulty arose in this way. A particular case was suggested to him by his constituents—namely, that in an important Trust in Kirkcaldy, the Governors of which consisted of 15 members, seven elected by the Town Council, three by the Kirk Session, two by the Presbytery, and two only being nominated members, it became a question whether either the members elected by the Kirk Session or by the Presbytery were members who derived the qualification from election by public bodies. There was no doubt that both these bodies were elected. When these Trusts were instituted, more than 40 years ago, there was no doubt that Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions were, to a certain extent, elected bodies, because the Church was then the general Church of Scotland. He wanted simply to know whether, for the purposes of this section, a Kirk Session and a Presbytery were either of them public bodies? It seemed to him that in regard to the past they should be public bodies; but in future, now that the Disruption had taken place, and there had been various changes in the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland, he thought that they should not be considered public bodies.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, at end, add the following Sub-section:—"Persons elected by a presbytery, kirk session, or other ecclesiastical body recognised by law, shall be deemed to be elected by a public body for the purpose of determining the proportion of the governing body to be elected in future, but shall not in any future reconstruction of the governing body rank as elected members."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he could not accept the Amendment. The bodies to which the hon. Baronet referred were not public bodies in the sense of Clause 6 in the Bill, because his hon. Friend would see the description there of the persons was that they should derive their qualification from their election to be members of any Town Council of any burgh, any school board, or any public body, and these public bodies, according to the conception of Clause 6, were bodies constituted of elected members—he thought consisting entirely of elected members, though it was not so expressed. But that was not the case with any of the ecclesiastical bodies to which the hon. Baronet referred. The minister was an *ex officio* member of these bodies—the very fact of a person being minister of a church made him a member of the Presbytery, and the meaning of Section 6 could not cover such an individual. There was this further objection—there was an objection to the proposal first to admit these bodies for the purpose of ascertaining the proportion in future, and then to annihilate them as public bodies. The fair way to deal with them, if they were to be created bodies for the purpose of making the proportion, was to keep them up as public bodies in the future. That would enable them to keep up their representatives on the Board.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he was not quite clear in his own mind whether these Presbyteries were not in reality public bodies—he was not sure that all persons belonging to them were not elected. ["No, no!"] Well, it was said the ministers were not elected; but surely they were elected to their churches, and that election should be taken into consideration if they became *ex officio* members of a certain body.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that a great many ministers, as the hon. Member must be aware, were appointed by patents.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, if there was any probability of these bodies being understood to be included as public bodies—and he gathered that the hon. Baronet did not wish them to be included as public bodies—something should be introduced to show that they were not so included.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that until he had seen the Amendment on the Paper it had never occurred to him that they would be included, and he did not think they were. In the case of existing Church ministers, they were certainly not elected as members of the Presbyteries. It was true they were elected to the churches, and having become Church ministers, they became members of the Presbyteries; but there could not be a more circuitous method of arriving at the fact that these gentlemen were elected members of the Presbytery.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, his constituents thought it as well that he should bring this matter forward; but if the Lord Advocate would undertake to consider the matter before Report, and settle whether Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries were public bodies or not, he should be perfectly content to withdraw his Amendment. All he wished to do was to make the matter clear. His view was that before the Disruption they were public bodies.

MR. DALRYMPLE said, he hoped the Government would not trouble themselves to consider this matter any further, and that the Amendment would not be accepted.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 7 (Scope of Commission).

MR. BRYCE said, he begged to propose an Amendment to provide that the Commissioners should, in re-organizing endowments, have special regard to technical as well as secondary or higher education.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 1, after "higher," insert "or technical."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he did not object to the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

DR. CAMERON (for Mr. RAMSAY) moved an Amendment, with the object of securing a class of teachers who would be capable of giving the pupils in schools in country districts instruction in the higher branches of education.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 1, after "higher education," insert "in public schools, or otherwise."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA: There can be no objection to the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 1, leave out "Scotland," and insert "those localities to which the endowments severally belong."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Scotland,' stand part of the Clause."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked for some definition of these words.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had been repeatedly asked by hon. Members to declare that the object of the measure was not to take endowments away from the places to which they were localized. To say "in Scotland," was very broad, and to meet the wishes of hon. Members, he proposed this Amendment.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought the word "localities" too narrow. He did not desire that endowments should be localized to the exact town or village to which they were attached. He should very much prefer that the word "districts" should be used, that word being rather wider than "localities." In the case of Heriot's Hospital, for instance, it would be unfortunate if the benefits of that institution were strictly confined to Edinburgh. He should be glad to have the Lord Advocate's definition of the word "locality."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) thought "district" much more indefinite than "localities." Many endowments were left to particular places; some to parishes, some to a county or counties; and if it was sought to define any other territorial area, it would create difficulty. Therefore, he thought the word "localities" preferable.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY wished to know whether the word "locality" would give the Commissioners power to allocate the benefits of an endowment—for instance, over the county of Edinburgh, or even, perhaps, East Lothian, in addition?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) thought the hon. Member probably failed to distinguish between the localizing of the endowments and the limitation of the persons who were to benefit from them. He took it that the Commissioners, in distinguishing to which locality the endowment belonged, would have regard primarily to the deed of the founder.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had given in an Amendment, which had been omitted owing to his bad writing, proposing to add "or the immediate neighbourhood." That Amendment had been suggested by his constituents, and was one of a practical character.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he understood that pupils came to Edinburgh and Glasgow for education by rail from 20 miles round, and the object of his Amendment was to prevent institutions being removed from the districts to which they belonged; but the Commissioners would be empowered by a later Amendment to admit pupils from outside so long as they came to the place to be educated.

Mr. BUCHANAN wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman meant to exclude or include pupils from 20 miles round Edinburgh and Glasgow?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): There is no proposal to alter the locality.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, apart from the question of Edinburgh or Glasgow, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, in speaking on Clause 5, said it might be desirable for the Commissioners in country districts to establish secondary schools. These schools would be established out of the funds of some existing institution. Thus the question of delocalization would arise.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, that would depend on the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce).

Mr. M'LAREN said, what he wished to know was whether the benefits of an institution, such as Heriot's Hospital, could be allocated to another district—Leith for instance, which was actually part of the same locality?

Mr. BRYCE said, he would suggest the obvious meaning of the words. The words were "provision shall be made for education in the locality;" that was that an institution should be established in a locality, but there was nothing in this Bill as to that.

The Lord Advocate

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman, in suggesting this Amendment, had not considered those institutions which were founded for the benefit of all persons, no matter from what part of the country they came, and he thought it possible that certain difficulties might arise in connection with the construction placed on this clause.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, such a case would not be affected by this Amendment, which was simply for the purpose of giving instructions to the Commission to have express regard to making provision for education in localities, and not take away the endowments from the localities.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he would remind the Committee that the Lord Advocate had said that in nine cases out of ten the will of the founder described the locality.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that there were streets in Kirkcaldy which were outside the limits of Philp's Trust, in Kirkcaldy. He thought it should be made clear whether those streets now excluded would be brought in by this clause.

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, the hon. Member might be glad to hear that the institution to which he referred had discretionary powers as to admitting children from other places.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he should be glad of a reply from the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he did not understand the hon. Member's question; but in the case of the Edinburgh endowments they must be restricted to Edinburgh, but the beneficiaries need not be confined to Edinburgh.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he understood the right hon. Gentleman to mean that although the institution was to remain in Edinburgh, the benefits of it might be distributed all over the country.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he could hardly conceive that children coming to school in Edinburgh would come from all parts of Scotland. They must be resident in that locality.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY proposed to substitute "districts" for "localities." The wording of the clause seemed to him to point to the erection of schools by means of endowments, which were confined to particular parishes. He did not wish endowments to be confined to particular parishes, but that a certain amount of latitude should be given to the Commissioners.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member cannot move the insertion of the word he proposes until we have left out the word "Scotland."

MR. BUCHANAN said, he did not wish to take up time; but he would like to know whether the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) was really acquainted with the case of Heriot's Hospital? The great point of the controversy in regard to that institution was as to what persons should be allowed to participate in its benefits.

MR. MUNDELLA said, his hon. Friend had always got George Heriot on his mind. He knew the provisions of that endowment admitted burgesses, and yet excluded some people who had lived in Edinburgh; but he thought beneficiaries might live just outside the burgh and come into Edinburgh to get education. He did not think it was possible to use a clearer word than "locality."

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed to proposed Amendment, to leave out the words "those localities," and insert "district." —(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'those localities' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he thought it would be better to use both definitions.

MR. A. GRANT said, he strongly advised the Government to adhere to "locality." The Government had stated that one of the leading principles they proposed to follow was that endowments should not be localized, and to accept the Amendment would be contradicting the principle.

MR. CALLAN said, he was surprised at the Government objecting to the word "district," for that term was the favourite word used throughout the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Bill, which said "a proclaimed district," "a stranger in the district," &c.

MR. MARJORIBANKS rose to Order, and asked whether the remarks of the hon. Member had anything to do with the Question before the House?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is only illustrating the word "district."

MR. CALLAN said, it might appear presumptuous for a mere Irish Member to interfere in a Scotch debate; but Scotch Members had often interrupted the discussion of Irish questions, and often by inarticulate sounds.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL moved that after "localities," the words "or the immediate neighbourhood" should be inserted. It was, he said, true, as the hon. Member for Perth (Mr. C. S. Parker) had observed, that Parliament had made provision in certain cases for extending the benefits of the endowments beyond the original limits; but that only applied to the case of there not being sufficient applications from those limits to exhaust the funds. In Kirkcaldy that was not the case.

Amendment proposed to said proposed Amendment, after "localities," insert the words "or the immediate neighbourhood."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had to propose a very important Amendment to the clause, which was to add, after the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), the words "of children of the classes intended by the founder to be benefited." He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept this Amendment. On a former occasion when this matter had been touched upon, he (Sir George Campbell) had said he was not quite sure whether the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman would be satisfactory, because he observed, that although the right hon. Gentleman had confined the benefit of the clause to the particular localities to which the endowments belonged, he had said nothing about the classes of children to be benefited. Therefore, at that time when he (Sir George Campbell) made this remark, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) turned round and said he had already proposed to do what was required in his Amendment. When, however, he (Sir George Campbell) looked at the Amendment put on the

Paper by the right hon. Gentleman, he did not find that it dealt with the point to which the present Amendment was directed. He had, however, no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment, the object of which was to provide that the education given should be confined to the particular classes of children intended by the founders to be benefited, and that the higher education should not be given to the children of the rich, for whom it was certainly never meant by the founders. He moved that these words be added to the clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 1, after Mr. Mundella's Amendment, add "of children of the classes intended by the founder to be benefited."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he thought the hon. Gentleman (Sir George Campbell) could scarcely have considered the full meaning of the words of his Amendment. They would be directly levelled against the higher education of the upper classes; and it would be seen from the evidence in many instances given by founders themselves, that they intended to benefit persons of their own class—the class of tradesmen and merchants. The adoption of such an Amendment as this would distinctly limit the application of the clause by making it operate against the education of the upper classes, and he appealed to the Committee whether it was desirable that such a limitation should be introduced? He hoped the hon. Gentleman would not persist in his Amendment.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had shown that the adoption of the Amendment would restrict the operation of the endowments; but, on the other hand, it could be shown that it might extend the endowments, and it was in view of such an Amendment that he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had ventured to put the question he had asked some time ago, as to a case in which those to be benefited were children of the name of Alexander, but where the will of the founder was entirely set aside, and children who would not necessarily bear that name, continued to be beneficiaries under an endowment that was never intended for their benefit at all.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. M'LAREN begged to move that the Chairman report Progress. He trusted that in doing this the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would not think that he (Mr. M'Laren) had any intention to obstruct the progress of this measure; but he would point out that there were a number of Orders on the Paper with reference to which the English Members desired to make some headway. As far as he (Mr. M'Laren) was personally concerned, he should be glad to attend again next Saturday, or on any other day the Government might fix, for the purpose of finishing the Committee stage of this Bill, and he was quite sure that other hon. Members would be willing to do the same; but, at the same time, he thought it only right that some opportunity should be afforded of getting on with the other Business upon the Paper.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. M'Laren.*)

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stafford (Mr. M'Laren) would not put the Committee to the trouble of dividing on the Motion to report Progress. The Scotch Members had been making some sacrifice in order to pass a very useful and important measure which they considered to be greatly needed for Scotland, and he was glad to say that the Motion to report Progress at that hour—20 minutes to 7 o'clock—had not been made by a Scotch Representative. With regard to the labour entailed by coming down to that House, and sitting through the whole of Saturday, he was sure that no one had more reason to complain than he had; but, at the same time, he was most anxious to get through the work, and he felt assured that if the Committee would only persevere they would be able to do it. With regard to what had been said as to English measures, which were wanted to be brought on, he would remind the Committee that it had been most distinctly stated on the part of Her Majesty's Government, as he understood, that after this measure had been got through, no other Business of a contentious character should be brought on that evening. ["No, no!"] He begged pardon; he should have said that no contentious Business should be brought on after the two Scotch Bills and the Electric Lighting Bill. Those were the Bills which the Prime Minister had stated would be taken, and he hoped they would be able to see the end of those three Bills, and that then the House would at once adjourn.

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, he hoped the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. M'Laren) would not press his Motion for reporting Progress. Such a Motion certainly came with a very ill grace after the length of time the House had been kept on Tuesday night dividing on the dates for fixing the Orders then upon the Paper. Saturday had, as already stated, been set apart for the purpose of getting through Committee on this Bill, and for making progress, if possible, with two other measures, and it was not creditable, after what had already taken place, to bring forward a Motion for Progress at such a period in the evening.

MR. M'COAN said, he was present when the Prime Minister had made the statement that had just been referred to; but he wished to point out that it was by no means in harmony with the Notice Paper. He found upon the Paper, as the fourth Order of the Day, the Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) Bill, and he had come down to the House at great inconvenience for the purpose of supporting that measure. Lower down upon the Paper, as the eighth Order, he saw the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill, which was for second reading. This was a measure which he had also come to support, and, as the Scotch Members had already had upwards of six hours' discussion in Committee on the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill, he thought it only right that an opportunity should be afforded for taking the other Business.

CAPTAIN HERON-MAXWELL said, he thought it hardly fair that the Scotch Members, who had devoted themselves to the work of bringing on this measure for the last two or three years—a measure of the utmost importance to Scotland—should find an Irish Member getting up and supporting a Motion for reporting Progress on this particular Bill, when they had at length got it in a fair way for final settlement, especially when it was remembered that the Scotch Members had spent so many weeks and months in listening to debates on nothing but Irish measures. He hoped the Committee would proceed with the Bill, and that they would be able to carry it through its present stage that evening.

MR. M'LAREN said, after the charge that had been brought against him, he should certainly not withdraw his Motion. The effect of reporting Progress on the Bill now would only be to give more time for its discussion on another occasion, instead of having it run through during what remained of the evening, in a hasty and imperfect manner. It appeared to him to be the wish of the House that a division should be taken on his Motion.

MR. LEAMY said, although the Bill before the Committee was a Scotch Bill, it was one of a character that any man who was interested in the subject of education might take an interest in; and he thought that the charge just made by the hon. Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) was one that ought not to have been brought. The Amendment which had been under discussion was one that deserved the attention of the Committee, and he hoped the Motion to report Progress would not be persevered in. There were several other Orders of the Day on the Paper, as to some of which he must say it would be of great advantage to the Irish Members if they could be got through; but if the present Motion were successful it would only come to this, that they would have to come to the House next Saturday to complete the work they had begun. Having got the present Saturday Sitting, he thought they ought to try and do as much Business as they possibly could. He certainly did not think it would facilitate the passage of this Bill if it were to be thrown over to another Saturday.

MR. REDMOND said, he did not think that hon. Gentlemen opposite who accused Irish Members of supporting this Motion for reporting Progress could be very anxious to bring to a close the discussion of a useful and important Scotch measure; but he desired to point out why it was that he and some other Irish Members intended to vote in favour of Progress being reported. They had no wish to bring to a premature close the discussion of the Bill before the Committee; but it was almost an impossibility that this measure, about which there seemed to be great differences of opinion, could be carried through in the course of that evening, as the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) seemed to think. He would venture, also, to point out, with reference to what the right hon. Gentleman had said as to the intention of the Government to proceed with no other Business except the Scotch Bills on the Paper, that this was not so much a question for the Government as for the House. He would also point out that when, the other evening, the House had to decide what Bills were to be taken at the present Sitting, the Government had found themselves in a minority, inasmuch as the House determined, against the wish of the Government, that one important Irish Bill should be taken at this Sitting. He might further say, on behalf of a number of Irish Members, that they were very anxious that some portion of the evening should be devoted to the consideration of the Irish measures upon the Paper; and, while they had no desire to cut short an important discussion on a Scotch Bill, they thought they ought to have some intimation from the Government as to the hour at which they would be prepared to report Progress on the measure under consideration, so that the House might be enabled to enter on the discussion of the important Irish Bill which the House had already decided should be dealt with on this occasion, and about which strong views were entertained by an overwhelming majority of the Irish Members.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, if the Government were willing to report Progress on this Bill within a reasonable time he should not support the Motion; but he would point out that they were only on the 3rd page of the Amendments to the Bill, and that there were still 10 pages to go through. They had already sat nearly seven hours over the Bill, and he should like to know how much longer it was proposed to remain in Committee? He had, so far, endeavoured to discharge his duty by giving his close attention to the Bill; but the question was how much longer was the discussion of these Amendments to go on?

Mr. BIGGAR said, he could not concur in the Motion for reporting Progress. He had had some experience as to the way in which time had been wasted in that House, and he could say that, in his opinion, there was no more effectual way of wasting time than in pushing Bills through Committee for a certain time, and then suspending the consideration of those Bills. The most judicious plan the Government could adopt would be when they had once got a Bill in Committee, to stick to it until they had got it through. If this system were practised a little more persistently the practical result would be that at least twice as much Business would be done in that House. He could corroborate the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council with regard to what had been said by the Prime Minister as to the Bills intended to be pushed through at that Sitting. He (Mr. Biggar) was strongly in favour of the Sunday Closing Bill for Ireland; but he would suggest to the promoters of that measure that they should put themselves in the hands of the Government, and ask them to put the Bill into a Continuance Bill to be passed this Session. If the Government would only do this the law would continue as it now was in Ireland; but if the Irish Members set themselves to opposing the Government with the hope of getting the Sunday Closing Bill passed that evening, they would probably not only lose the opportunity of including the four or five towns they wished to introduce, but also do no good with regard to the general Act for the whole of Ireland.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, in the absence of the usual Leader of the House, that what was proposed by the Government was to introduce the existing Bill in a Continuance Bill, which it was proposed to pass this Session. He would, therefore, ask the Irish Members whether they would not be weakening their cause by pressing forward the Bill on the Paper for that evening? Supposing they should succeed in stopping the Scotch Bills, what would happen? There was not the smallest chance of their getting through the Irish Bill, and the result would be that they would simply have played the part of the "dog in the manger" by not allowing the Scotch Business to be got through, and in not succeeding in getting through their own. He appealed, therefore, to the Irish Members as to whether it would not be better to allow the Scotch Members, who did not often have such an opportunity, to get on with their Business, and devote as much time as might be necessary to complete the present stage of the Bill in Committee?

MR. BLAKE said, he was exceedingly desirous that they should offer no undue Obstruction to the Business then under consideration; but, supposing no further opposition was offered to the present Bill, he wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would undertake to afford a reasonable opportunity of proceeding with the Irish Business? The Irish Liquor Bill was an exceedingly important measure, and involved the question of the morality and happiness of five large towns in Ireland. The Irish Members had been struggling to bring that measure on during the evening, and the great majority of the Irish Representatives were in favour of it. He would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to promise a further opportunity of passing the Bill this year. What had been promised with regard to the Continuance Bill was no answer, because they had had that promise before. He would, therefore, impress on his Friends the advisability of allowing the Scotch Business to go on for a reasonable time, in the event of their getting an assurance that the Irish Bill should be taken at an hour when it could be effectually dealt with. In that case, he felt that his Friends would give an assurance that they would not keep the House for any length of time by making long speeches.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he might at once say that he had not the power to give any such pledge as the hon. Member (Mr. Blake) had asked for. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War (Mr. Childers) had pledged himself on behalf of the Government that when the Business of the Government was completed they would move the adjournment of the House; and he would remind the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Blake) that the Government were bound by the pledge thus given in the face of the House. He, therefore, appealed to the Irish Members not further to waste the time of the Committee by obstructing the Business, and thus frustrating their own object and that of the Government at the same time.

MR. DALY said, he would join in the appeal just made by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council. That day had been set apart for the discussion of the important Bill then before the Committee, and it really was essential that it should be got through. It was, therefore, trifling with the Business of the House to go on with this miserable interruption. A number of hon. Members, having a strong interest in the Bill under consideration, had come down to the House for the purpose of getting it through its present stage. He, therefore, appealed to the common sense of the Committee to go on with the Business before it.

MR. MELDON said, he objected to any attempt on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council to sow dissent between the Irish and Scotch Members. On two or three occasions the right hon. Gentleman had made this attempt. There were a great many Irish Members who were anxious to take a discussion on the important Bill relating to Sunday Closing. The Vice President of the Council had said that the Government had given a pledge that no Business should be taken but Scotch Business. [MR. MUNDELLA: No.] That was the first statement made by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), and he had afterwards corrected it. But that statement was dependent on the control of the Government over the House; and that they had not control over it was shown the other night when the Motion for taking the second reading of the Irish Liquor Bill on Saturday was carried against the opposition of the Government. There was, therefore, important Irish Business on the Paper, which ought to be carried through. This being so, what was the state of things at the present moment? There were upon the Paper no less than 13 pages of Amendments to the Scotch Endowments Bill, and of these only two and a-half pages had been got through in the course of seven hours, while some of those which would cause the greatest amount of discussion had not been touched. It was a physical impossibility that the Bill could be got through Committee that night. ["No, no!"] He repeated, that it was a physical impossibility to get through the rest of the Bill at that

Sitting. If Progress were reported, it could be proceeded with at any hour at the next Sitting, and finished; consequently, it would be no hardship to the Scotch Members to postpone the measure. There were other Bills on the Paper. There was the Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) Bill, which was a most important measure, and one it was very desirable they should reach. It was only a matter of formal Government Business, and only required to be reached to be disposed of. He hoped the Scotch Members would accede to the appeal of the Irish Members, and allow Progress to be reported, so that the remaining Business might be proceed with.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council was under a serious misapprehension with regard to the attitude of the Irish Members. So far from wishing to obstruct the Scotch Bill, he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was prepared to sit there till 12 o'clock to have it passed through Committee; and it would be unreasonable on the part of the Irish Members, who had seen the Scotch Members devoting the whole of their time to attendance in Parliament during the present Session for the purpose of passing Irish measures, to decline to enable them to get one single Bill passed as the fruit of their labours. It was true that one of the Irish Bills was a Coercion Bill; but that was not the fault of the Scotch Members, who had done what they could to push forward the Arrears Bill. He was glad that the Scotch Members had had a day to themselves. It was perfectly delightful to see how they revelled, hour after hour, in the renewed pleasure; and they had certainly been discussing their Bill in a very reasonable and sensible way, and had made good progress. He saw no reason why they should not go on and finish the Bill that night; nor did he see why, as there were a number of other Bills on the Paper, they should not also be disposed of. With regard to the pledge of the Government to adjourn after disposing of three Bills, he thought there was nothing more likely to bring that House and the Government conduct of Business into discredit than the action they had taken after giving that pledge. They first of all promised to adjourn after three of their measures had been taken, and then proceeded to put several other Government Orders on the Paper. Nothing more ridiculous could be conceived. The Union Officers' Superannuation Bill was a Government Bill, the Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation Bill was also a Government measure, so were the Militia Acts Consolidation Bill and the Isle of Man (Officers) Bill, and, notwithstanding the Government pledge, the House was invited to go through all these measures. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), who had so far conducted the Business of the House that day with considerable dexterity and tact, in the absence of the usual Leaders, to come to a compromise on this matter. The Irish Members were interested in several of these measures, and they would give the Government considerable assistance if the right hon. Gentleman would use his best endeavours to keep a House for them on the Bills they desired to pass. The principal of these was the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill. The right hon. Gentleman had professed himself to be in favour of temperance. He would invite the right hon. Gentleman to reciprocate the good offices of the Irish Members in regard to the Scotch Endowments Bill by endeavouring to secure a House for the passage of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the hon. Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) had observed there was a strong opinion in favour of the Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) Bill; but, so far as he had any personal experience, there seemed to him to be a strong opinion in quite the other direction.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 12; Noes 81: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 294.)

Mr. BRYCE said, he had to propose an Amendment to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman by adding the words—

> "Or in such manner as to secure to the inhabitants of those localities the benefit of such endowments."

But he ought first to say that before this Amendment—and he had two Amendments on this line of the clause—that which stood second on the Paper should really come first in order—namely, to leave out from "Scotland" to the end of the clause. This, he understood, was accepted by the Government, and he would now move it.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 1, leave out from "Scotland" to end of Clause.—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

MR. BRYCE said, he had now to move the Amendment to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman. It was intended to prevent mischief being done by a too great restriction of the benefit of an endowment or by compelling the Commissioners necessarily to continue a very small endowment in the locality where it now happened to be. Where there were several small endowments in contiguous parishes, and where each of these taken alone were not of substantial value in higher or secondary education, they might be of substantial value if grouped. It was proposed by his Amendment that instead of confining these to the localities where they now were, they should be grouped; but so that the inhabitants of each locality should have benefits equivalent to those they now enjoyed. If in one locality there was an endowment giving free admission to a school or a scholarship, or any other benefit, and the same thing in another adjacent locality, those benefits would still be secured to the localities.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 1, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's proposed Amendment—

At end, insert, "or in such manner as to secure to the inhabitants of those localities the benefit of such endowments."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. ANDERSON said, he proposed to add words about which it was not necessary to make a speech, for the Committee would agree it was a very necessary addition to the clause. After the alteration already adopted, it might require some slight change in the wording; but the purpose of the Amendment was evident.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 2, after "universities," add "and if the Commissioners think fit, for the establishing or the aiding of industrial museums and libraries."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he would accept this Amendment; but would suggest that the words should read thus—"and if the Commissioners think fit, they may provide," and so on.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to add, after the word "fit" and before the word "for," the words "they may provide."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HENDERSON asked, was it not necessary to safeguard this in some way, so that the Commissioners should know exactly what was meant?

MR. MUNDELLA said, he thought the meaning was well understood, and that it would be quite unnecessary to do this.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. BRYCE said, the words of the Proviso he was about to move would explain themselves. It was intended to prevent the wording of the clause from unduly restricting the discretion of the Commissioners, and from compelling them to restrict the benefits to persons who happened to reside on the spot.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 2, at end, add "Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be taken to compel the Commissioners to restrict any bursary, exhibition, scholarship, or other educational benefit attached to or tenable at any educational institution to the children of persons resident in the locality where that institution exists."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Endowments subject to Commission.

Clause 8 (Act not to apply to certain endowments).

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, the Amendment he had to propose appeared rather formidable, and it would alter the scope of the Bill considerably. It was, in effect, that instead of applying only to endowments originally given 40 years ago or longer, it should extend to all educational endowments except those made subsequent to the passing of the Scotch Education Act of 1872. It was not the object of the Bill to interfere with the spirit of founders' intentions, or to make anything like a revolution in the educational arrangements in Scotland; it was expressly stated that regard was to be paid to founders' intentions. But the whole occasion for the Bill was that educational arrangements had been seriously affected by the Education Act of 1872, and therefore, to be logical, the scope of the Bill should be extended to that time. He believed this change would be in accordance with the general feeling in Scotland, and he felt satisfied that it would be generally, if not unanimously, adopted by the Committee. To adhere to the clause as it stood, would involve a failure to reach a large number of endowments which ought to be revised, and with regard to which the assistance of the Commissioners would be very useful. With respect to Glasgow, as an instance, he might say the Bill, as it stood, would reach endowments to the amount of £102,000 of capital, whereas it would fail to touch endowments to the extent of no less than £454,000. But he rested his argument for the Amendment on no application to any particular district, but on the general principle that the Education Act of 1872 had affected the whole educational arrangements of Scotland, and it was desirable that the Bill should extend up to that date.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 6, leave out from "less" to "Act," in line 7, both inclusive, and insert "subsequently to the passing of 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872.'"—(*Mr. J. A. Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the hon. Member for Leith (Mr. A. Grant) has an Amendment to the same line, to insert the word "has." This, if he desires to move it, would come first.

Mr. A. GRANT said, this Amendment only had reference to a subsequent Amendment similar to that moved by the hon. Member for Glasgow University.

Colonel ALEXANDER said, the Amendment just moved by his hon. Friend showed the mistake the Government had made in making the Bill apply to endowments given 40 years ago, instead of 50 years as was proposed in their last two Bills. The Committee would recollect that in 1880, when this Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, Earl Spencer distinctly stated it would be limited to endowments given 50 years ago, and 50 was left in the Bill of last year. Why, then, had this change been made? He believed it was no secret that the change was made in order to bring within the scope of the Bill one particular institution—Fettes' College, Edinburgh. Now, he would not say whether this institution ought or ought not to be brought within the Bill; but he would say that the Bill, if wrong in principle, should not be made to fit any particular institution. As an illustration of this, he might point to an Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for Forfar that 40 should be changed to 30. But the hon. Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. J. A. Campbell) proposed to bring it down to 10 years, the date of the passing of the Education Act, and of the two he preferred the latter, for there was more principle in it. But he thought 10 years was really bringing it down too near to our own time. It might be said, what difference was there in making it 40 years instead of 50? But the difference was considerable. The Bill would apply to deeds of gift as well as legacies; therefore, if a man aged 25 made a deed of gift, after 40 years he would be only 65 years of age, and consequently might see his own intentions defeated in his lifetime. It was all very well to speak lightly of the "pious founder;" but it must be remembered that if it had not been for him the House would not be discussing this question of educational endowments at all. He would also remind the Committee that in the English Act of 1869, 50 years was the limit, and he could not understand on what principle this distinction was made between England and Scotland. He had an Amendment later to make the term 50, but he spoke now in order to save time.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, this, no doubt, was one of the most important Amendments on the whole Bill. He would explain to the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite the difference in the change of 50 years to 40 years. Last year, when the Bill passed the House of

Lords, it was represented that the term of 50 years had no meaning in Scotland—that 40 years was the period of prescription in Scotland, and to go beyond that was unreasonable. In deference, therefore, to the general wish of Scotch Members, the Government reduced the term to the period of prescription and made it 40 years. There was no part of the Bill and no clause of the Bill in respect to which he had had such universal representations agreeing that the operation of the Bill should be extended and brought down to the passing of the Education Act of 1872. Now, he would not have ventured to move such an Amendment himself — it would have looked like a strong measure of innovation; but he was thankful that such an Amendment had come from a Member for a Scotch University, and he believed that Scotch Members were universally in favour of this change, and it certainly was a point upon which the opinions of Scotch Members ought to prevail. But, having charge of the Bill, he had thought it his duty to adhere in the Bill to 40 years, and only to make the change if it should appear to be the general wish of Scotch Members to bring it down to the passing of the Education Act of 1872. The passing of that Act was really an epoch, so to speak, in the educational history of Scotland, and provided a clear line of demarcation from which all these changes ought to date, for then it was that the State provided for compulsory education out of grants and rates for the whole of the people of Scotland. Now, all that had been said against the proposal was, that it was treating the pious founder rather irreverently. He did not say that; but, at all events, it was treating endowments with much more freedom than they had hitherto been dealt with, but it would be of the greatest interest to Scotland if the Bill were brought down to 1872, and if it were not so extended many endowments would have to wait many years—20 or 30 years—before they came within the operation of the Bill—endowments which had become obsolete and dormant, although they were of comparatively recent date. It was, as he had said at the outset, a proposal upon which the opinion of Scotch Members ought to prevail.

MR. ANDERSON said, he had given Notice of an Amendment in the same sense as this, and there were other such Notices; and that was evidence of a strong feeling among Members, and in Scotland, in favour of the proposal. The right hon. Gentleman had defended the period in the Bill on the ground that it represented the period of prescription. Such, indeed, was the old period of prescription; but, he should understand, that it had been reduced to 20 years, so that if the period of prescription was to be the ground upon which the Bill should proceed, the time would be 20 years, and not 40; so the argument in favour of 40 years was disposed of. Fifty years was an arbitrary term with no meaning, and the same might now be said of 40; but there was a clear and definite meaning about taking the date of the passing of the Education Act. A great many of the pious founders, if they had known of such an Act, would not have left their bequests in the terms they had. If they had known that primary education would be universally arranged for by the Education Act, they would not have felt the necessity of leaving their bequests for primary education. That was a well-defined reason for bringing the Bill up to the date 1872.

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, as to 50 years having no meaning, it had considerable meaning. This Act would apply to deeds of gift during the lifetime of the founder, as well as to legacies after his death; therefore, if a man of 25 years of age made a deed of gift, 40 years afterwards he would be 65, and, therefore, might see his intentions actually defeated during his lifetime. The object of 50 years was to make the chance of that less likely to occur.

MR. MUNDELLA said, it was not generally at the age of 25 that a man made such a deed of gift; but it was usually at the close of a long and useful life.

MR. ORR-EWING said, before the Amendment was accepted, let the Committee consider the injurious effect it would have against gifts in the future. If they found that in 10 or 12 years the object for which they gave their money was changed during their lifetime, depend upon it there would be no more pious founders. It would be a perfect stop to benevolent people making gifts during their lifetime. There was no example in any Bill of the House having so dealt with funds of this nature. He did hope that careful consideration would be given before accepting the Amendment, and he was never more surprised than when he found such an Amendment coming from the Conservative side of the House.

Mr. BOLTON said, that as one of those who had an Amendment on the Paper to a similar effect, he would add the expression of his hope to that of the hon. Member for the University of Glasgow, that the right hon. Gentleman would accede to the Motion. With respect to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Alexander), and the alarm he felt with respect to deeds of gift executed 40 years ago by a man of 25 years of age, he thought there need be no such alarm, for the donor would feel some degree of satisfaction to find that the arrangements he made under one set of circumstances were adapted to the same object under a different set of circumstances. It could hardly be supposed that a person would set aside a sum of money for primary education or elementary education which could have no other effect than of relieving the ratepayers, and would wish now to recall it. He thought the matter had been so well placed before the Committee by previous speakers, that he would only say there was a general feeling among the Scotch Members that the date should not be 40 years ago, but brought down to 1872.

Mr. DALRYMPLE said, he was entirely in favour of the proposal of his hon. Friend. He knew no man more likely to be a pious founder in the future than his hon. Friend the Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing), and he would be sorry to see anything done which would prevent such a consummation; but, even at the risk of losing his hon. Friend from the list of pious founders, he hoped the Amendment would be agreed to.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he had satisfied himself that no period would be so satisfactory to take as the period ending with the year 1872, because Scotch Education down to 1872 had had one character, and since then it had had an entirely different character. He, therefore, entirely agreed with the Amendment of his hon. Friend.

Mr. A. GRANT said, he had an Amendment of his own on the Paper exactly to the same effect, and, therefore, he entirely agreed with this Amendment. The passing of the Education Act formed a perfectly intelligible and satisfactory limit at which the line should be drawn. He had been surprised to hear his hon. Friend the Member for Dumbartonshire say that to fix the later date would have the effect of diminishing the flow of private beneficence in the way of Educational Endowments. If that was the case, it was a very curious commentary on what had been asserted—namely, that public sentiment was in favour of the arbitrary powers given to the Commissioners under the Bill.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was inclined to accept the Amendment; but he wholly disclaimed the reasons given by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) and the hon. Member for Stirling (Mr. Bolton), that it would enable them to take away the funds devoted by pious founders to the purposes of primary education. He understood that that was not so.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. WEBSTER moved, in page 4, line 10, after the word "universities," to insert these words—

> "Or belonging to or administered by or in the gift of any college or theological institution belonging to or connected with any Church or religious denomination, or to any endowment made or given to a Church or religious denomination under its control and administration, and in connection therewith, unless herein expressly included."

He believed that Amendment would meet with a frank and hearty assent. It was intended to secure the endowments made in favour of particular religious denominations. It had become quite evident in the course of the debate that there was a necessity for the Amendment, and it was quite plain that nobody wished to take out of the administration of religious Bodies, whether Episcopalian, Established Church, or anything else, such endowments as the Amendment included. The Roman Catholic Church, the Free Church, the Episcopalian Church, and other religious Bodies had endowments for their own purposes, and no one wished that such endowments, given to a particular religious Body for the purpose of training in Ecclesiastical Science, should be brought under the Bill, Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 10, after "universities," insert "or belonging to or administered by or in the gift of any college or theological institution belonging to or connected with any Church or religious denomination, or to any endowment made or given to a Church or religious denomination under its control and administration, and in connection therewith, unless herein expressly included."—(*Mr. Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. A. ELLIOT was afraid that unless this proposal was very carefully watched, they might be excluding a great many funds which really required to be looked after quite as much as those which came unmistakeably within the purview of the Bill. They had already had a discussion to-day about the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and he agreed with the view expressed, that the Commissioners should have power to deal with that. If the words now proposed were not added, that could be done; but when it was deliberately proposed, in the most sweeping manner, to exclude from the Commissioners all funds connected with religious societies in Scotland, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to take extreme care lest he should be doing a great deal more than almost all Liberals in Scotland would be at all inclined for.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, they were in entire agreement with regard to the substance of the Amendment, and the Government would accept it in spirit; but he would suggest that the hon. Member might dispense with the words "or connected with," in the third line, and the words "and in connection therewith," in the fifth line. It was difficult to say what might be in connection with an ecclesiastical body, and they ought to pay particular attention to the wording of such an Amendment. He would suggest that the matter be left over till Report.

MR. WEBSTER said, he would assent to the alteration suggested by the Lord Advocate.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, that while it was very desirable to exclude colleges, theological institutions, and such like seminaries, it was not logical to exclude denominational endowments for general education, for inspected schools, &c. It was not logical or reasonable that they should be excluded.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he perceived the difficulty, and, while accepting the Amendment in substance, he thought it required very careful consideration, and he would take care that such consideration should be given to it before the Report.

MR. DALRYMPLE could not understand why the Government should hastily accept the Amendment, and considered that it was most inconsistent that the Lord Advocate should accept the Amendment, and that the Vice President of the Council should at the next moment say that he perceived difficulties in the way.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, they were practically protecting endowments, however held, if they were administered by a University or a religious Corporation. It might often happen that a trust was administered by an ecclesiastical Corporation, and yet it might be a thoroughly educational trust which needed reform. He had in view two such charities—one a Scotch charity—the Snell Trust, held in connection with Baliol College. If that trust had not been reformed in another way, it would have been protected by this clause, because it belonged to the University of Glasgow, and it would be protected because it was a trust originally intended to stimulate the development of Episcopalian ministers in Scotland. The other trust he had in view was the Hugh Trust in connection with the College of Brasenose at Oxford. That ought to be reformed; but the original Governors were three clergymen, and it was in connection with an ecclesiastical body. He hoped that in this matter the Government would be very careful, and not rush headlong, as they seemed very much inclined to do.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): We only accept the substance of the Amendment.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY: Well, I hope you will be very careful.

MR. DALRYMPLE said, he objected to the acceptance of the substance of the Amendment, and he regretted extremely that it was intended to bring it up again. He never remembered a Bill where there was less excuse for referring matters to the stage of Report, because there had been abundant opportunity for consideration.

MR. MUNDELLA: Not of the Amendments.

MR. DALRYMPLE said, he thought that such an Amendment as the one he referred to might have received ample consideration without waiting for the Report. As he understood it, those who were interested in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were not opposed to its being included within the scope of this Bill; and he had never heard that there was any objection to that. No body which made good use of its funds had any cause to fear being put under the Bill, and he objected entirely to this most vague proposal. So far from desiring exclusion, he thought that possibly within the vague terms of the Amendment there might be included institutions which required a good deal of looking after by the Commissioners, and ought to be placed under the Bill. When he was told that the substance of the Amendment was to be accepted, he wished to know what that meant? They would not be allowed to say much about it on the Report stage, and this was the time to take notice of the matter, and to ascertain what it was that the Government were accepting. He thought the clause should be left as it stood, for he excessively disliked the wording of the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 9 (Date of oldest part of endowment to be date of endowment, unless conveniently separable).

On the Motion of Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL, the following Amendments were *agreed to*:—In page 4, line 15, leave out from "given" to "Act," in line 16, inclusive, and insert "before the passing of 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872;'" and in same page, line 17, leave out "within forty years," and insert "subsequently to the passing of said Act."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 10 (Apportionment of mixed endowments).

On the Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, the following Amendments made:—In page 4, line 27, leave out "part," and insert "proportion;" and in same page, same line, after "income," insert "for the time being."

MR. THOMASSON moved, in page 4, line 29, after the word "uses," to insert—

> "Unless in the opinion of the Commissioners,—
>
> "(a.) There are no persons who are entitled to benefit out of such part of the endowment; or
>
> "(b.) The purposes of such part of the endowment have failed altogether; or
>
> "(c.) Such purposes have become insignificant in comparison with the magnitude of such part of the endowment; or
>
> "(d.) Such purposes have become prejudicial to the public welfare."

The hon. Member said the object of the Amendment was to enable the Commissioners, in the case of a fixed endowment, to apply the charitable portion of such endowment to educational purposes, when the purposes of such charitable portion had failed and become obsolete.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, the following Amendments made:—In page 4, line 30, to leave out "part," and insert "proportion;" and in same line, after "income," to insert "for the time being."

MR. WEBSTER moved, as an Amendment, in page 4, line 34, after "determine," insert—

> "And which years may be those immediately prior to one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two."

The hon. Member said the Amendment which he had to propose was to enlarge the powers of the Commissioners, and to enable them to deal with the particular case of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and to define the proportion of the funds and income of that society which were to be devoted to religious and charitable uses, and those which were to be devoted to educational purposes. They did not desire in the least to interfere with the religious purposes of the society; they confined their wish merely to its educational purposes. The year 1872 marked an entire change in primary education in Scotland. In the Western Highlands of Scotland between £4,000 and £5,000 of the society's income was then devoted to educational purposes. Since 1872, for the reasons explained—namely, from the schools becoming useless, the schools had dwindled away; and he found from the Report of the Society itself that the proportion devoted to education was only £1,630. It would be seen from this that the Commissioners required the power which his Amendment would give them.

Amendment proposed

In page 4, line 34, after "determine," insert "and which years may be those immediately prior to one thousand eight hundred and seventy two."—(*Mr. Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, the Commissioners already had the power proposed to be given by the Amendment.

MR. WEBSTER said, that if that was so, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 41, leave out "part," and insert "proportion."

MR. WEBSTER moved, as an Amendment, in page 5, line 2, to leave out the words "or such decree." He said he did so in order to take out of the way the decree of the Court of Session of 1846, with the view of letting in the Commissioners. The words did not apply in the Bill of 1880, and had been since inserted, by whose authority he did not know. The words were of no use.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 2, to leave out the words "or such decree."—(*Mr. Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he could not assent to the Amendment, as there might be a serious risk of questions being raised.

MR. WEBSTER said, there could be no serious risk. These words did not occur in the Bill of 1880.

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of Mr. THOMASSON, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, line 5, after "uses," insert "and so authorised to be applied by the Commissioners."

Other Amendments made.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 11 (Application to education of non-educational endowments).

On the Motion of Mr. WEBSTER, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, line 29, after "become," insert "obsolete or useless, or are otherwise sufficiently provided for, or are."

On the Motion of Mr. WILLIAMSON, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, line 30, after "endowment," insert—

"Or if it has been found impossible, either from the inadequacy of the endowment, or the impracticable character of the founders' intentions, to carry those intentions into effect."

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 30, after "endowment," to insert "or are, in the opinion of such governing body, not substantially beneficial to the class of persons for whom such endowment was originally intended."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. A. GRANT said, this was raising a very wide question.

MR. MUNDELLA said, the Government would accept the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to;* words *inserted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 12 (Endowments for apprenticeship fees, maintenance, and clothing to be deemed educational).

On the Motion of Mr. WILLIAMSON, the following Amendments made:—In page 5, line 37, after "of," insert "poor;" and, in same line, after "children," leave out "educated at any school."

MR. BUCHANAN moved, as an Amendment, in page 5, line 38, at end, to add—

"Provided, That nothing shall be construed to prevent a scheme relating to any such endowment from providing, if the governing body so desire, for the continued application of such endowment to the same purposes."

This Proviso was inserted in the English Act of 1869, and he supposed the Government would wish it inserted in this Bill. In fact, he should like to know why it was not?

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he did not know if his hon. Friend (Mr. Buchanan) was aware of it, but the Amendment, if accepted, would practically withdraw the Governing Body from the purview of the Commissioners. He could not accept the Amendment.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, that in the English Act this Proviso was inserted.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he had heard all along that that was not a good Act, and he had heard that Act condemned from below the Gangway. This Act was a very much better Act, and he should be sorry to see the Amendment introduced into it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Requisites of Schemes.

Clause 13 (Vested interests).

On Motion of Mr. Mundella, the following Amendment made:—In page 6, at end, to add—

"And shall provide that no funds now applied, in terms of the founders' directions, to free primary education, shall be diverted to any other purpose."

Mr. BRYCE moved, in page 6, line —, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's proposed Amendment, at end, to add—

"Than the education of the industrial classes, whether primary or secondary, or higher or technical."

The Amendment was to provide that these funds should not be diverted from the class which now enjoyed them, and for whom they were intended, and that under no pretence should the poorer classes be deprived of the benefits of these endowments.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Dr. CAMERON said, he strongly objected to this Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had made a proposition, and, as the Bill then stood, it was not of particular importance. Since then, however, an important modification had been made in the Bill. The date of the endowments included within its operation had been brought from 40 years ago down to 10 years ago, which was a most important change, and made this concession of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), which, as the Bill originally stood, was of very slight importance, a matter of very great importance. He did not make the slightest opposition to the extension of the time; but he did so entirely upon the grounds mentioned by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell)—namely, that they accepted that extension of time, entirely on the faith of the Proviso that had been offered by the right hon. Gentleman. Having made that agreement, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would adhere to it, and would not, now that he had got a very large increase in the endowments to be dealt with, and brought within the compulsory operation of the Commissioners, nullify the Proviso that he himself had suggested, when it had become so important.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that in any case this was an important Amendment, and he made sure the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would refuse to accept it. If this Amendment applied to the whole of the endowments he should be quite content; but its effect was to divide the endowments into two parts. Those devoted to primary education in the terms of the founder's will were to be devoted to that purpose; but the whole of the surplus beyond that amount might be devoted, and probably would be devoted, to higher education.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he thought the Amendment a very valuable one indeed, and that it would materially improve the Bill, especially since the hon. Member (Mr. Bryce) had substituted for the word "poor" the words "industrial classes." He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would accept the proposal.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, that, in his opinion, the Amendment was a very important one, and he hoped the Committee would accept it.

Mr. MUNDELLA felt bound to say that the words he had introduced would meet the hon. Member's object, if it were clearly understood what primary education was. It had been brought to his notice that some of these endowments, which were called endowments for primary education, provided education which was not primary. It was, however, difficult to define what primary education was. There were endowments, for instance, for teaching children merely reading and sewing; but that was not what was now regarded as primary education. It might be the primary education of 200 years ago; but they had got a little beyond that nowadays. Other endowments were for teaching poor children reading, writing, and arithmetic. They had got beyond that also. [Mr. A. GRANT: No.] His hon. Friend said "No." Well, he was astonished that any Scotch Member should talk about keeping primary education down to the level of what were vulgarly called "the three R's." Primary education might also be regarded as the education of the public schools, and for which the Government grant was given. They were certainly not going to limit primary education, as it was to be defined in this Bill, to the ideas which prevailed 200 years ago, and he did not think hon. Members below the Gangway would support such a limitation. At present the Scotch schools, such as Heriot's Hospital, taught everything which was included in the Scotch Code; and it was his intention, on Report, to introduce a clause into the Bill providing that primary education should mean the education given under the regulations of the Scotch Education Department in force for the time being. The effect of this Proviso would be not only to make the education of real use, but to allow schools to obtain the grant. It would thus make endowments go a great deal further than at present, as it would enable the schools to obtain some 17*s*. or 18*s*. for each child educated under the endowment.

DR. CAMERON wished to point out that what he and his hon. Friends objected to had no relation to the elementary education of 200 years ago. That was not at all the point, and he was not aware that any such question remained to be dealt with under this Bill. All he wished the right hon. Gentleman to do was to adhere to his promise with respect to the protection of endowments for free education given between 40 years ago and 1872. That was the important thing. The educational endowments given during that time were not given on the basis of the ideas that prevailed 200 years ago. If the Government were going to pay any attention to the will of the founders—and he thought that in dealing with this question they must bear in mind what were the founders' intentions—they must do so in the cases of these endowments. If any founder within the last 30 or 40 years left a sum of money for free primary education, he knew perfectly well what he was about. Of course, legislation passed since that time had rendered education which did not reach a certain standard insufficient to qualify a child for employment. But what he wished to impress upon the Government was that the founders who had given these endowments, having seen the hardships that were imposed on poor families when they had to pay the school fees, had wished to give them the wherewithal to do so. The effect of recent legislation had not been to lessen school fees; on the contrary, the fees were higher now than before the Education Act was passed.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he adhered to what he had said. He did not know what it was that the hon. Member objected to?

DR. CAMERON said, he understood that the right hon. Gentleman intended to insert an Amendment defining education for the purposes of this Bill as something quite different from primary education. He (Dr. Cameron) did not see why the right hon. Gentleman should take away with one hand what he gave with the other. There were a large number of endowments to be dealt with which it was not intended to interfere with three years ago; and it was important that both the letter and the spirit of the promise the right hon. Gentleman had given should be most strictly adhered to in view of the fact that no opposition had been raised to the right hon. Gentleman getting these additional endowments into his net, on the faith of his pledge being carried out. Under those circumstances, he (Dr. Cameron) should hardly consider that the right hon. Gentleman had treated the Committee with fairness or candour if he introduced such a clause as he had spoken of.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment to which the hon. Member refers is not before us. It will come up in due course; but no Amendment defining primary education has yet been brought forward.

DR. CAMERON said, he understood that the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) was before them, and he was speaking on that Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) had intimated that he would oppose that Amendment; but that did not close the question. He (Dr. Cameron) did not, however, wish to trespass on the time of the Committee, and he really did not think he had done so, as he had abstained from alluding to anything which appeared to be matter of detail. He wished simply that they should have no misunderstanding on this point, and that it would be remembered that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) was pledged to certain words which were of the greatest importance.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he was quite unaware of what was the ground for the address to which the Committee had just listened. The hon. Member seemed to charge him with breach of faith.

Dr. CAMERON: I do not say breach of faith.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that what had happened was this. His hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) proposed certain words, which were, no doubt, very good words; but he (Mr. Mundella) said he could not accept them, although he would, on some subsequent stage of the Bill, propose words which would prevent "primary education" from being, according to the standard at present in force, a farce, and would make it real primary education. He had felt sure that the hon. Member (Dr. Cameron) himself would have given him his very best support in this matter.

Mr. BOLTON hoped that the hon. Member who had moved the Amendment (Mr. Bryce) would consent to some change being made in it. Primary education remained to be defined, and he should be glad if the hon. Member could see his way to make the Amendment run thus, "than the education of the industrial classes," leaving out the words "whether primary or secondary, or higher or technical." He simply threw this out as a suggestion which, if adopted, would, he thought, improve the Amendment.

Mr. BRYCE said, he thought the discussion that had taken place respecting the meaning of the words "primary education" was the best indication the Committee could desire of the unwisdom of using in the Bill such an expression as "primary education" at all. That expression was not known to the people of Scotland. What had made Scotland great was the conviction that no education was too good for a man, and that a man's education should never be stopped. The Amendment he had moved provided that money furnished by endowments should not be diverted from the purpose for which it was intended. The substance of the right hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Mundella's) undertaking was to add to Clause 13 words that would prevent the endowments now enjoyed by a particular class being taken away from that class. [An hon. Member: No, no!] Yes; that was the substance of his undertaking. Hon. Members might say "No"; but he (Mr. Bryce) could say "Yes," because that was what was understood by the Committee. He (Mr. Bryce) was quite willing to accept the suggestion of his hon. Friend the Member for Stirling (Mr. Bolton) to leave out the words "whether primary or secondary, or higher or technical," and to rely on the words "industrial classes" to effect his purpose.

The CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that the hon. Member ought to ask leave to withdraw his Amendment, and then to move it in the new form which he proposes.

Mr. BRYCE said, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. BRYCE then moved, in page 6, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's Amendment, at end, to add, "than the education of the industrial classes."

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's Amendment, at end, to add "than the education of the industrial classes."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the Amendment would clearly have the same effect as the Amendment the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) had already refused to accept. The pledge which had been given was distinctly that the money which was intended to be devoted to free primary education should be used for that purpose. With reference to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, he (Sir George Campbell) must say he had viewed with considerable suspicion the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), who, on Saturday last, on the second reading of the Bill, avowed himself altogether opposed to the concession the right hon. Gentleman then made. He (Sir George Campbell) hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would not spring upon the Committee a definition of primary education. He believed that in the Code of the Education Department primary education was pretty well understood, and it certainly did not include Greek and Latin. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not spring a definition upon them, but would give due Notice of his intentions before the stage of Report.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that he adhered to the distinct promise he had made, and he thought the words he had brought forward sufficiently expressed his intention. He must keep faith with the Committee, and he should not alter another word of his Amendment, unless it was clearly the wish of the Committee that he should do so.

MR. C. S. PARKER said, that if the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) went to a division he (Mr. Parker) should go into the Lobby with him; but it was possible that all parties might agree to another form of Amendment—namely, to omit the word "primary" in the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council. No funds now applied to free higher education ought to be devoted to any other purpose; and if his (Mr. Parker's) suggestion were adopted, the great objection to the word "primary," which was altogether new to Scotchmen in connection with this subject, would be avoided. In Scotland people did not know what "primary education" meant, and they would not be likely to find out without the adoption of some Amendment defining it. To his mind, it would be a useless thing to put in a word which would necessitate a definition. He thought the Committee might accept the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, omitting the word "primary."

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that the Amendment to which the hon. Member referred had already been added to the Bill.

MR. A. GRANT thought that the same result would be arrived at if the word "primary" were omitted, and the Amendment were made to run, "than the free education of the poor," or "than the free education of the industrial classes."

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. A. GRANT asked if he would be in Order in proposing an Amendment in these words, "than the free education of the industrial classes."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee has just negatived an Amendment respecting the education of the industrial classes."

MR. A. GRANT said, his proposal was an altogether new one, as the Amendment would include the word "free."

THE CHAIRMAN said, that, under those circumstances, he thought the hon. Member would be in Order in moving the Amendment.

MR. A. GRANT then moved, at the end of the Amendment of the Vice President of the Council, to add "than the free education of the industrial classes."

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's Amendment, at end, to add "than the free education of the industrial classes."—(*Mr. A. Grant.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I rise to Order, Sir. I beg to ask whether this is not substantially the same Amendment as that which has just been negatived?

MR. A. GRANT: I beg to explain, Sir. There is a substantial difference. The Amendment relates to free education, whether primary or secondary; but it provides that the children of the industrial classes shall not have to pay for their education. I think it is substantially different from the last Amendment, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council will see his way to accept it.

DR. CAMERON: As I understand it, the Amendment is practically the same as the last Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a substantial difference between the two Amendments, because, in this case, there is the word "free."

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. PRESTON BRUCE proposed, in page 6, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's Amendment, to add—

"Unless such funds are, in the opinion of the Commissioners, manifestly in excess of the requirements for the purpose of free primary education of the localities to which they belong."

There might be cases in which funds devoted by the founders to primary education were entirely in excess of the requirements of the localities to which they belonged; and he thought there ought to be a Proviso enabling the Commissioners in those cases to make some other use of such funds. The Amendment would not apply to endowments devoted to the purpose of primary education, except in cases where that purpose had been already sufficiently carried out.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, as an Amendment to Mr. Mundella's Amendment, to add "unless such funds are, in the opinion of the Commissioners, manifestly in excess of the requirements for the purpose of free primary education of the localities to which they belong."—(*Mr. Preston Bruce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Dr. CAMERON said, he would have liked the hon. Member who had moved the Amendment (Mr. Preston Bruce) to have given some indication of the case to which he intended it to apply. It seemed to him (Dr. Cameron) that the words, as they stood, would give an opportunity to the Commissioners, who might imagine that free primary education was altogether unnecessary, to divert the whole of the funds to some purpose other than that for which they were intended. He should like to know more clearly what object his hon. Friend (Mr. Preston Bruce) had in view, as he had not given any example, or any clear indication of what his Amendment was meant to do.

Sir. GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he could quite imagine a case where the funds of an endowment were so large that they would provide for the free education of all the children of the locality, and he should object to a proposal of this kind in such a case. But the Amendment went further than that. There were many people who thought that endowments for free primary education were unnecessary, because the Education Act provided that, where parents were unable to pay, free primary education should be provided for them. An hon. Member last night quoted poetry in his speech on the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill, using the words—

"Turn and twist this Act as you will."

He (Sir George Campbell) thought that "turn and twist this" Educational Endowments Act "as you will," it was always tainted with the Report of the Commissioners, because they had distinctly proposed to take away money devoted to primary education, and to apply it to higher education, considering that free primary education was provided for in the Education Act. Although it was put before the Committee in a very insidious form, this also seemed to be the object of this Amendment. The proposal was totally inconsistent with the Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had proposed, and he certainly could not support it in its present form.

Mr. PRESTON BRUCE said, he could not see how, in face of the words just added to the Bill on the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, any Commissioners could hold that endowments could not properly be applied to free primary education. He thought that, reading his Amendment in connection with the words which would immediately precede it, it was obvious it could only be made use of in very extreme cases He totally disclaimed the idea of having in view anything like that which was suggested by the hon. Member who had just spoken (Sir George Campbell). His object was simply this. There might be endowments in small country parishes where a very small number of children needed free primary education. The payment of the school fees of this small number of children in such cases would be a great advantage; but if there were a larger fund available than was necessary for that purpose, he thought the surplus might be applied by the Commissioners to some other educational purpose.

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, he was afraid the Endowed Schools Commission was a great bugbear to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell); but if that hon. Member would only do the Commissioners the honour and the justice of reading their Report, instead of drawing for a Report upon his own inner consciousness, he would find they had not recommended anything like what he imagined. What the Commission did recommend was that something more than elementary education should be provided, and they said that funds could at once be obtained by limiting the number of those who obtained gratuitous education. There had been four important cases—namely, the Edinburgh Merchants' Company, the Trustees of Heriot's Hospital, Hutcheson's Hospital, and the Bathgate Academy, in which applications were made by school trustees to the Home Secretary for power to charge fees, on the ground of the growing feeling throughout Scotland against gratuitous instruction.

DR. CAMERON said, the only one of the cases referred to by the last speaker (Mr. C. S. Parker) that was in any way a trust connected with free primary education was that of Heriot's Hospital; and they all knew that the result of their application for the power to charge fees, on the ground of growing popular feeling against free education, was that the Trustees were all turned out at the next election. With reference to the Amendment before the Committee, it seemed that the hon. Member who had moved it could cite no example; and he (Dr. Cameron) thought the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would do well to adhere to his own words.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he did not see any objection to the Amendment. The Commissioners would only be able to avail themselves of it when such funds were manifestly in excess of the requirements of free primary education, and there was no reason why in such a case the benefits of the funds should not be extended.

MR. BUCHANAN could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman in the view he took of the proposal. He did not think the Amendment would have a very wide bearing; but it seemed to him that, whatever bearing it had, the effect of it would be that any concession which was contained in the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) would only be put in force at the discretion of the Commissioners, and they were, therefore, now ending exactly where they began.

MR. ANDERSON thought the Amendment a necessary one. It would enable the Commissioners to do the very thing which it was the whole meaning of the Bill they should do, and he was very glad the right hon. Gentleman had not seen his way to oppose it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the Amendment would, in his opinion, practically nullify the concession the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had made. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was bound to carry out the arrangement that had been come to, and to adhere to the words of his Amendment.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE supported the Amendment. The proposed words would qualify the words of the Bill, and if it did that in the slightest degree, he thought they were bound to accept it.

MR. WARTON said, he did not think the hon. Member who had drawn the Amendment (Mr. Preston Bruce) had quite contemplated the construction that might be put on it. The Committee had already carried the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, and had agreed that the funds should not be diverted to any other purpose than that intended by the founder. The hon. Member now proposed to add—

> "Unless such funds are, in the opinion of the Commissioners, manifestly in excess of the requirements," &c.

What the hon. Member probably meant was, not "unless," but "except to the extent to which" such funds were in excess of the requirements. It was quite possible to put such a construction on the Amendment that, if there were more funds than were wanted, they might all be diverted to another purpose. He would suggest that the hon. Member, in order to carry out his own meaning, should substitute "except to the extent to which" for "unless."

SIR DONALD CURRIE approved of the Amendment as altered.

MR. A. GRANT said, it certainly appeared to him that if the Amendment were accepted by the right hon. Gentleman, the concession he (Mr. Mundella) had made in respect of free primary education would be left entirely at the discretion of the Commissioners; and he scarcely thought the right hon. Gentleman was justified in agreeing to any such change.

MR. PRESTON BRUCE said, he was indebted to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who was such a master of language, for the suggestion he had made for improving the wording of the Amendment. He would, in accordance with that suggestion, propose to amend his Amendment by substituting "except to the extent to which" for "unless."

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, as an Amendment to the proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "unless," in order to insert the words "except to the extent to which."—(*Mr. Preston Bruce.*)

Question, "That the word 'unless' stand part of the proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

Words *substituted* accordingly.

DR. CAMERON said, it would be easy to amend the Amendment still further by leaving out the words "in the opinion of the Commissioners." The result would be to make it a matter of fact, and he should have no objection to this.

Amendment proposed to said proposed Amendment, to leave out "in the opinion of the Commissioners."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. MUNDELLA thought there was no objection to accept the alteration.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Original Amendment (*Mr. Mundella*), as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 14 (Interests acquired after passing of Act) *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Interests of particular classes to be kept in view).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 6, line 21, by leaving out "due."

On the Motion of Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL, Amendment made, in page 6, line 21, after "Commissioners," by inserting "with respect alike to the constitution of the governing body and to educational provisions."

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he had on the Paper an Amendment for the insertion in the clause, after the word "intentions," in line 22, of the words—

"And to the fact that national education in Scotland, prior to one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, was not elementary or primary only."

He had intended to have directed the attention of the Committee to what was understood by "education" in Scotland in this Amendment; but that purpose had been completely served already, and he did not intend to put the Amendment. He would only make one remark, and that was that there were two Reports in regard to the state of education in Scotland before 1872 which ought to be consulted by everyone who desired to acquire a proper notion of what that education then was. The first was the Report of the Royal Commission of 1690, and the second was the Return presented by the first Royal Commission on the Universities of Scotland in 1827. The latter document showed that at that time there were in the parochial and elementary schools of Scotland 8,553 pupils learning Latin; 2,042 learning Greek; and 2,903 learning the higher branches of mathematics. This, he thought, would compare well with the results attained by the larger population of the present day, while it proved that the education provided in the Scotch schools of that time could not be considered the same as the elementary education of the present day, because primary education now consisted of the mere rudiments of education, as compared with what it was before the passing of the Education Act of 1872.

MR. HENDERSON said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) had referred to the Royal Commission of 1690. The hon. Member was, perhaps, also aware that in 1696 an Act was passed which contained the following provisions——

THE CHAIRMAN rose to Order. There was no Question before the Committee.

MR. A. GRANT said, he had an Amendment to the clause, by which he proposed, in page 6, line 25, to omit the words "have due regard to," after the word "shall," in order to insert the words "provide to a corresponding extent for." The object of this Amendment was to provide compensation to a corresponding extent for those whose interests were interfered with by the operation of the Bill, which proposed to abolish or modify the privileges or educational advantages to which a particular class of persons was entitled. His proposal amounted to this—that instead of merely providing that the Commissioners should have due regard to the educational interests of such class, whose privileges were to be abolished or modified, they should provide to a corresponding extent for what was taken away.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 25, after "shall," leave out "have due regard to," and insert "provide to a corresponding extent for."—(*Mr. A. Grant.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he thought it would be impossible to give such an instruction to the Commissioners.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. MUNDELLA, in moving, in page 6, line 26, to leave out the word "due," said, although he had put the Amendment on the Paper, he should have no objection to the word "due" remaining if hon. Members desired it.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 26, leave out "due."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 6, line 28, by leaving out the word "poor."

MR. MUNDELLA moved, after the word "children," in line 29, the insertion of the words "whose parents are not sufficiently able to maintain them."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. BRYCE said, there might be two opinions about the insertion of these words. Originally the word was "poor." "Poor" was a relative and a general term. It applied to persons who did not necessarily belong to the most indigent class; but the Amendment would confine the operation of the clause to the case of children whose parents could not find them bread and milk, and who had to accept parochial relief, and he could not think that the object in view would be met by making the proposed alteration. The real object ought to be to provide for relative poverty—to persons whose liabilities were heavy in comparison with their means of meeting them. The words "belonging to the poorer classes" would meet the object; but "whose parents are not sufficiently able to maintain them," as in the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), was a proposal that went a little too far.

MR. A. GRANT agreed with the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) that the words he had suggested would be a wiser definition of what was wanted.

MR. MUNDELLA said, perhaps the words of his Amendment were rather vague, and the words "belonging to the poorer classes" would better meet the object in view. He would, therefore, accept those words.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 29, after "children," insert "belonging to the poorer classes."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. BRYCE said, he wished to propose, as a further Amendment, the omission, after the word "area," in line 29, of the words "for their maintenance, clothing, or advancement in life," in order to insert the words "otherwise for their benefit." There was no difference as to the advisability of keeping the funds for the proper classes; but if the words he had suggested should be left out were allowed to remain in the Bill, it might be difficult to avoid continuing the endowment in that precise form. They all knew that in many cases clothing was not the best form in which relief could be given. His Amendment would give a wider discretion to the Commissioners as to the form in which the funds should be applied for the benefit of the children.

Amendment proposed,

"In page 6, line 29, after "area," leave out "for their maintenance, clothing, or advancement in life," and insert "otherwise for their benefit."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. ANDERSON thought the alteration a good one, as it might be of great value occasionally to leave the Commissioners more freedom. He hoped the Amendment would be accepted.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he hoped it would not be accepted. He thought the object would be better answered by inserting the Amendment to be proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) to the latter part of the clause, to add the words "shall continue to be applied for the benefit of such children."

Mr. BRYCE said, if his Amendment were accepted, he proposed to add the words "in such manner as the Commissioners shall think most generally useful."

Mr. MUNDELLA thought that such a thing as clothing constituted a very doubtful way of helping the children, and was especially objectionable when it took the shape of uniform. He should be glad, therefore, to substitute more general words, leaving it to the Commissioners to secure for the children such help as they might think would really be of advantage to the children. He would bring up words to meet the object on the Report.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, a large number of his constituents had not any decent clothes, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be very careful as to how this matter was dealt with. There were in the part of the country he represented a good many children who did not go to school because they were not properly clothed.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, by making the terms more general it would leave it open to the Commissioners to find a better way of assisting the children, but would not prevent their having clothes. The words must be altered to adapt them to alterations already made. What was wanted was words to say "and such benefits shall continue to be applied for the advantage of such children," or the use of these children on such endowments.

Mr. BRYCE then moved that the Amendment should read thus—

> "Such endowment or such educational benefit, or otherwise, shall continue to be applied for the benefit of such children."

The CHAIRMAN said, there was, first, an Amendment in the name of the right hon. Gentleman not relating to this point, the omission of words in lines 30 and 31.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he begged to move that Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 30, after "life," leave out to "to," inclusive, in line 31.—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed,

> In line 29, to insert "such endowment or such educational benefit, or otherwise, shall continue to be applied for the benefit of such children."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. Bryce, Amendment made, in page 6, line 32, after "education or," by leaving out to end of Clause, and inserting "otherwise for their benefit."

Amendment proposed, in page 6, at end, to add, "shall continue to be applied for the benefit of such children."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, to insert, after the word "continue," the words "so far as requisite."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he had Notices of two Amendments to the clause which did not appear to come in under the new wording. His object was to insure greater clearness.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, the object of the Amendment, in so far as it related to children of the poorer classes, was secured.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it appeared to him that the Government were somewhat watering down the clause.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, at end of Clause, after "children," add "in such manner as the Commissioners shall think most generally useful."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he could not accept this.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *added.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 16 (Benefits to be extended to girls).

MR. BRYCE said, he had an Amendment to move to this clause, with the object of extending the endowments to girls. The same clause appeared in the English Act of 1869; but, as shown by the Report of the Endowed Schools Committee, it was found inadequate—not strong enough for its purpose—it did not give sufficient distinct authority to the Commissioners with which to overcome such local opposition as they sometimes met with. He ventured to move his Amendment, then, with the object of slightly strengthening and somewhat improving the operation of the clause.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 34, after "as," leave out to "for," in line 35, and insert "can be equitably arranged, and as the circumstances of each particular locality require."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he quite recognized the object of the Amendment, and was as desirous as the hon. Member to make provision for girls; but he thought if the next Amendment, which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), was accepted, to leave out the word "girls," and substitute the words "both sexes," then all would be done that need be done in pointing the direction in which the Commissioners should go. But this Amendment he did not think was necessary.

DR. CAMERON said, he did not think it would alter the scope of the clause to leave out "girls," and insert "both sexes," and he rather thought that "girls" was a more distinct and definite term. As the hon. Member had said, the clause in the English Act having been found insufficient constituted a very good reason for departing from that precedent, and giving it some wider scope. Though he did not see that the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets would make any material alteration, yet, as it might be taken as giving a more specific direction to the Commissioners, he should support it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had no objection to the Amendment; but was it intended, by introducing the words "both sexes," to place them on an equal footing, and that the benefits intended for girls should be extended to boys?

MR. DALRYMPLE said, he did not see that the words would add anything to the clause, and nothing could be wider than the fair and equitable arrangement under the clause. It would be better to retain the words. With regard to the words "both sexes," instead of "girls," he did not understand the meaning of it; it seemed to imply that endowments might be intended for the benefit of no sex at all. It seemed to him that the clause was better as it stood.

MR. BRYCE said, whether the words of the hon. Member for Glasgow were accepted or not, his Amendment was necessary. He submitted that the experience of the English Act showed it was necessary to strengthen the hands of the Commissioners.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he agreed very much with what had been said by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), and entirely approved of the provisions of the Bill being extended for the benefit of girls. Though the words of the proposed Amendment did not seem to add very much to the instructions laid down in the Bill, still, as there was no objection on the point of phraseology, the Amendment might be accepted, as tending to avoid the difficulties which the Commissioners encountered in administering the English Act.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had made inquiries, and he found that what had been said by the hon. Member in moving the Amendment was borne out by experience. He had no objection to the words—in fact, he had no objection to accept both Amendments. It would point the instructions more strongly to secure the benefit of girls.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *inserted* accordingly.

MR. ANDERSON said, his Amendment would give the Commissioners greater power, and enable them to make the advantages more reciprocal.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 35, to leave out "girls," and insert "both sexes."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Words *inserted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 17 (Tenure of office of teachers, &c.) *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Inspection and audit) *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Provision for future alteration of schemes).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 7, line 10, after "alteration," by leaving out to "expedient," inclusive, and inserting "of the scheme from time to time."

MR. BUCHANAN said, the Amendment he had to move was one of several he had to this and subsequent clauses, with the view of eliminating the control of the Scotch Education Department over these bodies; but if it was objected to he would not press it.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 11, leave out from "with" to "Department," in line 12.—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he really thought there ought not to be any animus to, or distrust of, the Scotch Education Department. It was composed almost exclusively of Scotchmen; and, he might add, the majority in the English Department were of the same nationality. If anybody could complain of the Education Department it should not be Scotchmen, but Englishmen.

MR. ANDERSON said, the object with which he had given Notice of an Amendment was to provide for the due arrangement of the scheme, after the Commission had ceased to exist, that it should not naturally fall to the Court of Session. He would give it to the much maligned Education Department, in which he had great faith.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. A. GRANT said, that in the absence of his hon. Friend (Mr. Ramsay) he begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 14, at end, to add "and the governing body constituted under any orders passed in terms of 'The Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869,' or 'The Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1878,' with consent of the Scotch Education Department, may apply to the court for the alteration of any such order from time to time as such governing body may deem necessary."—(*Mr. A. Grant.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had no objection to the admission of these words.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Procedure.

Clause 20 (Preliminary inquiry).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 7, line 17, after "such," by inserting "public."

MR. BUCHANAN rose to move an Amendment to the same line, to substitute "shall" for "may."

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to say the Amendment comes in the wrong order; we have passed the word "may," and got as far as the word "public."

MR. MUNDELLA said, it was an error due to the arrangement of the Amendments; but he would consider whether they should turn "may" into "shall" on the Report stage.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 21 (Governing body may lodge draft scheme).

MR. A. GRANT said, he thought it would be an advantage to extend the time from two months to three.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 21, after "within," leave out "two," and insert "three."—(*Mr. A. Grant.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he hoped the hon. Member would not press this. They had extended the time all through the Bill, and it would be very undesirable to keep the Commissioners waiting idly month after month. Two months was an ample time.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he proposed to extend the time for allowing the Governing Body to prepare a draft scheme from four months from the passing of the Act to six months, as it was in the English Act.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 24, leave out "four," and insert "six."—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, his hon. Friend was under a mistake. It was not four months from the passing of the Act, but from the time of the Act coming into force, and it would not come into force until November next. The Amendment would keep the Commissioners idle for nearly five months of next year.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that in the Bill of last year six months was allowed.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that was from the passing of the Act.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that in the English Act, in cases of large endowments, six months was allowed; and it was an important and serious matter to prepare a scheme for the re-adjustment of a large endowment, and ample time should be given to a Governing Body to thoroughly master such a scheme.

MR. PRESTON BRUCE said, he thought there was a good deal of force in the argument in favour of six months.

MR. MUNDELLA said, it would take to March next before the first scheme could come under the notice of the Commissioners, and he did not want to keep them idle longer than could be avoided. This Bill had been expected for years, and there was no ground or occasion for such a delay.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, then, why in the English Act was it made six months from the passing of the Act that the Commissioners were to act?

MR. MUNDELLA said, he could not answer that.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he proposed that the Commissioners, before preparing a scheme of their own, should consider a draft scheme submitted by the Governing Body. It was so in the English Act, and it was the clear intention there that the views of the Governing Body should be fully considered. If it was necessary in the English Act, surely it was applicable to Scotland also. He presumed there would be the same answer, that it was desirable to save time, and that the Commissioners should not be called upon to examine a scheme before preparing one for themselves; but to that answer he had to say there was something even more important than saving time, and that was to have the work thoroughly well done.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 24, after "shall," insert "before they themselves prepare any draft of a scheme."—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, that the clause was most carefully guarded. The Governing Body might lodge a draft scheme after inquiry and giving notice of their intentions; and the Commissioners, after such notice, and within four months, would take the draft scheme of the Governing Body into consideration in preparing their own scheme, and if they adopted the scheme of the Governing Body it became their own scheme. If the Governing Body submitted one scheme and the Commissioners adopted another, that, of course, was not the scheme of the Governing Body; but the Commissioners might adopt the whole or part, or so much of the scheme of the Governing Body as they thought necessary, and from that moment the Commissioners became responsible.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he was perfectly aware of all that—it was quite plain on the face of it—but the right hon. Gentleman did not seem to be aware of the objection which he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had taken. There was no more reason in Scotland than in England why the Commissioners should be allowed to prepare their scheme before they had considered the scheme of the Governing Body.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he could assure the hon. Gentleman that they would do nothing of the sort—no Commissioners would do such a thing. If the Governing Body gave notice of a scheme, the Commissioners would never dream of preparing a scheme of their own until they had seen it.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, he did not know what they would be likely to do—he only knew what the Act of Parliament told them to do. However, this was one of those matters which would not allow of discussion at this late hour (10 o'clock), and it just showed the inconvenience and disadvantage of forcing through at this time of night, without adequate discussion, such a Bill as this. He appealed to hon. Gentlemen around him to say whether the last two or three Amendments had been properly discussed? He maintained that they had not nearly received adequate treatment. He did not intend to take any further step in the matter, seeing that he was obliged to refrain from speaking in support of the Amendment.

Mr. WARTON wished to make a friendly suggestion, which he thought might please hon. Gentlemen. Why not change the word "in" to the word "before," for that was really what was meant?

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, he thought that that would, perhaps, be an improvement, and would satisfy his hon. Friend.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. MUNDELLA, in accordance with the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, moved the omission of the word "in," in order to substitute the word "before."

Question, "That the word 'in' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Clause as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 22 (Printing and publication of draft schemes) *agreed to.*

Clause 23 (Governing body may lodge objections).

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, Amendment made, in page 7, line 36, after "scheme," by inserting "and any amendments proposed thereon."

Mr. BUCHANAN moved to insert, after the word "thereon" in the Amendment just accepted, the words—

> "And shall receive any alternative scheme submitted to them by the governing body of any educational endowment to which the scheme of the Commissioners relates."

He apprehended that there would be no objection to provide for the reception of any alternative scheme.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, this proposal was for a second alternative scheme to be submitted to the Commissioners, and that the Commissioners should take that scheme into consideration before preparing their own. He did not think it was necessary to provide in this way for a second alternative scheme.

Mr. BUCHANAN expressed his willingness to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 36, after "writing," insert "by any public body or persons interested."—(*Mr. Preston Bruce.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. MUNDELLA had no objection to the Amendment proposed; but it could not be taken now. He would agree to the insertion of the words on Report if they were then moved.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, Amendments made, in page 7, line 37, by leaving out "month," and inserting "two months;" in page 7, line 38, after "scheme," by inserting "and the amendments proposed thereon;" and in page 7, line 39, after "local," by inserting "public."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 24 (As to framing of schemes).

On the Motion of Mr. Mundella, Amendments made, in page 8, line 2, by leaving out "month," and inserting "two months;" and in page 8, line 6, after "scheme," by inserting "and any amendments proposed thereon."

Mr. BUCHANAN moved to insert, at the end, in line 9, the words—

> "Provided, That where a scheme has been prepared and submitted in pursuance of this Act to the Commissioners before the Commissioners have prepared the draft of a scheme, the Commissioners shall, if requested by the governing body that submitted it, submit such scheme with their own to the Scotch Education Department."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that the addition of this Proviso was unnecessary, as the course proposed by it was invariably taken.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE wished to know why the Proviso should not be added, unless there was some reason to be urged against it?

MR. MUNDELLA: If it would give any assurance to the hon. Member I do not object; but really there is no necessity for these words.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 25 (Approval of Scotch Educational Department to schemes).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 8, line 14, by leaving out "one month," and inserting "two months."

On the Motion of Mr. PRESTON BRUCE, Amendment made, in page 8, line 16, after "writing," by inserting "by any public body or persons interested."

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 8, line 18, by leaving out "month," and inserting "two months."

MR. WEBSTER moved the omission, from line 29, of all the words from "unless" to "Parliament," in order to insert the words "they are about to lay the same before Parliament." He said the Amendment which he now proposed was copied exactly from the corresponding clause in the Scotch Act of 1878; and a similar provision was contained in the English Act of 1869. It was of more consequence that the schemes prepared under this Bill should be properly considered, and that the public should have a fair opportunity of considering them than it was in the case of the Act of 1878.

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 29, leave out from "unless," to "Parliament," both inclusive, and insert "they are about to lay the same before Parliament."—(*Mr. Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, the Amendment proposed was really unnecessary, and it would cause great inconvenience. When schemes were thoroughly approved by everybody in the locality—when they had gone through a long process of notices and advertisements and delays, and everybody was perfectly satisfied—when there was not found one single person petitioning against them—it did seem an unnecessary delay to lay them before Parliament, especially as they must lay there for 40 days from the meeting of Parliament, and nothing could be done except when Parliament was Sitting. It would be exceedingly inconvenient for every scheme to be laid before Parliament. No persons were so anxious as the Governing Body of the locality itself to let the Department get to work as soon as possible. Supposing the two months expired just when Parliament rose, nothing could be done until the following Session; and then the scheme, which everybody had been waiting for for six or eight months, would have to lay for another two months upon the Table of the House. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would not insist upon this Amendment.

MR. WEBSTER confessed that he felt so strongly on this point that he must press the Amendment. It was all very well to say that the Governing Body were satisfied and wanted the matter settled as soon as possible; but there were the interests of the public at large to be considered. The delay would only be slight, and it was certainly worth while to incur it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would support his hon. Friend on general grounds; but he wished to point out one practical difficulty, which was that while sometimes it was not possible to get an opportunity to discuss a scheme in this House it could be done in the other, as in the case of the English University Statutes, and the influence of the other House in such matters was not always for good.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendments made, in page 8, lines 29 and 30, by leaving out "one month," and inserting "two months;" and in page 8, line 38, by leaving out "municipal."

On the Motion of Mr. PRESTON BRUCE, Amendment made, in page 8, line 38, after "scheme," by inserting "or by the school board."

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Amendment made, in page 8, line 39, by leaving out "municipal."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 26 (Proceedings where scheme is remitted) *agreed to.*

Clause 27 (Quorum of Commissioners) *agreed to.*

Clause 28 (Quorum of governing body) *agreed to.*

Clause 29 (Special case to Court of Session of questions of law) *agreed to.*

Clause 30 (Deliverance of Court of Session final. Disposal of questions of expenses) *agreed to.*

Clause 31 (Scheme to be approved by Order in Council. When to be laid before Parliament).

MR. PRESTON BRUCE moved to omit from page 10, line 22, the words "forty days," in order to insert the words "three months." The English Act provided for schemes lying before Parliament for two months; but the University Statutes laid before Parliament for 12 weeks, and he thought the fullest time ought to be allowed, even though the chance that Parliament would object to the schemes might not be very great.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, line 22, leave out "forty days," and insert "three months."—(*Mr. Preston Bruce.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. MUNDELLA said, he was sure that when he pointed out the inconvenience that would inevitably result from this Amendment, the hon. Gentleman would not press it. If a scheme was laid before Parliament in the latter part of a Session, and Parliament did not sit three months afterwards, then, under this Amendment, such scheme would have to go over to the next Session of Parliament. That was why the time was fixed at 40 days. There was something reasonable in 40 days, but not in three months. It always happened that a discussion upon a scheme could be brought on either in one House or in the other, and even now there was a scheme—a very large English scheme—before the House, and he had arranged to put it down on Monday next, in order that the hon. Member for West Surrey might offer his objections against it. There was really not that difficulty which was apprehended in getting a scheme discussed. He really could not accept the proposal that the time should be fixed at three months, because it would be so tremendously inconvenient, and the result would be that for nine months in the year a scheme would be of no use.

MR. BUCHANAN said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept some Amendment in the direction proposed, because, at the present moment, the laying of a scheme on the Table for 40 days was a mere sham. In the first place, it was quite impossible to raise and carry a Motion on a scheme within the time, and he remembered some Orders last year which were never allowed to come on. There was also another reason why the Parliamentary control was not a reality. It often happened that many days out of the 40 elapsed before the schemes were printed and circulated, and yet the 40 days ran from the day on which the scheme was laid on the Table of the House.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had never had a scheme yet since he had been Vice President that was objected to that had not been properly discussed. The real reason was that the Half-past 12 o'clock Rule did not apply.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY thought that 40 days would be enough. At the same time, he was of opinion that it would be rather a fraud on hon. Members if "dummies" were laid on the Table, and that they should insist on these schemes being printed and circulated.

MR. MUNDELLA begged to tell the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) that "dummies" were not laid on the Table. A scheme must be printed and circulated before it was objected to.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that, in his opinion, 40 days would not be sufficient. Only last year a case occurred in which a scheme was laid on the Table at the beginning of the year, and some time afterwards a representation was made to him respecting it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. BUCHANAN said, he wished to move the insertion of the following Proviso:—

"Provided always, That if, within such forty days, notice has been duly given of a Motion in one or other of the said Houses for an Address as above-mentioned, which Motion has not been considered by the said House, it shall not be lawful for Her Majesty in Council to declare her approbation of such scheme, or any part thereof, until such Motion has been disposed of by the said House."

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Amendment seemed to be consequential.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that as it appeared to be the feeling that 40 days was not long enough, he would extend the time to two months, and would bring up an Amendment on Report for that purpose. He was bound to say, however, that the first persons to complain of this concession would be the Governing Bodies of the schools and local authorities, because there was ample publicity as it was. Before any scheme of the kind was laid on the Table it was published and circulated.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) was giving away to a small knot of Members below the Ministerial Gangway, although the general sense of the Committee was against accepting the Amendment.

MR. MUNDELLA said, his reason for accepting the proposal was that the words "two months" were in the English Act.

MR. BUCHANAN wished to point out to the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Herbert Maxwell) that the small knot of Members below the Gangway to whom he referred had been present during the whole of the discussion.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 32 (Provision as to schemes for endowments under £100 annual value).

On the Motion of Mr. R. PRESTON BRUCE, the following Amendment made:—In page 10, line 38, leave out "one hundred," and insert "fifty."

MR. BOLTON moved to leave out the clause. He said, that if the clause were retained in the Bill, it would exclude the Commissioners from dealing with endowments belonging to State-aided schools or public schools, under the Education (Scotland) Acts of 1872 and 1878, of less annual value than £100. He did not see what advantage would be derived from excluding the Commissioners from exercising their powers in the cases of such endowments. It might probably be necessary not to burden small endowments of this kind with all the procedure provided in the case of large endowments; but it was certainly desirable that such endowments should come under the purview of the Commissioners.

Amendment proposed, in page 10, to leave out Clause 32.—(*Mr. Bolton.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 32 stand part of the Bill."

MR. MUNDELLA said, the clause was taken from the English Act, in which the minimum was fixed at £100. Endowments below £100 a-year were all dealt with by the Education Department on the same principle as other larger endowments; but it was not desirable to leave small endowments to go through the same processes, and incur the same expense. This was done in order to facilitate the arrangement of small schemes. Moreover, they could not encumber the Commission with a large number of petty endowments of this kind, and it was really hardly worth while to discuss the proposal.

MR. BOLTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had not stated the real point. The initiative in preparing schemes was left with the Governing Body itself.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 33 and 34 *agreed to.*

Clause 35 (Inquiry by assistant commissioner).

On the Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, the following Amendment made:—In page 11, line 16, after "local," insert "public."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 36 to 42, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 43 (Returns, &c. by governing body).

MR. BUCHANAN said, he had an Amendment on the Paper, in page 13, line 5, to leave out from "every," to "require," in line 7. He did not, however, think it necessary to detain the Committee on this point, and he would not move his Amendment.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL moved, in page 4, after Clause 8, to insert the following Clause:—

"Nothing in this Act shall authorise the making of any scheme interfering with any Endowment, or part of an Endowment, which has been regulated by a Provisional Order made and confirmed pursuant to the provisions of 'The Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869,' or 'The Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1878,' unless the Governing Body of such Endowment assent to the scheme, or unless the Governing Body have, in the opinion of the Commissioners, failed to give effect to the provisions of such Provisional Order."

He said the object of the clause was to exempt from the application of the Bill endowments which had been regulated by the late Commission. A provision of this nature appeared in the Bill of last year, and he thought it was a fault in the present measure that no such provision was contained in it. The Bill was a sequel to the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act of 1878; and when that Act was introduced, a promise was given that another measure should be brought in, after a sufficient lapse of time, to deal with endowments which had not been brought under the regulation of the Commissioners then appointed. There was something like a promise that the endowments that were regulated by the Endowed Institutions Commission should not be disturbed afterwards. The right hon. Gentleman who introduced the Endowed Institutions Bill into the House spoke of Trustees having a last chance to reform their Trusts. The consequence was that a number of Trusts submitted themselves to the Commission, and had their schemes regulated; and it seemed a hardship that those who had done so should be exposed to the trouble and expense of having to go before another Commission. Petitions had been presented to the House by some public bodies whose endowments were regulated by the late Commission. He might mention specially, in case some hon. Member on the other side said there was no sympathy with his proposal on the part of Municipal Bodies, that a Petition had been presented in favour of it by the Town Council of Aberdeen, and also by the Governing Body of an important College in that town. He did not wish to detain the Committee, and, therefore, without saying anything further, would content himself with proposing this clause, which he hoped the Government would accept.

New Clause (Scheme not to interfere with any regulated endowment,)—(*Mr. J. A. Campbell,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Mr. WEBSTER said, he rose, before the right hon. Gentleman expressed any opinion, to offer a most cordial support to the proposal. In some of the cases to which the hon. Member who had moved the clause (Mr. J. A. Campbell) referred, the Governing Bodies had already put the schemes into operation in accordance with the new Order. He knew that in one case to which the hon. Member alluded—namely, that of the College in Aberdeen—the expenses attending the obtaining of a Provisional Order amounted to a large sum. It really seemed to him (Mr. Webster) that, at some time or other, there should be an end to all these controversies and inquiries; and he, therefore, hoped the clause would be agreed to.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON hoped that the Government would accept the clause. It would be very hard if those Trustees who had had their schemes revised under the Endowed Institutions Acts were vexed with fresh inquiries and revisions, under the operation of the Commission to be appointed under the Bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN hoped the Government would consider the subject carefully. Some of the institutions which had taken Provisional Orders under the Act of 1878 were anxious to come under the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that, in his opinion, there really was no occasion for this Proviso. The hon. Member (Mr. J. A. Campbell) knew there was no danger of any Commission disturbing a good scheme. If a scheme were found to be inefficient, and it did not work in a proper way, it would be dealt with under the Bill; but there was no occasion why the excellent schemes which hon. Members who had spoken on the subject doubtless had in their minds should be disturbed. He believed the impression was that the Commission would be rather too conservative than too reforming in its tendencies, and he did not think there need be the least apprehension on the subject. The Proviso was that any scheme which had been recently dealt with could not be touched at all; and the result of its adoption would be that, if it were desirable to revise schemes on the ground that they had been made by Governing Bodies without reference to other Bodies in the locality, it would not be possible to do so. He hoped the Committee would show that they had some confidence in the Commission, and would leave it to the good sense of the Gentlemen who acted on that Commission to carry out the provisions of the measure in a proper way.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 18; Noes 40: Majority 22.—(Div. List, No. 295.)

MR. BOLTON moved, after Clause 18, to insert the following Clause:—

(Provision for default of governing body.)

"If the governing body of any educational endowment fail to give effect to the provisions of any scheme approved under this Act, or of any Provisional Order made and confirmed under 'The Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869,' or 'The Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1878,' it shall be lawful for the Scotch Education Department, upon the application of the Town Council of any burgh directly affected by such scheme or Provisional Order, or of any ratepayers (not less than twenty) of any burgh, or parish, or place directly affected thereby, or of any person or persons having a vested interest in the endowment or any part of it, and, after such inquiry as they shall think proper, to send a requisition to such governing body, requiring them to give effect to the provisions of the scheme, or Provisional Order, and the governing body shall comply with the said requisition without undue delay, and, if they fail, may be summarily compelled to do so by the Court of Session, on a petition and complaint at the instance of the Lord Advocate."

Clause *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. MUNDELLA said, there could be no objection to the proposal.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

Preamble.

Amendment proposed, in line 1, to leave out after the word "whereas," to "whereas," in line 13, inclusive.—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Preamble."

MR. C. S. PARKER said, that, as one of the Commissioners, he wished to say a word as to the proposed omission of all mention of their Report. They had devoted three years to hearing evidence and preparing recommendations in detail, and had taken much trouble to examine into each case, as well as to lay down sound general principles of reform. Nevertheless, if, owing to opposition from certain quarters, it would afford any facility for the passing of this Bill that their labours should be in no way recognized in the Bill, they were perfectly content to have it so. The new Commission would probably pay more attention to their recommendations than had been paid by those Members to gratify whom the omission was proposed.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had two Amendments to the Preamble on the Paper; but he would only move one of them. He proposed to add, at the end of line 15, the words "consistent with such intentions."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 15, at end of line, add "consistent with such intentions."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. MUNDELLA said, the Amendment was really unnecessary.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Preamble, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. MUNDELLA said, the Committee had now come to the end of the Amendments after a Sitting of 11 hours' duration, and he should not like the discussion to close without thanking the Scotch Members for the patience and self-denial which had been evinced by them throughout the whole of the proceedings in Committee. He also wished to thank those hon. Members who had come down in order to keep a House, and to assist in getting the Bill through Committee. Some of these had assisted the Committee very greatly, and their advice and experience had been most useful in the framing of the clauses. He begged to express his gratitude to all the hon. Members who had so courageously supported the Government.

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 253.]

UNION OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 75.]

(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the Government were ready to make a great concession in connection with the Bill. They intended to give the power to grant pensions to Boards of Guardians, leaving to Union officers who were dissatisfied with their action a right of appeal to the Local Government Board. After the second reading he intended to move that it be referred to a Select Committee of Irish Members. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) said the majority of the Irish Members were opposed to the Bill. He (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) had taken great trouble to ascertain the feelings of the Irish Members, and he had found that a considerable majority were strongly in its favour. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) approved of it; so did the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), and other Gentlemen from Ireland who usually sat below the Gangway. On the Government side of the House all the Irish Members approved of it, except, perhaps, the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw), though even he was quite content that it should be read a second time, if it was afterwards to be referred to a Select Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

MR. HEALY thought the Government had taken a very reasonable course in reference to this Bill. After the statement of the hon. Member for Leeds he would support the second reading tonight. He differed from the Government on certain principles of this Bill, notably on the appeal to the Local Government Board. At the same time, if the Committee of Irish Members was reasonably chosen, the Bill would be carefully revised and made acceptable.

MR. T. A. DICKSON thought the proposal of a Select Committee of Irish Members a fair and sensible one.

MR. LEAMY said, he begged to move the adjournment of the debate. ["Oh, oh!"] The hon. Gentleman said he did not wish to force the Bill on Irish Members; but it certainly was an action very like forcing it on when the Bill was called at 11 o'clock on a Saturday night, and after the House had been occupied for 11 hours in a Scotch discussion. He opposed the Bill, and he had put down his Notice of opposition in order that the Bill should only be taken when it could be properly discussed. It might appear to the English and Scotch that the Bill was of slight importance; but to Ireland it was a really very important Bill, and would add materially to the burden on the taxpayers of Ireland. The Bill proposed to give the Local Government Board power to grant superannuations to officers of Unions of all classes. The Local Government Board was distrusted by the people of Ireland, and not without cause. Hon. Members might recollect how circumstances in connection with the Board had been detailed in the House not long ago. He moved, therefore, that the debate be adjourned for the reasons which he had given, and he hoped the hon. Member would accede to the Motion. He assured him that he would not expedite the Bill if he insisted on carrying the second reading in the absence of many Irish Members who would possibly take an interest in it. Of course the Government were stronger than they were; but he presumed they would have other Saturday Sittings before the Session was out. If they chose to prevent this Bill coming on, there was nothing easier for them than to have struck in on the Scotch Bill.

MR. DALY said, he rose to second the Motion for the reasons given by the hon. Member for Waterford. They had no knowledge whatever that this Bill would be proposed for consideration at this hour of the night. The experience he had of the Local Government Board gave him the profoundest distrust in it, and he considered that there could be no greater monstrosity than that the tribunal that should grant men superannuation was a tribunal which had no cognizance of the individual merits or demerits of the men to whom they were granting the superannuation.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Leamy.*)

MR. MUNDELLA really thought this Bill ought to be read a second time. He asked hon. Members to consider the course his hon. Friend (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) proposed to take. What he asked was that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee composed of 13 Irish Members; and surely there could be no fairer means of ascertaining the merits and bearings of a Bill of this kind for Ireland. This was the latest date at which a Select Committee could be appointed, and in 25 minutes it would be Sunday morning.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR suggested to the hon. Member for Waterford that he should withdraw his Motion. Nobody could be more opposed to this Bill than he was. He considered that many of its provisions were objectionable; but, at the same time, he was bound to admit that some provision should, as was proposed in this Bill, be made to meet the very scandalous circumstances that arose with regard to the superannuation of certain officers of Poor Law Unions. But the consideration that influenced him in making this suggestion was the fact that, for the first time in his experience of Parliament, it was proposed to allow a Bill to go to a Select Committee of Irish Members representing every phase of Irish opinion.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY joined with his hon. Friend in the suggestion he had just made. It seemed to him to be a very fair way of dealing with this Bill, and was a great advance on the way hitherto adopted of dealing with Irish Bills.

DR. LYONS said, he would support the second reading.

MR. CALLAN said, he would join in the suggestion that the Motion should be withdrawn, if it was proposed to examine in Committee a few witnesses on each side.

MR. EWART hoped the hon. Member for Leeds would proceed with his Motion for the second reading. There was a desire in the North of Ireland for an improvement in the law in this respect, and the proposal that had been made to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was a very reasonable one, which should satisfy hon. Gentlemen. However, he must enter a decided protest against a Committee composed entirely of Irish Members. He thought it was an unhealthy germ, and considered it his duty to enter his protest against it.

MR. BIGGAR said, the promise given by the Prime Minister that no Bill of a contentious character would be taken had not been kept. He did not agree with the details of this Bill. The Local Government Board were asked to supersede the rights and interests of the ratepayers, and decide without having real evidence in the case. The practical result of the Bill, if it passed, would be that the different officials would set the Guardians, who were their paymasters, entirely at defiance, and would constantly appeal on all questions to the Local Government Board. He hoped this Bill would not pass this or any other Session.

MR. FITZ-PATRICK said, he would support the second reading.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. CALLAN hoped the hon. Gentleman would have no objection that a few witnesses should be examined on both sides to test the merits of the Bill.

MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE said, that, so far as he was personally concerned, he would have no objection whatever to that course being taken; but it would be for the Committee to decide.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *referred* to a Select Committee.

RESERVE FORCES ACTS CONSOLIDATION BILL.—[BILL 124.]

(*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Mundella.*)

MR. STEVENSON rose to Order, and inquired whether the Motion could be made when there was no Question before the House?

MR. BLAKE said, he felt bound to express his dissent from the Motion of the Vice President of the Council.

MR. HEALY complained of the conduct of the Government in moving the adjournment of the House directly the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill was reached. When the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) was Chief Secretary, he advised the promoters of Sunday closing in Ireland to bring in this Continuance Bill, and promised them the support of the Government. Now there was a chance of getting a second reading of the Bill, the Government, in the teeth of their promises, moved the adjournment. As to its being Sunday morning, two years ago the House sat until half-past 12 on a Saturday night, when the Irish Relief Bill was being discussed. It was equally desirable that intemperance should be checked as that distress should be relieved; and he would point out that 75 Irish Members out of the entire body of 103 were in favour of this measure.

MR. CALLAN: Sir, I have to draw your attention to the fact that it is Sunday morning, and that there are less than 40 Members present.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 24th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Citation Amendment (Scotland) * (206).

Second Reading—Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns) * (194).

Committee—Report—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (148); Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment * (192).

Report — Copyright (Musical Compositions) * (204).

Royal Assent—Consolidated Fund (No. 4) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 28]; County Courts (Ireland) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 29]; Baths and Wash Houses Acts Amendment [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 30]; Judgments (Inferior Courts) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 31]; Public Offices Site [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 32]; Tramways Provisional Orders [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cxxxviii]; Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Finchley, &c.) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cxxxix]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 4) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cxl]; Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cxli].

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — DESPATCH OF TROOPS FROM INDIA —INCIDENCE OF COST.

NOTICE OF RESOLUTION.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall move the following Resolution on behalf of the Government:—

> "That Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of Her forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on by such forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I have no objection to take to it except to the brevity of the Notice.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: As the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill stands for second reading on Thursday, I thought it better to fix to-morrow for the Motion.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I will not object to it.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT. MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I rise, in discharge of the promise I made last week, to state to your Lordships the views of the Government on the subject of the Egyptian Question; and, for the purpose of putting myself in Order, I shall conclude with a Motion for the production of further Papers on the question. I have already more than once stated the complications of this question, and I feel that those complications, while certainly adding to the difficulty of dealing with it in action, make it this evening more difficult for me to make the statement exactly as I should wish to state it to your Lordships. In making this statement, therefore, I can only trust to your Lordships' indulgence, which has never yet failed me; and it appears to me that what I had best do for the convenience of your Lordships is to condense, as much as I can, what remarks I have to make, by stating what is the position of the question at the present moment, and to give your Lordships, as far as possible, the views of Her Majesty's Government as to the policy which they have thought fit to adopt. At the beginning of last year Egypt appeared to be at peace, and in the enjoyment of progress and prosperity; but in the month of February several military riots occurred on account of the arrest of some officers by the orders of the Minister of War, and the result was that the Khedive, having no military force to oppose to the military faction, submitted to what was imposed upon him. I will not trouble your Lordships by going into any detail on the different outbreaks which occurred in September, in November, in December, and in April of this year. Let it suffice to say that these outbreaks were followed by increased military expenditure, by disorganization, and the relaxation of discipline by illegal acts against the Khedive, against the Notables, and against individuals, and by an assumption of military authority on the part of Arabi Bey, the War Minister. I think it was in October the Sultan sent a Commission to Egypt, without previous communication with France or England, or any other Power, and things appeared to be settling down. At the same time, France and England had each an iron-clad at Alexandria. I then took occasion to explain to the Turkish Ambassador in London the policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to Egypt—a policy which I have so often had the opportunity of stating to your Lordships. In the month of November, at greater length, I stated that policy in a despatch to Sir Edward Malet—a despatch which had the singular good fortune of being generally approved both at home and abroad. In January—or I think it was at the end of December—M. Gambetta proposed that we should join with France in a Dual Note on the same lines as my despatch of November, but possibly more accentuated as to its terms by the fact of its being drafted by a Southern and more eloquent pen. I was told the other day by a noble Friend that if, at that time, we had agreed to the proposition of M. Gambetta to use immediate force, the subsequent difficulties would have been averted. My Lords, whether the employment of immediate force would have had that result is a matter of opinion. I wish to point out that M. Gambetta never made any proposal to employ military force to us, and that he adopted for himself the reserve which I had stated with regard to the time and the mode of action to be used. But supposing for a moment we had made that proposition, and that M. Gambetta had accepted it, in what a position should we have found ourselves? Two or three days later, M. Gambetta was succeeded in Office by M. de Freycinet; and M. de Freycinet believed, I am bound to say I think with justice, that France was at that time disinclined to take any action of the sort. What we did then was to propose to M. Gambetta to communicate with the other Powers, and that proposal was accepted by M. de Freycinet. We made a proposal which was unanimously received by the other Powers. Confidential communications immediately began as to the extent to which we could extend the attributes of the Notables without trenching upon international agreements. A resolution was come to. That resolution, however, was not acted upon, in consequence of the unstable position of the Egyptian Ministry. Matters then got more serious, and on the 11th of May—I remember the date, because it happens to be my birthday—I received a telegram from Lord Lyons, informing me that M. de Freycinet had asked the French Consul in Egypt whether it was not desirable that France should send a sufficient naval force to Alexandria. I stated that Her Majesty's Government, for their part, were ready to send two iron-clads to

Egypt, and to inform the other Powers of the fact, in order that they might join if they thought proper. Then came a telegram from M. de Freycinet, proposing that three French and three English vessels should be sent with three more of each nationality to follow, and to that we agreed. We sent three vessels, and afterwards, in consequence of the alarming representations made by Mr. Cookson on behalf of the residents in Alexandria, we ordered up three more to join those that were already there. Now, my Lords, it is my firm conviction that if, in this condition of things in Egypt, with a danger hanging over our own and other European subjects, we had not sent more vessels of war to Alexandria, we should have been open to, and should have met with, the severest blame. I put aside the question of the moral support the squadron gave to the Khedive. The protection of our own subjects was an imperative duty, and I believe that the lives of hundreds of British subjects, besides other Europeans, have been saved by the presence at Alexandria of our iron-clads. I believe, I may add, that the Khedive himself would not at this moment have been *de jure* Ruler of Egypt, and would probably even now not have been alive, if it had not been for the action on the part of Her Majesty's Government. Several questions have been raised with regard to the presence of the Fleet at Alexandria. News came to this country that disquiet prevailed, and, after some time, the Admiral telegraphed that the town was entirely in the power of the rebels, and that they were raising earthworks abreast of the *Invincible*, which was the first ship sent out. Complaint has been made that we did not immediately order the Admiral to prevent such operations, and I can understand that such a complaint should have been made. But we did not act with precipitation in the matter, and it was lucky we did not, because it is agreed, both by English and Egyptian authorities, that if we had done so the massacre of English subjects in Egypt would have been of a frightful character. Things went on, and a very sudden street riot and massacre occurred. I believed it owed its origin to accident; but there is evidence, which appears to us to be trustworthy, that the massacre had been to some extent prepared and encouraged by the leaders of the military faction. Here, again, Admiral Seymour was complained of for not having landed men immediately; but I believe it is now universally acknowledged that to have done so would have been a fatal error. That massacre, the loss of precious English lives, the maltreating and insulting of our Consular authorities, made a great difference in the position we were then holding. That injury and that insult, the interests we had, and the necessity for reparation, were subjects which came before us, as entirely altering the state of affairs. At the beginning of July—I think it was on the 1st—we heard from Admiral Seymour that the outside earthworks were still in progress, and we immediately ordered him to take measures to prevent their continuance. Here, again, care was taken with regard to the lives of our fellow-subjects. A great proportion of the English people in Egypt had already withdrawn, and excellent arrangements were made for the withdrawal of those who remained. Ample information was given to the authorities of England and of other nationalities as to the withdrawal of their subjects; and when these were removed out of danger, and it was found that the earthworks and forts were still being constructed, it was necessary to take other steps, and accordingly a summons was sent to the rebels, their obedience to which would have prevented the necessity for our taking action. The result was the bombardment of Alexandria. The action, in which the rebels certainly showed very great courage, lasted 10 hours, and abundantly proved the valour of our officers and men, and, I will add, the value of the *matériel* of Her Majesty's Navy. My Lords, after that, one of the greatest crimes in modern history occurred. The rebel army, in going away, not only twice made a fraudulent use of the flag of truce, but they released the convicts and encouraged incendiarism and massacre of the inhabitants of Alexandria, and this without any prospect of such action being injurious to the military strength of those whom they were opposing. This has been succeeded by an equally cruel and criminal attempt —an attempt which I have reason to hope will not be successful—to destroy by thirst the whole population of Alexandria, again without any chance of inflicting injury on the sailors and soldiers of those whom they were opposing. I have carefully omitted what, otherwise, it might be interesting to your Lordships to know, in order, as much as possible, to keep in regular order what I have to say. As to the bombardment, I believe there never was a more legitimate act than the attempt on the part of the English Fleet to destroy that which endangered every day more and more the safety of our ships and the lives of those who occupied them. The question has been raised as to the compatibility of that act with our obligation towards other Powers, in connection with the Conference we have entered into with them. You are aware that the proceedings of the Conference have been kept secret by the desire of the Powers; but I may state what are the facts with regard to certain declarations in the Conference which have been more or less found in the papers, and been the subject of some questions in Parliament. Well, my Lords, at the third meeting of the Conference, the Italian Ambassador proposed an agreement that no Power should take isolated action until the close of the Conference, and that proposition was agreed to, with a reservation as to the occurrence of *force majeure*. At the next meeting of the Conference, Lord Dufferin, in the most distinct terms, stated that Her Majesty's Government understood, by the term *force majeure*, any danger to the Suez Canal, and any catastrophe, or sudden danger to any of our special interests, and the Conference accepted that declaration. Complaint has further been made that Admiral Seymour did not land men in order to prevent the frightful massacres and fires going on in Alexandria. Now, I believe that to have landed 1,000 or 2,000 men in a town occupied by a regular force, estimated at from between 10,000 to 15,000 men, entrenched behind earthworks and in fortresses, would have been contrary to all the rules of prudence and of military practice. Then, doubtless, will come the rejoinder—"How was it that Admiral Seymour had not a really adequate force?" I venture to remind noble Lords, however, that we have all along held, and never disputed, and it has been held by those before us, that, although we had a special interest in Egypt, we did not wish, and never have wished, to exclude all the other European Powers from having a voice in the conduct of affairs which concerned Egypt itself. I rely on these principles, which I believe to be actually sound so far as principle is concerned, and still more as far as political expediency is concerned in those communications. I say that when the French Government proposed to us to go into the Conference we acceded to that proposal. It is quite true that Conferences move slowly, but they do not move so slowly as separate communications with individual Powers in six different capitals. That being the case, if we had sent a large force to Egypt at the commencement, at the very moment that, at our invitation, the Conference was beginning to sit, for the purpose of really by ourselves settling the Egyptian Question, I say that it would have been an act of absolute self-contradiction; it would have been something of an outrage to the Powers, and a positive invitation to France and the whole of Europe to put themselves in somewhat of a hostile attitude to us. I will even go further. I will say that, supposing we had, rightly or wrongly, a large force there, is it really possible that Her Majesty's Government, or that Admiral Seymour would have contemplated that the *de facto* Egyptian Government, with a disciplined army, would have proceeded to such atrocities as I have described, with the view of inflicting any harm on those who were attacking them? I am not a military or naval man; but if we had sent an Army I should have supposed we should have sent it to protect the Suez Canal; or if we had determined to make a hostile move by landing troops against the rebels, I should have thought we should have landed them at Aboukir Bay to cut off their retreat; and if so, how could those men in the slightest degree, acting as a police, have prevented the burning and massacres in Alexandria? My Lords, in what I have said I have not dwelt so much as your Lordships might have expected on Turkey, and I frankly admit that, even at this hour, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the policy which has been adopted in the past by Turkey, or with the policy which she intends for the future to adopt, so as to be able to speak with perfect confidence on the matter. We have always felt that of all interventions, the intervention of the Sovereign of the country was the least objectionable; but you cannot always wait; there are moments when you must take time by the forelock, and not wait for others to do so, and I very much regret that Turkey has taken no advantage of what appears to me to have been a golden opportunity of establishing her own authority, and that of the Khedive, over Egypt on a firm basis. My Lords, I am now glad that the Sultan has consented to the despatch of a Representative to the Conference. That, I think, may be looked upon as an acknowledgment that he owes his Sovereignty in Egypt to the valour and success of British arms, and that it is impossible to exclude Europe altogether from taking some interest in the affairs of that country. Your Lordships are aware of certain despatches and instructions which were given to Lord Dufferin on entering the Conference with respect to the despatch of troops to Egypt, and with respect to some proposals in regard to the Suez Canal, which I will allude to later. I am sorry to say that while the Sultan has agreed to enter the Conference, we are entirely without any answer, up to the present time, as to the second part of the application, whether he will employ troops or not. There is another matter on which I have not dwelt, and on which I do not intend to dwell. It is with regard to certain difficulties which have existed between ourselves and France during the last two months as to details. We regret that there was any difference at first. We think time might have been saved if we could have been left to think alike. The French Government during the time have been charged by some of their opponents with being the dupes of what may almost be described as the Machiavellian policy of Her Majesty's Government, while we, on our side, have been accused of undue subserviency to France. It was plainly hinted that we had parted company with her at a very earlier period. This is a very grave matter. France is a great country, our nearest neighbour, and our relations, commercial, social, and political, have been strengthened during the last 50 years, notwithstanding some small occasional difficulties. We meet France in every part of the world; and if we acted apart from France, not only on the general questions, but with regard to Egypt itself, it would have been, I believe, an error of a very vital description. I think, in fact, that one of the chief encouragements to Arabi Bey has been his belief that France and England were entirely separated in their national views with regard to this matter. We have been in communication with France on one subject, which will interest your Lordships to an extreme degree, during the last month—I refer to the Suez Canal. The result of these communications was the Note to which I have already alluded, and which has been communicated from the Conference. There has been no answer to that Note; and I apprehend that, practically, Europe does not wish to give an exact formal mandate, however much it favours the idea which is proposed by it; and I am happy to say that England and France are perfectly agreed as to the most important measure, perhaps, of all—that of taking charge of the safety of the Suez Canal; and we trust that those efforts will be accompanied by our Friend and Ally, the Italian Nation. I think, perhaps, this will be a convenient moment to answer a Question put to me by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) on Friday. He asked me how it was possible that we should refer questions to the Conference with regard to the Suez Canal—questions which Her Majesty's Government asserted were entirely beyond the limits of the Conference to touch. I am not sure that I remember saying that.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I said that Mr. Gladstone had so stated the case.

EARL GRANVILLE: I am not quite sure how the matter arose; I think, however, the noble Marquess is correct. But I believe the statement was made by Sir Charles W. Dilke, in answer to some Question put without Notice, with respect to the neutralization of the Canal, and was entirely outside the Question originally put. In some answer, also, given in reply to one of those numerous and unpremeditated Questions put without Notice, sometimes even by ex-official Members, Mr. Gladstone may likewise have made a statement to the same effect. But he took an early opportunity of saying, in the most precise terms, that it was the neutralization of the Canal that was excluded from the Conference, and that it was perfectly impossible to separate the question of the Suez Canal from the whole Egyptian Question. I think we are right. I think that, although we have a predominant interest in Egypt and the Canal, interests both military and commercial, we have no right to say that no other nations have rights there also, varying in character and degree. I myself have had to lay down principles not newly invented, but repeated by successive Governments, with regard to another Canal in a different part of the world. How is it possible for us to be consistent, if we lay down one principle in one part of the world and another in another? Our principle is absence of monopoly, absence of special privilege; and whatever interest we have in the Canal, military or commercial, consists in its passage being perfectly secure and perfectly free. I now come to the question which has been called the Egyptian Question proper. My Lords, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that, in the present state of Egypt, force must be applied. The question is how that force should be applied, and by whom. I have said that, in our opinion, the least objectionable way of applying force would have been by the Sovereign; but there are things which do not admit of indefinite delay. Short of that, we have always been desirous of securing the co-operation of other Powers in the matter, and, above all, that of France. I have told your Lordships with great satisfaction, a satisfaction in which I believe you share, that at this moment France is cordially engaged with us in protecting the Suez Canal from danger. With regard to the further question of the advance into the interior, we have no final or official response from France; but we believe that she is not inclined to extend her cooperation in that direction; but she has, however, stated her entire want of objection to our taking that course. With regard to the other principal Powers of Europe, although, as I have said, they do not wish to give formal mandates upon the matter, I have no hesitation in saying that, in any course that we may take with regard to establishing order in Egypt, we shall have their good will, their good wishes, I might almost say their moral support. That is satisfactory, as showing their confidence in our loyalty and good faith. I am not at all sure, however, that that confidence would have been felt either by France or by the other Powers if, three or four months ago, by a precipitate course, we had taken sole action upon ourselves. At this moment, however, Europe is entirely prepared for such a contingency. This feeling on the part of Europe, as I have said, is complimentary to our loyalty and our good faith; but not the less does it leave upon us an immense burden and a great responsibility. I trust that that burden and that responsibility may be diminished; but I also believe that your Lordships, and the House of Commons, and the country at large, do not wish that we should shrink from the fulfilment of the obligation. My Lords, the noble Viscount behind me (Viscount Enfield) has, tonight, given your Lordships Notice of the sanction which it is proposed to obtain from Parliament to the employment of Indian troops outside the limits of our great Dependency. Mr. Gladstone this evening will ask the House of Commons to give a Vote of Credit of £2,300,000 for the purposes of that policy. Seventeen thousand five hundred troops will come under that Vote of Credit, and go to the Mediterranean—that is, putting out of the question 3,700 men of the garrison corps of different descriptions, and 3,100 men who, as a Reserve, will sail later. I will only add the expression of my fervent hope that the operations which, I have hardly any doubt, will be sanctioned by Parliament, will lead to the restoration of order and tranquillity in Egypt, to the maintenance of the authority of the Khedive, and to the development, in a prudent and judicious manner, of the liberties of the Egyptian people, when once they are free from the military tyranny which is now exercised over them.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Egypt."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, that after all the despatches and telegrams they had had on the question, and whereas all through the business that had led to recent events England had been playing into the hands of everybody else, without anything effectual being done, now that, at the last moment, serious steps had to be taken, this country was called upon to take them by herself, the result being that they were at last landed in a serious war. He would only go back to the month of September last, the time when Arabi Bey made his demand on the Khedive, and used his power to control His Highness. From that time until November, they had taken very few active measures with regard to Egypt, although the dangers now upon us were then looming in the distance. On the 23rd November, he (the Duke of Somerset) asked his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what was going on in Egypt; and the reply was that things were in a disturbed state; but he hoped that with a little care and management greater evils would be avoided. But how had they been avoided? M. Gambetta, then Prime Minister in France, said that, not only must they use force for the solution of the problem, but they must consider how that force should be applied. His noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs met that by stating that the only force used would be moral force; but it was to be remembered that moral force on such occasions was of but little service unless physical force was behind.

EARL GRANVILLE said, his noble Friend (the Duke of Somerset) was not giving a correct representation of the effect of the communications that had taken place on the subject.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET would ask, what had Her Majesty's Government done? In December the Government said they would consider what course should be pursued; but they did absolutely nothing. All Europe was alarmed, as well as Turkey, by the Dual Note; but that was explained away by the declaration that they did not intend any exertion of material force.

EARL GRANVILLE: That is not so.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, that he could not see of what possible use the Note could be without that moral force. The English and French Governments had been three or four months in correspondence on that question; and, no doubt, there was one communication bearing on active intervention, because his noble Friend suggested that the Sultan might be asked to send a Turkish General to Egypt, that an English General and a French General might also be sent, that the three might act together; but they were never to act unless they were all to agree on some point. In fact, the whole thing seemed to him to be quite an absurdity. Again, while they were discussing the question of moral intervention, Sir Edward Malet wrote that armed intervention had become a necessity, and that the only way of obtaining these demands was by force. Even then, when the Government were so advised, they proceeded on the lines of exercising that force through the Porte, and with what result? The Sultan sent Dervish Pacha, who at once put himself into the hands of Arabi, and at the present time absolutely nothing had been done; and it became clear that, if we meant anything real to be done, we must do it ourselves. The Conference was summoned, and the Fleet was ordered to the waters of Alexandria, where it remained for one month before it was given anything to do; and all that time, as was said, its presence was exciting the population, and creating bad feeling towards the Europeans. What was the use of sending the Fleet so long before it was intended to act? It was stated that it was to be kept there until the authority of the Khedive was restored. Unfortunately, however, they had people intriguing against them on every side. They had now got into a great war, the end of which he could not see, as it was reported that a holy war had been proclaimed amongst the Mahomedans of Asia, and in such a war British interests were certain to be imperilled, if they did not severely suffer. The Indian troops should have been sent long ago. In his opinion, it was most unfortunate that the Government had been acting as they had done without a policy. Their policy, if it could be called a policy, was one of vacillation and delay. This matter would very soon have been brought to a conclusion by Lord Palmerston, for he would have had none of the vacillating or doubtful policy which had led to the present state of affairs. The whole course of events which had led up to this position seemed to him to be unfortunate. First of all, they took Cyprus, which was followed by the acquisition by France of Tunis, and all this after Mr. Gladstone had been talking of driving out the Turk "bag and baggage;" but it seemed that England had been turned out bag and baggage instead. This country had succeeded in exciting the fanaticism of the Mahomedan population throughout Egypt; and it certainly seemed, so far, as if there was a great movement among the Mahomedans in favour of the success of Arabi. The Government had throughout the whole of these transactions been too slow and dilatory.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, any person rising after the speech of the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) to discuss the policy of the Government at so grave a conjuncture of public affairs as this necessarily labours under two difficulties—that if, on the one hand, he passes by a policy to which he objects, and of which he disapproves, he may afterwards be held to have accepted it; and that, on the other hand, no one in the present state of affairs possesses the freedom of speech which he would otherwise enjoy. It is, however, the first duty of every man who joins in these discussions to assure the Government that, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the means by which the present crisis has been reached, at all events, now that the lot of England has been cast and the honour of England has been engaged, all Parties will combine as one man to assist the Government in extricating the country from the difficulties in which it now finds itself. I wish to make that statement, and I hope it may be held to govern anything which, further on, I may have to say. I do not feel that I can pass by the despatch of the noble Earl, or what he has just said, without some criticism; but I can assure him that that criticism must not be held to imply a lukewarmness to assist in any military operations which the Government may think necessary. The noble Earl omitted to refer in his speech to two errors which I think he has fallen into in his despatch. There is in that document a reference to the policy of the previous Government, which seems like an attempt to make them responsible for the relations in which this Government stood towards France, and by a reference to the Egyptian Control to suggest that the miscarriage of that Control was the origin of the difficulty in which we find ourselves now. The noble Earl, I thought, in his speech held much sounder views than those expressed in his despatch. He discouraged them, and dwelt with emphasis, from which I will detract nothing, upon the importance—I will not say the necessity—but the great importance, at this grave moment, of carrying France with us in any operations we might desire to undertake in Egypt. That importance is very evident at the present time, and it was equally evident three, four, five, or even 10 years ago. For a long time past the two separate interests of these two great countries, which were imperative upon both of them—and of which it is hard to say which is predominant over the other—have imposed upon both of them, as a condition of their separate success, the necessity of sparing no effort to attain to an harmonious solution of the problem which is in itself difficult. But in his despatch the noble Earl seems to indicate that the idea of co-operating with France originated at the Congress of Berlin. That is an entire mistake. It has existed for many years. The co-operation of the two countries took an efficient and emphatic form at the time that Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert went out to Egypt, and the Khedive pronounced that decree instituting the Control, which he brought diplomatically to the notice of the two Governments. From that time to the present, there has been on the part of the two Governments a constant effort at harmonious co-operation, and nothing was done at Berlin to increase, much less to diminish, that co-operation. No kind of obligation or engagement was entered into then, or at any time during the tenure of Office of the late Government, which has imposed upon this country the duty of co-operating with France a moment further than the interests of this country would dictate. I think the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby) informed the French Government that England would not occupy any territory in Egypt, and that assurance was repeated at Berlin by me; but beyond that assurance there was no engagement of any kind. We were two travellers walking to the same destination, and therefore pursuing the same route. So long as our destination was the same, our paths would be parallel, our action would be combined; but there was absolutely nothing to bind either one or the other in case, at any moment, evidence should arise to show that their interests had become divergent. It is necessary to say this much, in consequence of the words which the noble Earl has introduced into the beginning of his despatch. I would say a few words also about the Control in Egypt. I think the character of this Control has been singularly misapprehended. The Control, as Mr. Goschen established it in 1876, was not a sudden and uncalled-for interference with the internal affairs of another country; it was the result of an interference, going considerably further back, of a much larger character, and for which I believe both Parties of the State were responsible. It was the inevitable result of the establishment of the mixed tribunals. These were established to decide all disputes, not only between Egyptians and Europeans, but between Europeans and the Egyptian Government itself. There was no debtor so hopelessly involved as the Egyptian Government, and decrees were made against that Government, with the sanction and diplomatic protection of Europe; they even went so far as to seize all the Crown Lands of the Khedive, and to levy execution on the furniture in the Palaces themselves. The Khedive resisted the execution of these decrees, and the Powers were placed in this position—that while the Courts had authority to enforce decrees against Egyptian subjects, the Khedive was resisting their decrees in respect of his own debts. If we had been inclined to accept this situation, the other Powers were not, and we found that the German Government and all the Powers were disposed to insist that the Khedive should render obedience to the decisions of these tribunals, which had been set up by Europe. You were, therefore, in this position—that you were compelled diplomatically to enforce decrees against a debtor whom you could not sell up, and there was nothing for it but to appoint—if I may use the language of the English Law—what is known in the Court of Chancery as a receiver. The Controllers were really nothing else but receivers in Chancery, and they possessed certain powers for the collection of Revenues and the satisfaction of claims which International Tribunals had ordered, and which we had a diplomatic right to enforce. That was settled in 1876, long before the Berlin Conference, when Control was instituted by the Khedive, under the direction of Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert, and communicated to the Powers. In 1879 we revived that Control, which had been interrupted by the events which preceded the fall of Ismail Pasha; but we revived it with the clearly expressed intention that it should not be made the pretext for any interference with the administrative affairs of the Egyptian Government, and we revived it with a consequent alteration—that the Controllers should not have the power which, under Mr. Goschen's scheme, they possessed of administrative interference in the affairs of Egypt. Since that time the Controllers have had no authority whatever but to inspect, to advise, and to report. Much has been said about the Control since; but I have not been able to trace in the Papers that their action has had anything to do with the events which have led to the state of things which the noble Earl has depicted to us to-day. It is quite true that Arabi, among his many other faults, was extravagant with money, and that his proceedings would ultimately have interfered with the matters which the Control was appointed to supervise; but that was a matter of account—a debtor and creditor question—which would, no doubt, have sooner or later been settled in some way; but which, certainly, was not of the kind to require such drastic remedies as the iron-clads and Shrapnell shells that have been brought to bear. I have a strong conviction that the introduction of the Control into the despatch of the noble Earl is due to a mistaken estimate of the real bearing of these transactions, and of the fact that the Control has nothing whatever to do with the difficulties in which we now find ourselves. But by the side of the Control there was another Representative of the Powers. There were the agents, the regular diplomatic agents, representing the authority of the Powers, constantly influencing the Egyptian Government, and advancing every year in the amount of authority which they claimed over the individual acts of the Government in all the details of its administration; and it is the agents—it is the power and the influence of the agents which have recently come to grief. The truth is—I am not blaming the Government, but only trying to ascertain the real facts of the case—the truth is, the tendency more and more in Egypt, apart from all financial questions, or questions of Control, has been to establish a Protectorate—a Protectorate of the two Powers, administered not by the Controllers, but by the agents. I do not blame that Protectorate. I do not know, but I think it has advanced considerably since the late Government had anything to do with public affairs; but I do not, on that account, venture to cast any blame on the present Government, because, little as the Papers before us show the grounds for the intrusion of English and French advice in Egyptian political and administrative affairs, still everybody must know that there is a mass of facts underneath the Papers which no Minister will or can reveal, but which must have had much to do in guiding the judgment of the Government with regard to the course of events. There is no doubt it is the question arising from this Protectorate which is now at issue—and a bloody issue—between us and the Egyptians; if we ask ourselves now, after these events—after the bombardment of Alexandria, and the production of a state of things in which Alexandria is burnt, the Khedive a fugitive in our hands, and the whole of the Egyptian population risen with a turbulent soldier against us; if we ask ourselves what is it that we have a right to ask of the Egyptian Government which we have not got, we should be puzzled to answer the question. For my own part, I have not a notion how it is to be answered. Again, if you look at the Papers, the state of things which immediately preceded the final crisis of May 25, furnishes you with no clue as to the demands which this country had, internationally, a right to address to a Dependency of Turkey, and on the refusal of which you proceeded to these extremities. The determining cause of the crisis was the trial of the Circassian officers. I have no doubt that the Circassian officers were innocent, and their leader an injured and calumniated man; but that is not a matter in which we should usually interfere between an Eastern Sovereign and his subjects. There are, beyond doubt, numbers of injured and calumniated men suffering the last penalties of the law at the hands of their exasperated Sovereigns in every degree of longitude from Morocco to China. We do not usually interfere in those cases; but, so far as reading the Papers goes, I will venture to say that any man wholly unacquainted with politics of this kind, upon reading those Papers, would say that the ground for which the Fleet was sent, and upon which, when the Fleet came, the Agents of France and England sent the summary demand for the dismissal of the Prime Minister, was that the Circassians had been condemned, and that, with the advice of the Foreign Agents, the Khedive had pardoned them, and the Ministry was at issue with the Khedive upon that pardon. These are grave matters. It may be that the Ministers are entirely wrong and the Khedive entirely right; but these are not of themselves usually grounds for international interference. I have simply noticed it, because, as the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Somerset) observes, we are at the beginning of a great war. It is impossible to see where it will lead, and I want, as we pass along, to summarize the documents, so far as they are presented to us, in order to ascertain what is the real state of affairs. But in doing so I desire to repeat my protest that I think it is very premature to condemn Her Majesty's Government at this point, because we should bear in mind, in dealing with foreign affairs, that no Minister for Foreign Affairs, however much disposed he may be to afford information, can possibly tell us all that he knows of what has passed at the Council tables of Europe; and therefore it is impossible he can lay before us a full explanation of all the measures he has thought it necessary to advise. Passing from the causes of these affairs, however, I must say that when we come to the *modus operandi* I feel myself more at liberty to criticize adversely the action of the noble Earl and his Colleagues. I will admit that it was necessary, forcibly or otherwise, to interfere in Egypt; that it was necessary to establish that *quasi*-Protectorate; and that it was necessary to press upon the Khedive to take the advice we gave to him, and to sustain him if taking that advice brought him in danger of suffering harm. But, then, what were the means we ought to have adopted? There were two modes of going to work in dealing with the Government of Egypt. You might have used moral force first, or you might have made use of material force. Your only mode of acting by moral force upon a Mussulman population is by means of the hearty co-operation of the Sultan of Turkey. But you took the best means of alienating that hearty co-operation. If you had gone to him from the first, and taken him into your councils, and made him the instrument of what you desired, and indicated from the first that you wished to take no step without his concurrence and co-operation, there might have been objections to such a plan; but, at least, you would have had him heartily with you. But, instead of that, you have done these three things, which must, in themselves, have resulted in setting any Sultan of Turkey in opposition to you. Against his earnest protest you sent the Fleet into one of his ports; that of itself was a strong measure, and not likely to conciliate his good will. Against his earnest protest you set up a Conference of six other Powers in his capital, to deal with the events arising in his own Dominions. That was not likely to conciliate him, or to induce him to act as your agent; but there was another matter, which seems to me to be a more fundamental mistake in the action the Government have taken. We have had a good deal of conflict over the words "European Concert." In a matter not concerning a Mussulman people, if Her Majesty's Government like the words "European Concert," it is a luxury which I certainly would not wish to deny them. I believe it is rather a phantasm; but, be it true or false, no harm could come of it. Whether a pretence or a reality, when you came to deal with a Mussulman people, the European Concert means Christianity against Islam. It means something very like a crusade. It means something very like saying—"The six European Powers, which constitute the European Concert, are Christian; while the Power against which they are acting and the people against whom they are acting are Mussulman;" and the parading of this European Concert as the principle of your action—the bringing forward on every opportunity of this combination of six Christian Powers to effect some particular thing in Mussulman territory—inevitably has the effect of impressing on the minds of Mussulmans, and especially of fanatical Mussulmans, that these enterprizes are undertaken by Christians against the interests of Islam. I do not say that the Sultan was under that delusion. He is a sagacious and well-informed Sovereign; but by this error you applied to him the pressure of a public opinion to which he is essentially sensitive. You placed him under the influence of the Mollahs and the Sheikhs, and of all the various Mussulman leaders in the different parts of his Dominions who take a keen and active interest in the fortunes of Islam; and you made it almost impossible for him to go heartily with you, lest he should sacrifice that which is really the only title to his Throne—the only guarantee of his power which the events of modern history have left to him. I do not think that we in this part of the world sufficiently consider the very peculiar position of the Sultan of Turkey. His power does not rest upon the strength of any aristocratic combination, or of any democratic institution, or of any long traditional submission of any organized body to his rule. His power—and it is an enormous power, for it is not merely a political power, but a power appealing to the passions, to the devotion, to the self-sacrifice of all his subjects—his power rests upon this, that he is the Caliph and the Representative of the House of Othman, and that he does in his person represent before the world the interests of all those who believe in Mahomet. I shall not be accused, I hope, of wishing to derogate from the claims of Christianity; but, in all political matters, which are matters ultimately settled by force, nothing to my mind can be more dangerous than the adoption of any course of conduct of which the issue shall be to set Christianity collectively against Islam. Nothing is more likely to end in one of those appalling struggles, before the horror of which all differences of religion disappear. In dealing with the matter, the Government seem all along, even at the last moment, to have entertained the hope that they could use the moral force of the Sultan over the Mussulmans of Egypt; but they took every step which ingenuity could conceive, not only to set the Sultan personally as a Sultan against them, but to irritate every Mussulman who looks to the Sultan as the Caliph and the defender of his faith and interest. Now comes the other alternative, the alternative of force—how have the Government dealt with that? In applying force there is one precaution to be observed—that you should never threaten what you cannot, if need be, immediately perform. As to the noble Earl's denial, as I understood it, to the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset), that he had undertaken not to give material support to the Khedive, if it was not that, it was something very like it. It certainly introduced to us one of the most remarkable contradictions, or contrasts, let us say, between two simultaneous political assertions that I have ever seen. To the Khedive, Sir Edward Malet, on behalf of the Government, said this on the 9th of January—

> "The two Governments being closely associated in their resolve to guard, by their united efforts, against all cause of complication, internal or external, which might menace the order of things established in Egypt, do not doubt that the assurance publicly given of their formal intention in this respect will tend to avert the dangers to which the Government of the Khedive might be exposed, and which would certainly find England and France united to oppose them."

The day after the orders were sent off, the following despatch came from the Foreign Office:—

> "I told Musurus Pasha that there was no change in our views as to the position in regard to Egypt and its Ruler; and that it was not true, as reported in the newspapers, that the French Government have proposed to us, or that we had agreed, to promise the Khedive material support."

Now, what did this promise given to the Khedive on the 9th of January mean, if it did not mean material support? What did the Government mean when they said that the dangers to the Government of the Khedive would find England and France united to oppose them? Did they mean Notes, or Proclamations, or moral sentiments, or speeches, or despatches? Anybody would suppose, when a man tells you that he will oppose the dangers with which you are threatened, that he would give you material support; and, with that promise before us, it is inconceivable what the noble Earl could have meant by assuring Musurus Pasha that the views of Her Majesty's Government had not changed; and, at the same time, that he had not promised the Khedive material support. But that seems to be the key to the errors which the Government have pursued in dealing forcibly with this question. They had no force at hand. What their dislike to sending sufficient force was I do not know—whether it was a feeling that Cyprus was the proper place to assemble a force, and whether they had some dislike to employ Cyprus, were matters which had weight in their councils I do not know; or whether a feeling that material support must necessarily in the main come from the Indian Army, with a recollection of the language in which they had formerly described the employment of Indian troops, deterring them from so employing them, had anything to do with their decision, it is impossible to say. But it remains the fact that they had promised help to the Khedive, without having at hand any material force to carry out their promise. Well, the same thing happened on the 25th of May. Their agents said they would require the resignation of Arabi Pasha and his friends, and they said they did so on behalf of their Governments, and that they were prepared to exact the fulfilment of that requirement. Yet there was no force at hand that was capable of exacting that fulfilment. There was nothing but the Fleet, which turned out to be capable of bombarding Alexandria, and produced a state of things which resulted in the burning of Alexandria; but it was not capable of procuring the resignation of Arabi Pasha. The same difficulty, the same hesitation, appears to have governed Her Majesty's Administration in their last great action—namely, the bombardment of Alexandria. The bombardment in itself, although a very forcible threat, was really nothing more than a threat. It was a very terrible thing to the forts and to those who were in them; but it would exercise no immediate result on the fortunes of Arabi, whom the Government undertook to displace. It only had a meaning and a reality, if they were prepared to land troops immediately to carry it out. The noble Earl told us it was impossible for him to foresee that Arabi would do anything so dreadful as to let the convicts out of gaol to burn Alexandria. I must say that a policy which is based on a sanguine estimate of Arabi's moral qualities is a policy likely to fail. I cannot admire those optimist views of the excellence of everybody, or admit that a man who by force had risen to the principal place, and had been able to drive out his Sovereign, was likely to shrink from the burning of a town, if it could help him to obtain his aims. The noble Earl has sketched to us, in indistinct terms only, the policy which he proposes to use, and the objects which he intends to attain. His language is too indistinct to invite criticism, and I prefer to wait until that policy is completed before venturing to criticize that of whose nature I am not fully informed. But I confess I heard, with some alarm, the statement that Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France were agreed as to the duty of guarding the Suez Canal. The object of guarding the Suez Canal is, doubtless, to keep it open, and one Power would be as effective to keep it open as two; and I cannot help feeling that, if events should ever happen which would make it a necessity for France to close the Canal, while it is always the interest of England to keep it open, that Canal guarded by England and France, each acting in opposite directions, will not materially advance the interests of this country. But then, again, the noble Earl assured us that we possessed the moral support of Germany and Italy. I cannot help remembering that the noble Earl is of a sanguine disposition. I cannot help remembering that he assured us that the consent of the Sultan had been obtained to the holding of a Conference at Constantinople, but that turned out to be a mistake; or that his Representative in the other House of Parliament thought that we had the assurance of the German Government that they considered the bombardment of Alexandria legitimate, but that, too, turned out to be a mistake. Sir Charles W. Dilke was also confident that Austria had expressed a similar opinion, but that also turned out to be a mistake.

Earl GRANVILLE: No.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: Did Austria regard it as legitimate?

Earl GRANVILLE: We formed our opinion on an account by Sir Henry Elliot of his conversation with Count Kalnoky, and Count Kalnoky does not deny the accuracy of the account.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I had formed a different opinion from the noble Earl; but I have no doubt he is correct. I fear, however, that the natural optimism of his mind leads him to believe that he has the moral support of Germany and Austria in the invasion of Egypt. But I will not criticize further the view which is taken by the noble Earl of his policy. One point, one phrase came out in it which I heard with extreme satisfaction, and that is where he announced his intention of restoring the Khedive, and therefore giving refutation to any insinuation that negotiations are going on for the purpose of substituting any other Khedive for the present Khedive. Such conduct as that of appointing another Ruler over Egypt would not, by any means, be consistent with the honour of this country. I will urge upon the noble Earl that, in pursuing the line of policy laid out before him, he should avoid what appears to me, as to the noble Duke, the vacillation and the hesitation which has marked his policy hitherto. If he should employ diplomacy, he should make certain of the concurrence of those Powers upon whose co-operation his diplomacy will depend; if he employs force, he should give force a fair chance, and take care, by the employment of ample, nay of abundant, resources, that, in acting against a feeble enemy, the honour of England suffers no stain.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK: My Lords, I do not think Her Majesty's Government have any right to complain of the manner in which the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) has made his observations. The noble Marquess has expressed his concurrence in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it is of importance to maintain the French alliance with regard to the affairs of Egypt. He has also given explanations of the conduct of Egyptian affairs by the late Government, which I will not discuss, excepting to observe that I was somewhat surprised at the statement of the noble Marquess, that nothing was done at or after the Congress of Berlin to bind England and France together about Egypt. The main contention, as I understand, of the noble Marquess's speech was this—that if we intended to use only moral force in Egypt, we have not used that moral force in the way we ought to have done; and, secondly, that if we had decided to use material force, we had not used that material force in the manner in which we ought to have done. As to the use of moral force, the noble Marquess objected to the sending of Her Majesty's ships to Alexandria at the time they were so sent. I confess that, after what has fallen from the noble Earl behind me (Earl Granville), I am surprised any such objection was raised; because, looking at the circumstances as they are now, I should like to ask the noble Marquess what would have occurred supposing that Fleet had not been sent? I differ altogether from the opinion of the noble Marquess that the sending of that Fleet was wrong. I maintain that the sending of those ships had a very material effect upon the condition of affairs in Egypt then, and up to the present time. Arabi Pasha had 1,500 troops in Alexandria before the 11th of July; and now, from the last accounts, he had not with him more than 5,000 Regular troops. The noble Marquess then objected to the reference of the Egyptian Question to the Conference, and to the endeavours of Her Majesty's Government to obtain the general concurrence of the Great Powers of Europe. It appeared to Her Majesty's Government to be of great advantage that the European Powers should be consulted, and that they should, if possible, be unanimous with reference to Egypt. The argument of the noble Marquess in respect to Mahomedan fanaticism is an exceedingly fine-drawn one. It cannot, surely, for one moment be supposed that Mahomedan fanaticism would be excited by a contest with a combination of Christian nations, and that it would not be excited by a contest with one. Then the noble Marquess has said that we ought not to have threatened without being prepared immediately to act. The fallacy of that doctrine rests in the word immediately. It would make it impossible for a nation to express its determination to act under certain circumstances unless ready at a moment's notice. The policy of Her Majesty's Government has been from the first to assure the Khedive of their support, but to act with the greatest deliberation, to try every reasonable expedient before resorting to force, and to enlist the sympathy and support of other nations by showing that they were actuated by no individual or selfish motives. There has, it seems to me, been no inconsistency between the language held at one date and another by the noble Earl behind me. We have done no more and no less than we all along said we should do—namely, support the Khedive, and insist upon the demands made by our agents. We never said or implied that we should not support the Khedive, if the necessity arose. The noble Marquess and the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset) have contrasted the language we used to the Khedive in January with the assurance given to the Porte, that there was no understanding between France and England to intervene by force of arms in the Khedive's support; but it is clear from the Papers laid on the Table that at that time it was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that if an intervention by arms was necessary it should be an intervention by the Porte. Any other action than that which we have taken would have been inconsistent with the firm intention of Her Majesty's Government to deal patiently, but firmly, with the Egyptian difficulty, and to bring to bear upon it all possible moral force from without. I do not know whether noble Lords opposite contend that before undertaking the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria we ought to have had a military force in readiness to land. That course would clearly have been inconsistent with the attitude of this country towards the Conference. If we had organized a great military expedition we should have excited the suspicions of the other Powers, and we should have been told—"You are dealing with an affair which you referred to the Conference; you are not acting in good faith towards us." There is an idea prevalent that a military expedition undertaken at once would have averted the occurrences at Alexandria which we all deplore. But what would have been the obvious procedure of such a combination? One need only took at the map to see. A strong force landed in the Bay of Aboukir might, of course, have defeated Arabi Pasha, if he had chosen to encounter it; but it stands to reason that Arabi Pasha would not have remained at Alexandria; he would have retreated upon Cairo, and the result would probably have been not less deplorable than the destruction of Alexandria itself. The noble Marquess asked Her Majesty's Government whether they trusted in Arabi Pasha? I shall have to explain afterwards the reasons we had for having no confidence in Arabi Pasha. I will only say now that the pillage of a town by the Regular soldiers in it was a calamity which we could not by any possibility have prevented, and that no force collected on the outside could have prevented those abominable acts committed by the Egyptian soldiers upon their fellow-countrymen. I will now touch upon the earlier part of the noble Marquess's speech, in which he, with great success, defended the action of the Control. One of the gentlemen who filled that office is a relative of my own, and I should be the last man to throw a doubt upon the value of the services which the Controllers have rendered. Major Evelyn Baring and Sir Auckland Colvin have not only exercised a most salutary influence over the finances of Egypt; but I know from the Papers which have been presented to your Lordships that the improvements which, by their advice, were effected in the internal affairs of Egypt were most beneficial to that country; and it is only by reason of the action of this miserable Military Party, or insurrection or revolt—whichever you may choose to call it—that the country is prevented from reaping the full benefit of those improvements. But while I heartily agree with the noble Marquess in praising the Control, I entirely differ from his theory that while the Control is free from all blame, the Protectorate is in some degree responsible for the misfortunes that have befallen that country. Perhaps your Lordships will allow me to state, very shortly, my theory as to how the present state of affairs has been brought about in Egypt—a theory which I believe is conclusively proved by the Papers which have been laid before Parliament. In my opinion, that state of affairs is due, not to the action of the British and French Agents in Egypt, or to that of the Egyptian people, but to that of a military insurrection, inaugurated by men who have carried out their designs with considerable skill and ability. In February, 1881, the first military outbreak took place, in which Arabi Pasha, then Arabi Bey, took part, and it was followed by an immediate additional charge of £50,000 on the Egyptian Revenue for the Army. The next time we hear of the military revolt is in September, 1881, and of that revolt Arabi Pasha was chief. He himself admitted that that revolt was a matter connected entirely with the administration of the Army, arising out of certain officers having been passed over in consequence, as he alleged, of the intrigues of others. It is not unusual for those who are engaged in intrigues themselves to accuse others of entering into them. What was the result of that revolt? Why, the Ministry was upset. Cherif Pasha, following out a practice which is more suitable to this country than to Egypt, made an attempt to conciliate Arabi Pasha by putting him into office, and he was created Under Secretary for War. The attempt in his case, however, was not so successful as it has sometimes been in this country, and Arabi Pasha shortly afterwards set himself up as a virtual dictator, with the result that the expenses of the Army were increased by £290,000 per annum. The next occurrence of interest, as showing the real aim of Arabi Pasha, was that he forced the Khedive to promote officers in his interest. At that time, Arabi Pasha pretended to be acting with the National Party of Egypt; but it is clear that he was merely using that Party as an engine for establishing a military despotism. At that very time Arabi Pasha was a rebel, not only against the Khedive, but against the Sultan, because he said that if the latter ventured to send a Commissioner he would be opposed by force, while he had arranged to depose the Khedive, and to set up somebody else in his stead. From that time the supremacy of the Military Party in Egypt has been complete. On the 27th of May Arabi's creatures in Alexandria were placed in Office; and, subject to some little change which took place upon the intervention of the Sultan, he has since been absolute Ruler of that country. I have already said that he has excited the fanatical feeling of the Native population, and that, during the whole of this time, the real interests of the people have been entirely neglected, and the good advice of the Controllers disregarded. Is that the opinion only of the British Government? I think, at any rate, it is distinctly the opinion of the Conference; because, in their Note to the Porte, they invite the Sultan to use force in order to put an end to the anarchy which is desolating Egypt. The Powers, therefore, have arrived at the same conclusion as Her Majesty's Government. Something has been said with respect to the Egyptian people. Do not let your Lordships suppose that the people of Egypt are in any way consenting parties to Arabi's usurpation. The people of Egypt, like all Eastern nations, are an industrious and hard-working people, who desire to live at home quietly by the fruits of their labour, and they have been forced by Arabi into joining the Army, and by his usurpation have been prevented from performing their usual avocations. These reasons, and the explanation I have given, will answer, I hope, the apprehensions expressed by the noble Marquess with respect to the Mahomedan religion and the antipathy of its followers to Christianity, and the excitement which may be apprehended among our Mahomedan subjects in India. This is merely the case of a military adventurer—a case well known in India in old days. The question of creeds is not at all involved in it. In India, and particularly in Rajpootana—now, perhaps, one of the most prosperous States in India—Provinces were exposed to the ravages of adventurers like Arabi Bey, who committed just such atrocities as have been perpetrated at Alexandria. I say that the whole circumstances of Arabi Bey already alluded to show that he is one of the class I have mentioned as frequently found in the history of India. The manner in which he has behaved strongly resembles that of the Rajpootana adventurer, Ameer Khan, who lived about 100 years ago. The British Government in those days was very slow in interfering; but at last it did interfere, and in 1817 peace was restored. When I visited that country, during my residence in India, I found the memory of those scenes fresh in the minds of the people. The people of Rajpootana at that time did not think that the British Government, in waging war against Ameer Khan, were warring against Mahomedanism; they merely desired that the innocent people of the country should be allowed to exercise their lawful callings without molestation; and I think that the same feeling which penetrated the minds of the people of Rajpootana in 1817 will penetrate the minds of the people of Egypt at the present day, and that they will be thankful to be relieved from a military despotism, which is the real cause that has compelled the British Government to have recourse to force.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: My Lords, I think your Lordships must be a little surprised at the satisfaction which has been expressed by the noble Earl who has just sat down (the Earl of Northbrook) at all that has passed, and a little surprised also at the fact that the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) has got together a Conference of the Great Powers and invited French and Italian co-operation, in order that we may, as it appears from the view of the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook), deal with a small force of 5,000 men. But it strikes me that the noble Earl, as well as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is now labouring under the same kind of delusion, in minimizing the difficulty which now exists, which the latter previously was subject to; and I cannot help thinking that he never seems to have given the early part of these proceedings the importance they deserve. His chief anxiety seems to have been to remain in complete accord with France. He was anxious to be in complete accord with France when M. Gambetta, who wished for united and immediate action, was in power; and I do not think anyone will deny that the Government at that time, in its desire to maintain a united action, must in honour have been prepared for some kind of immediate action with France. Then the German Ambassador made the suggestion for a Conference, for which it was then said there was no occasion; and yet, at that very time, the plot was in progress against the Khedive, and it was known that Arabi Bey was accumulating forces to support his position. A few days later we find the noble Earl anxious to be in complete accord with M. de Freycinet, who had adopted a totally different policy. Then, my Lords, with regard to this Conference. No doubt it is now praised as admirable; but it was suggested in the month of February, and then the noble Earl thought that it would be giving the matter an importance which it did not deserve. Now, the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) thinks we have only to deal with the military adventurer. I hope it will be so. But this adventurer has represented the people and the *de facto* Government of Egypt for some time past, and when it is said you must separate the people from Arabi, you cannot separate them in that way, or dispose of the matter so easily. Today it is perfectly clear that the Government come before us asking for a considerable body of troops; we must, therefore, suppose that a very serious question is before us, and that great British interests are at stake. "British interests"—ah! I cannot help stopping for a moment when I think of what has been said about that phrase—I remember once when I mentioned "British interests" I was told that I was preaching a gospel of selfishness. But what is it but British interests for which the Government are now plunging us into war? There was a time when that expression could not be used without severe criticism, as it now is, in public Papers and documents which receive my noble Friend's assent. I should have been quite contented to have allowed the debate to close with the temperate speech of my noble Friend opposite (the Duke of Somerset), had not the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) thought proper to enter into a variety of other irrelevant topics to which reference must be made. The noble Earl admits that the Control has been exercised with the greatest advantage in Egypt; but what has happened there with respect to it? The union of England and France in the Control was intended to secure an administrative power for certain special objects; but what the noble Earl said with respect to it gave it a much larger scope. The Government, he says, inherited from their Predecessors the Joint Control, and that is correct; but with respect to what my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) said about a Protectorate, he did not state that there was an acknowledged and avowed Protectorate, but that there was a *quasi*-Protectorate; and I defy any man to go through these Papers without seeing that the Consuls of England and France, and officials of other Powers, were continually using influence with the Khedive to induce him to do this thing and that thing. But this preceded, as well as accompanied, the Control of Finance. When you read that long list of European *employés* in Egypt, and when you see that country handed over, as is alleged, to a swarm—I must not say of locusts, but of officials who are supposed to be sucking out the life-blood of the people — this, I think, at least shows that the military adventurer who has got hold of the Army has material to work upon with the people and with the Government of Egypt; he has got hold of points which he can press on the people, and he can say to them—"Look at that great array of Europeans feeding upon you and living upon your industry." He can, in the same way, turn to the Native officials of the Egyptian Government and say—"Look how you are excluded by this enormous number of highly-paid Europeans;" and he can further say—"I am the representative of your party, the representative of Islamism." How long such appeals may influence the people's mind, and to what extent, is another thing; but that he does employ them, and that they have some degree of effect, is certain. No one knows better than the noble Earl the extent of Arabian fanaticism, and the influence that is exercised by those who are at the head of the Mahomedan faith in Arabia, and how in a moment you may see a feud break out between Turkish Islamism and Arabian Islamism. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has drifted on in this difficulty, hoping that something might happen that would bring it to a termination, never realizing the full extent of it, and yet seeing that a time might come when he might be obliged to intervene. I think he said he would not intervene until there was a state of anarchy. Sir Auckland Colvin, on the 16th of March, told him that there was anarchy; that there was in Egypt practically no Government, and that everything was at the mercy of the Military Party. It was obvious that there then was something exceedingly pressing and calling for immediate action. Sir Auckland Colvin said that any casual incident might bring on the worst consequences. What, then, was the duty of the Government? My noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) has been attacked for saying that threats should never be used unless they are intended to be followed by immediate action. What, however, my noble Friend said was, that threats should never be used without your being in a position to act, or without the power of immediate action. He then compared the conduct of the Government with what they even professed to do, and he said—"When you come to your performance you are not in a position to do that which you undertook." You undertook to protect the Khedive. In what way did you protect either the Khedive or his authority by the bombardment? You endangered his life. You were told by Sir Edward Malet and Mr. Cookson that there was the greatest danger of an outbreak at Alexandria. That has happened. You were told by the Khedive that if you sent ships or resorted to force there would in all probability be a conflagration throughout the country. What did you do? You sent ships to Alexandria to prevent or put down revolution, which was then actually going on at Cairo. That was a curious as well as a most imperfect method of proceeding. And I say, further, that when the ships went to Egyptian waters to protect the Khedive and the lives of Europeans, they should have been in a position to do so to a greater extent than they did. I do not blame Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour; far from it. He was not able to land a force sufficient for the purpose, for it was clearly proved by the Papers that he had not 300 men to send; but when you had determined to take your great step and to show the force and power of England, it ought not to have been confined merely to the blowing down of the forts, because the consequences that ensued were almost inevitable. If you supposed that you were going to drive Arabi from power by the course you were taking, you were certainly abandoning Alexandria to the mob; there was no protection left. Had you, then, left yourselves, as is pretended by your Self-denying Protocol, without the power of landing troops to save the lives of these people? Then, in whose name, under Heaven, and by what authority did you land troops so soon afterwards? You had received no commission from the Conference then. You landed them in the name of humanity and to stop outrages; and if you had had more force to do it sooner, you would have at once vindicated the cause of humanity and the power of England, and done much towards re-establishing that prestige which has been so greatly shaken. I do not so much blame the noble Earl opposite; but I blame others who filled the air with voices about the impossibility of war occurring and force being used under their rule, and who said everything they could against those who would uphold the Imperial power of this country. When you had the Chief of the present Government speaking, at a comparatively recent period, of the Ottoman Empire as a fabric of iniquity, how could it be supposed that the Sultan would receive at once and readily his attempts to persuade him to act on his behalf? The Sultan might have answered very much in the language of the great dramatist—"Fair Sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last; on such a day you called me dog; and for these courtesies am I to render you assistance?" That is how the Head of the Government has treated Turkey. It is almost a Nemesis in itself. He goes to the Power which he has thus outraged and disdained, and sues it to get us out of the difficulty into which his own weakness and vacillation and his want of trust in his own country have brought us. Sir Edward Malet, writing on the 25th of May, said that the present situation has been brought about by the Ministers and the people of Egypt persisting in the belief that the Western Powers will not despatch troops; and he added that if Turkey would say that she would send troops, without even landing them, he believed that all the difficulty would be brought to an end. I sympathize with my noble Friend behind me in feeling that, when naval and military operations are begun, the hearts of Englishmen should beat in unison, and that their action should not belie their feelings; and, so far as I am concerned, the last thing I would do would be to impede in any way the action of the Government in bringing this business to a termination. But I should, on the other hand, belie my feelings if I did not say to the Government that their conduct in Opposition, and since they came into Office, has been such as to lead people to suppose that they were not ready to vindicate the honour of England; that they were using mere words which they did not mean to carry out when they talked of united action and of warding off danger from the Khedive; that they have condemned others for preparing to use force when they meant to use it, but they themselves, after all, are now obliged to use force, having tried not to use it; and I would commend to the attention of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby), who has just entered the House, and who left his Party because of their "glory and gunpowder" policy, the serious pass to which things have been brought under the policy of disgrace and gunpowder on the part of the present Government, to which he gives his support.

LORD HOUGHTON said, that, in his opinion, if the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) had not spoken of the attempted "Protectorate" of England and France as having been a powerful motive in the mind of the Party in Egypt which had raised that fearful insurrection, it would be well for him, either now or at some other time, to explain away that phrase. If the noble Marquess had reason to believe that the agents of the English and French Governments had attempted to exercise any further authority than they were commissioned by their respective Governments to exercise, he entirely differed from him, and could assure him, from some observation, that that was not the case. If, again, the noble Marquess thought the Governments of England and France were exercising interference in the government of Egypt in a manner distasteful either to the Ruler or the people of that country, he was equally wrong. That England and France, through their Representatives, did give salutary advice to the Ruler of Egypt was perfectly true, and that advice was in all cases kindly received, and in many cases followed. The Representatives of the two Powers had pressed on the Khedive most strongly the danger of allowing the Military Party to attain the predominance and power it was attaining; and, in that sense, they really anticipated the events which had occurred. If their Lordships could see the confidential communications of those Representatives to their respective Governments, he should not be surprised if it were found that they had expressed themselves even more powerfully on that subject confidentially than they had done in the printed Papers. Anyone who happened to be in Egypt at the time knew that the growth of the Military Party was a very painful consideration. The attempt to identify the growth of that party with the growth of a national feeling was very ingenious, and also very successful in Europe, but not in Egypt itself. It was notorious that when the Council of the Notables assembled they acted under the terrorism of the Military Party, and made no secret of the fact that they had no ill-will to the limited interference, through the Control or otherwise, of England and France, but that they believed it had been exercised beneficially for Egypt. He was glad that the present debate had been mainly confined to the consideration of the existing state of affairs, without reference to future policy, whether that of a Protectorate or any other. At the same time, they had a full right to demand of the Government—whatever might be their belief as to the best administration for Egypt, or as to the permanent settlement of that question—that they should direct their attention exclusively to the practical work which they had undertaken, and that its success should not be endangered by the application of any theories about a Protectorate, or as to any interference by England, either in one sense or the other.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, that the principal cause of the difficulties which had arisen in Egypt was the weakness of Her Majesty's Government last year in not having insisted on the observance of Treaty obligations by the French with regard to Tunis. The manner in which the solemn assurances of the French Government respecting Tunis had been set aside and broken ought to have opened the eyes of Her Majesty's Government and prevented their being again led astray by the French in Egypt. Her Majesty's Government were also to blame for the apparent duplicity with which they had invited the Sultan to intervene in Egypt; while, as it now appeared from the statements made to the French Chamber, they were promising France so to limit and restrict the employment of the Ottoman Forces, that the Porte could not intervene consistently with its dignity and interests. As to the bombardment, Mr. Gladstone had endeavoured to justify its having taken place without a declaration of war by citing Navarino as a precedent; but the attack on the Turkish Fleet by the three combined Fleets had invariably been treated as a crime, and also as a blunder in what concerned England. The plea of self-defence was disproved by the result; for if the ships had not been withdrawn from the earthworks they might have waited till they themselves were attacked; and if the Government chose to disregard the Law of Nations, they should not have allowed their impatience to have brought so much danger upon the Europeans in Alexandria —a danger which was evident, even if they had not been fully warned of it. It was inconceivable that the Admiral should have persisted in bombarding Alexandria, after the offer to dismount the guns, which he said was too late, unless he had received very pressing instructions from Her Majesty's Government; and such instructions were not easily to be explained, except by the natural desire of Her Majesty's Government to remove the blot caused by Majuba Hill, in view of the probably imminent General Election. He maintained, therefore, that the proceeding was not justified by any reasonable fear of attack. He also failed to understand by what right Her Majesty's Forces had been engaged in shooting people for plunder, seeing that they did not represent the Government of the country. After the sacrifices made by the Prime Minister to avoid blood-guiltiness, no one could be expected to believe that his Government, containing Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, would carry out a threat of bombardment without any declaration of war, and the use of shells, which had caused so much destruction of life in the city beyond the forts, so much destruction of the property of the subjects of other European States, and, as the event had shown, so much loss of life amongst Europeans who had no part in the French and English quarrel with the Egyptians.

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply, said: My Lords, in making my statement, I asked for the indulgence of the House, and that indulgence has been extended to me in the course of the debate. I trembled, however, when my noble Friend the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset) got up, though I know it is perfectly impossible to be angry with an old personal and political Friend. I cannot, however, help saying that to-day he has uttered only a quantity of detached sentences without any context, and ended by a complaint that it was wrong not to use every effort to secure peace. That is a complaint which does not affect us much, and, therefore, I think it should not stand against us. With regard to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), he began, in the most unreserved manner, by stating his determination to support the Government; but then he proceeded to make criticisms on the conduct of the Government. I, however, have no complaint to make as to what fell from the noble Marquess in that respect, who certainly criticized our conduct in a fair and moderate spirit, although I should like to say one or two words as to what he said, in order to avoid misconception. The noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) said he desired to support Her Majesty's Government; but I can only say that, if he really wished to do so, he has very peculiar views indeed of supporting a Government in times of national difficulty. I was anxious to act in a cordial manner with the French Government; but the noble Viscount will observe that we differed upon two important questions. The noble Viscount also held forth about the loss of prestige that would take place from what we have done. I am not in the least aware what that loss of prestige is, or how it has been caused; but I must say that when he goes on to remark that it is believed that the Liberal Party are unable to assert themselves in the interests of this country, I would ask, if that belief is held abroad, whether it is not to be attributed to the complaints and representations of the Conservative Party, rather than to the sentiments and feelings of the Liberal Party themselves? For my own part, I deny that the feelings and sentiments of the Liberal Party justify any such idea. The noble Marquess dwelt much on the way in which Her Majesty's Government have behaved towards the Sultan; but he did not, like the noble Viscount, declare that we had sued for peace from Turkey.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I said that you had sued for assistance, not for peace.

EARL GRANVILLE: While the noble Viscount thought that was unfair, the noble Marquess considered it a very desirable thing to do, though the Government had not done it in a very conciliatory manner. I believe that it would have been of immense benefit to the Sultan, and to Egypt, if the Sultan had been able to make up his mind to take the necessary steps to assert his own authority. Then, the noble Viscount hardly strengthened us in our position by the way in which he questioned our cause of quarrel in Egypt. There was one point in the speech of the noble Marquess in which I am very much inclined to agree with him, and that is that we ought not to try to interfere too much politically in the affairs of Egypt. I was delighted to hear him defend the Control; but I could not concur with the noble Marquess in the justice of his accusation, when he hinted that the political interference of the present Government had grown up from the financial interference of their Predecessors only, and not from their political interference. I believe that the Controllers did not, in the slightest degree, pass beyond the attributes. They were put forward owing to the fact that successive Ministers in Egypt, in trying to resist the extortionate demands of the Army, had endeavoured to put the Controllers in the background. On the other hand, I cannot admit that the late Government entirely abstained from political interference in Egypt. The very constitution of these Controllers has a political element in it. It was perfectly impossible to put forward two men with the right of a consultative vote in the Council of Ministers, with a right to investigate everything that went on in the country, to communicate with all authorities, and to report, without giving them a great deal of political interference. It was impossible to exclude from finance such subjects as the Army, the administration of justice, and the education of the people, and it was quite clear that that had in it a very strong element of political power. There is one point, in conclusion, on which I wish to lay very great stress. What I protest against is that, by some of his observations, the noble Marquess gave rise to the impression that we were trying to establish something like a revival of the Crusades —an opposition of the Christian against the Mahomedan.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: That is not what I suggested.

EARL GRANVILLE: However that may be, I assert that there is no question of Mahomedanism in the matter. We shall act in support of the legal authorities, being Mahomedans, against certain other Mahomedans who are rebelling against those Mahomedan authorities. That is the position which Her Majesty's Government take up, and which I think it is most important should be known.

Motion *agreed to.*

INDIA—CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN INDIAN GAOLS.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD TRURO, in rising to ask, Whether the usual punishment for petty offences in British India is not flogging, the number of lashes varying from ten to two hundred? and to move for a Return of the convictions of the lesser Courts during the last three years, showing the offences and punishments awarded thereto in each case respectively, said, that, in reply to a Question asked in "another place," the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington) had said that he did not for a moment deny that an enormous number of cases of flogging had occurred; but he followed it by the assurance on the part of the Government that the subject was one to which their attention had been directed.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the convictions by the lesser courts in British India during the last three years, showing the offences and punishments awarded thereto in each case respectively."—(*The Lord Truro.*)

LORD DENMAN said, he did not know what answer the Government would make to the Motion of the noble Lord; but he had seen a gentleman that morning (Mr. Augustin Fitzgerald), who had been a magistrate in India, and who for many years had the superintendence of a gaol, and he stated that in cases in which he had the power of imprisoning for two years he had only ordered, instead of any imprisonment, 12 lashes at the most, and sometimes fewer, and as the gaoler was a Mahomedan he felt sure that no undue punishment would be inflicted on any of that creed. He believed that he was very popular among the Natives in his district, and certainly a few stripes were far more merciful than any imprisonment in a gaol.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD, in reply, said, it was not quite accurate to say that the usual punishment for petty offences in British India was flogging. Nor could 200 lashes be inflicted under any circumstances for any offence, however heinous. The punishment was limited by law to 30 strokes if the ratan (or cane) were used, as it was in Bengal and a large part of India; and to 150 lashes, if the "cat" was used, as in Madras, and in some other places. His noble Friend's (the Marquess of Hartington's) attention having been called to this subject in 1880, he had addressed certain communications to the Indian Government on this head; and he (Viscount Enfield) proposed to lay upon the Table of the House two despatches, one from India and the other to India, which he thought would substantially contain nearly all the information which the noble Lord required. On the 23rd of March, 1882, his noble Friend said, at the conclusion of his despatch to the Government of India—

> "I am of opinion that it would tend greatly to the accomplishment of the object in view, if a Return were prepared every year, from the reports of the various local Governments, showing the number of corporal punishments, the amount of absolute punishment as indicated by the number of stripes inflicted, and the relative number of these punishments in comparison with other punishments."

Under the new Code of Criminal Procedure passed in March last, and which would soon come into operation, the use of the "cat" would no longer be legal, and the punishment was limited absolutely to 30 strokes of the ratan. Other special provisions had, moreover, been introduced, with a view of rendering the application of the punishment less frequent.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

CITATION AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Law of Citation in Scotland—Was *presented* by The Lord MONSON; read 1ª. (No. 206.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 24th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (Vote of Credit), £2,300,000; CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, Class I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, Votes 4 to 24.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Parcel Post * [254].

Committee—Conveyancing (*re-comm.*) * [246]—R.P.

Committee — *Report* — Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) * [212].

Committee—*Report*—*Third Reading*—Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) (*re-comm.*) * [249]; Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) (*re-comm.*) * [245], and *passed.*

NOTICE OF MOTION.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—DESPATCH OF TROOPS FROM INDIA—INCIDENCE OF COST.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I have to give Notice that to-morrow, or on the earliest day in my power, I shall move the following Resolution:—

> "That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions."

MR. O'DONNELL: I beg to give Notice that I shall move, as an Amendment to the noble Lord's Resolution—

> "That it is unjust and iniquitous to charge the payers of income-tax in India with the expenses of a European war entered into most unjustly by Her Majesty's Government."

QUESTIONS.

ARMY—THE CAMP AT ALDERSHOT.

MR. CAINE asked the Judge Advocate General, How many troops are usually stationed at Aldershot; how many punishments have been inflicted on soldiers at Aldershot during the year 1881, and how many of these were for drunkenness; how many public houses and beerhouses there are in the district of Aldershot; and, how many publicans and beersellers have been brought before the magistrates of Aldershot during 1881, charged with permitting drunkenness on their premises, or supplying liquor to drunken persons?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): Sir, as the Question has been some time on the Paper, I am anxious to answer it as far as I can, although in one particular I cannot at present give my hon. Friend the entire information he asks for. The average number of men stationed at Aldershot during the year 1881 was 11,639. I cannot as yet state the number of punishments either for drunkenness or other offences inflicted on these men during the same period. Some of the regiments stationed at Aldershot are at present abroad; and although I have written for the information required, I have not yet received it—the fact being, I suspect, that the military authorities to whom I have applied have their hands full of other matters at present. All I can say is that my hon. Friend shall have the information as soon as I get it myself. With regard to the remainder of the Question, the word "Aldershot" is a somewhat vague one; but I assume that by it is meant the two parishes in which the camp is situated—namely, Aldershot and Farnborough. The total number of licensed public-houses in these two parishes is 49; of beerhouses licensed to sell beer on the premises, 51; beerhouses licensed to sell beer off the premises, 28; grocers and confectioners licensed to sell liquor, 9; licensed canteens in camp, 19—total, 156. Not a single licensed person in these two parishes was, during the year 1881, brought before the magistrates charged with permitting drunkenness on his premises or supplying liquor to drunken persons.

VETERINARY INSPECTORS (IRELAND).

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Government Veterinary Inspectors in Ireland are on a much inferior footing with regard to pay, privileges, and allowances, to officials on the corresponding English Staff; whether it is a fact that Irish Veterinary Inspectors are liable to dismissal (without reason being assigned) at a week's notice, and without retiring allowance or compensation, even should they become incapacitated from the effects of accident occurring or sickness contracted whilst in the discharge of their duties; whether it is a fact that their monthly pay is issued most irregularly, sometimes ten days after it is due, instead of the first of every month, as is the case with other officials; and, whether, under the circumstances stated, the Government will make such improvements in the pay, pensions, and status of these officers as will assimilate them to their English brethren?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I believe, Sir, that it is the case that Government Veterinary Inspectors in Ireland receive an inferior scale of salaries and allowances to those in England. It is a mistake to suppose that they are liable to dismissal, without reason being assigned, at a week's notice. If the services of any of them should be no longer required, he may be discharged on receiving a week's notice, and is not entitled to a gratuity or superannuation. No case has occurred, so far as I can ascertain, of an Inspector having been dismissed on account of his having become incapacitated from the effects of accident occurring or sickness contracted while in the discharge of duty. With regard to the issue of their monthly pay, I find that it is almost invariably issued within the first week of each month. The salary lists have to pass through three Departments, and some slight irregularity consequently arises. I will see whether this cannot be remedied. The scale of salaries was fixed in 1878. No objection was raised to it at the time, and I do not think it now requires revision.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. RICHARD GARLAND.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Richard Garland, a Sub-Commissioner under the Land Law Act, still holds the office of Coroner for the county Armagh; whether, since his appointment as Sub-Commissioner, he has performed any of the duties incident to the coroner's office and received salary for same; whether, in view of the frequent occasions where the services of coroners in Ireland are required, he will call upon Mr. Garland to elect which office he will continue to hold, and require him to resign the other?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Garland does, I find, still hold the office of Coroner for the County Armagh. Since his appointment as a Sub-Commissioner, he has not acted as Coroner. He has received part of the salary due for the half-year, and has paid one of the other Coroners of the county for doing the duty. The Land Commissioners were under the impression that he had resigned the Coronership. He will now be called on to resign either one appointment or the other.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE RESERVE—THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

Viscount FOLKESTONE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether men serving in the Auxiliary Force of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and belonging to the First Class Army Reserve, will, in the event of the Reserves being called out, forfeit their situations in the former Service?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir; the Reserve men in the Irish Constabulary will not be called out.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE RIVER SHANNON.

Colonel The O'GORMAN MAHON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any complaints have been made to the Inspectors of Fisheries as to obstructions to the public rights of fishing in that portion of the River Shannon which runs through the county of Clare, by stakes and poles driven into the shores, which imperil the lives of the fishermen and cause injury to their boats and nets; and, whether he will direct the necessary steps to be taken to have such obstructions removed and prevented in future?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Complaints have been made on the subject referred to in the Question of the hon. and gallant Member, and the matter is now in the hands of the Crown and Treasury Solicitor, who will lay a case on the subject before the Law Officers?

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, SEC. 37—VALUERS.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a report of the case of Fyffe *v.* Beatty, in the "Irish Law Times" of 15th instant, where the county court judge of the county Fermanagh applied to the Land Commissioners to pay a valuer appointed by him to assist him, but was informed that they had no power to do so, and that the expense must be borne by the litigants; whether it is the case, as reported, that he then remonstrated with the Commissioners on this decision, and requested to be provided with a competent valuer, as was done in the cases of sub-commissions and other county courts, but was informed that all their valuers were engaged; whether this was the result of the joint action of all the Commissioners, or the act of Mr. Commissioner Litton alone; and, whether the county court judge strongly animadverted on the position in which he was left, and the injustice to litigants?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have seen the report referred to in the Question of the hon. Member, and am informed that it is correct. The Land Commissioners have no power to pay a valuer appointed by a County Court Judge. The case of a County Court Judge requiring the services of an independent valuer is provided for by the 37th section of the Land Act. Under that section the costs must be paid by one of the parties or by both conjointly. The Land Commissioners have been most anxious to assist the County Court Judges, and relieve them from the necessity of employing valuers, and whenever the services of a Court valuer has been available they have been placed at the disposal of the Judges; but for some time back they have not found it possible to spare any of their valuers, as the services of all have been imperatively required in the appeal cases. The Land Commission acted in this matter on the general instructions of all the Commissioners. I see from the number of *The Law Times* referred to by the hon. Member, that the County Court Judge is reported to have made certain animadversions, which, however, appeared to be directed against the law rather than against the Land Commission.

BULGARIA—THE NEW MINISTRY.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is true, as recently stated in several newspapers, that a Ministry has recently been appointed in Bulgaria, of which the President and the Home Secretary are both Russian Generals, quite recently introduced into the country; if it is true that M. Zancoff, the head of the late Liberal Ministry, is still in prison, and has only been given the option of taking up his abode in Russia, which he has refused to do; and, if it is the intention of the Government to intercede on behalf of M. Zancoff?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, we have no positive intelligence of the formation of a new Ministry; but the British acting agent has reported that it was in contemplation to appoint General Sovoleff to the posts of President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior. He is a Russian general officer. General Kaulbars has also arrived at Sofia, and is to be Minister of War. M. Zancoff is still interned at Wratza. We have no confirmation of the report that he has been given the option of taking up his abode in Russia. Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to make any isolated representations on behalf of M. Zancoff, as they consider that if any such step is adopted it should be taken in concert with the other Powers who are parties to the Treaty of Berlin.

IRELAND—THE LADIES' LAND LEAGUE — ERECTION OF A HUT FOR AN EVICTED TENANT.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (for Mr. Lalor) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that, when a hut was about being erected by the Ladies' Land League for an evicted tenant, James Stephens, of Derrylea, near Monasterevan, county Kildare, Mr. Sub-Inspector Purden stated to the persons who were engaged in the work that he would not permit them to erect the hut; and, if they persisted in doing so, he would have it pulled down again; and that he would not permit it to be erected within three miles of that place; if it is a fact that the constable of the district stated that—

> "If a penny of the Ladies' Land League Fund were expended on a house for this man, Stephens, there would be a decided objection to it;"

and, whether, in this case, the question had been previously referred by the police to the decision of the Lord Lieutenant, according to a recent promise of the Chief Secretary?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In this case, Sir, the Constabulary, acting under the directions of the Resident Magistrate, prevented the erection of the hut referred to pending the receipt of the Lord Lieutenant's decision. The facts of the case were duly brought before the Lord Lieutenant; and, as it is alleged that the hut was about to be erected for purposes of intimidation for an evicted tenant on property of his landlady and against her wish, the Lord Lieutenant has directed the Sessional Crown Solicitor to proceed to the scene and investigate the matter and report the result. The Sub-Inspector and constable both deny having used the language attributed to them by the Question.

POST OFFICE—SALARIES OF POST MESSENGERS.

Viscount EMLYN asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is proposed to bring in a Supplementary Estimate on account of the cost of the change recently made with regard to the salaries of post messengers; and, if so, when?

Mr. FAWCETT: I believe, Sir, it will be necessary to bring in a Supplementary Estimate.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—CASE OF DANIEL COURTNAY.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has made inquiry into the circumstances under which a charge against a man named Daniel Courtnay, at the last Coolmagort Petty Sessions, in Kerry, of presenting a loaded revolver at several persons, was summarily dismissed by the only justice present, The M'Gillicuddy; whether the charge was substantiated by several witnesses, whose evidence was in no way questioned; whether the justice in question was also the landlord of the accused; and, whether he proposes to make any representation to the Lord Chancellor on the subject?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, no representation on the subject referred to in the Question of the hon. Member has been made to the Government. Any charge of misconduct against a Justice of the Peace ought to be addressed to the Lord Chancellor, who alone has jurisdiction to deal with it; and there are no facts before the Government to cause them to bring the matter before the Lord Chancellor.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — THE MAGISTRATES AT LISTOWEL.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now state the result of his inquiries respecting the composition of the bench of magistrates at Listowel, on Monday the 10th instant, before which Mr. Harrington and others were brought?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The further inquiries I have made into the the matter referred to in the Question of the hon. Member have satisfied me as to the necessity for the presence of two Resident Magistrates on the occasion. The case was an important one, and it was thought necessary that there should be a strong Bench. The local Resident Magistrate, being required as a witness, could not preside.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE REV. F. S. GREEN.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the time has not arrived for recommending to the Crown to exercise the Royal Prerogative, in order to release from prison the Rev. S. F. Green, who has now been imprisoned for more than sixteen months?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, in reference to this Question, I have to say that the Prerogative of pardon is exercised in respect of past offences, and the sentence is commuted where there is reason for doing so. But in the case of a committal for contempt of Court the thing is totally different. It is not a past, but a continuing offence. The committal is in order to enforce the authority of the Court. If, then, the Crown were to discharge a prisoner who had not purged his contempt, the Crown would set aside the authority of the Court. As far as I know, within the Constitutional period no such pardon has been granted, because the prisoner himself is still in open and continuing defiance of the authority of the Court and of the law. I am as anxious as the hon. Gentleman that Mr. Green should be delivered from prison; but, as a right rev. Prelate very properly observed, his prison door is locked on the inside. He can open the door whenever he chooses to declare his desire to conform to the law, and I know nothing is more difficult than to get a man out of prison who insists upon keeping the key turned on the inside.

THEATRES AND MUSIC HALLS (METROPOLIS) — PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, If he can now state to the House the number of theatres and other places of public entertainment which have been reported upon as to the existing means of escape in case of fire; and, if he can further state what steps he proposes to take to enforce the necessary structural changes during the autumn, when such changes can be carried out with the least loss to the proprietors or lessees?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: Sir, the number of places of public entertainment actually reported on, and with regard to which the Board have been able to take action, is 11 theatres and four music halls; but I am happy to say that the Reports of Captain Shaw on the whole of the remaining theatres in the Metropolis are on the point of completion, and will, I believe, be presented this week. With regard to enforcing the necessary structural changes during the autumn, I can only say that everything will be done to press matters forward; but much depends on the prompt compliance of owners with the Board's requirements, and on their carrying out the alterations without having recourse to arbitration as provided for in the Act of 1878.

NAVY—THE SICK BERTH STAFF.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is contemplated to do anything to increase the pay and position of the Sick Berth Staff of the Royal Navy?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, all I am able to say is that the matter referred to by the hon. Member is under the consideration of the Board of Admiralty.

NAVY—DOCKYARD EMPLOYES.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether a demand has been made on established men in Her Majesty's Dockyards for payment of an Inland Revenue stamp, such payment not having been demanded when they received their appointments, and what is the reason of such a demand?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The payments referred to by the hon. Member are required by the Civil Service Commissioners in pursuance of an Order in Council of March, 1879, which authorizes them to claim certain fees from all candidates who receive from them the necessary certificate of qualification. These fees are exigible in the Dockyards from all men appointed or promoted after June 1, 1881. The stamp referred to is merely the form in which, for convenience, the fee is collected.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE SUMMER ASSIZES.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, By whose authority and advice there has been, for the first time, inserted in the Commission of Gaol Delivery for the Summer Assize the following proviso:—

> "That, whenever any prisoner in our said gaol shall have been committed for trial at any sessions of the peace within the said county, you shall not deliver the said gaol of such prisoner, but shall order such prisoner to the gaol to take his trial at the quarter sessions to which he is committed;"

what is the reason of such a departure from former practice; and, whether he is aware that, at Maidstone, three persons charged with larceny and committed, two of them upon the 4th July and one upon the 1st July, have been ordered by the judge to be kept in gaol until the Maidstone borough quarter sessions in October next, Mr. Justice Hawkins at the same time protesting against being compelled to make such an order when he was ready to try them, and when the result would probably be that they would remain in gaol awaiting trial for a longer period than they would be sentenced to if found guilty of the offences charged against them?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: This Proviso has always been in the Commission of Gaol Delivery of the Winter Assize. It has been till recently omitted from the Commissions of the other Assizes; but about a year ago there occurred this scandal and inconvenience—that a number of prisoners had been committed for trial at the Sessions; and when the Assizes came on, and there was a gaol delivery, the persons prosecuting being only bound over for the Sessions did not appear, and seven out of 12 prisoners were discharged without any trial at all. Therefore, it was thought better to make the Commission the same both for the Winter and the Summer Assizes. All that should have been done in this case was that the magistrate who committed the prisoner after the Quarter Session, and before the Assizes, should have committed them to the Assizes.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—POLICE SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will fix next Saturday for the Second Reading of the Police Superannuation Bill?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am as anxious, Sir, as the hon. and gallant Member can be to promote the progress of this Bill; but I think the House has not yet sufficiently recovered from the Sitting of Saturday last to contemplate another, which might lead to the superannuation of the House itself.

SURREPTITIOUS PUBLICATION OF OFFICIAL REPORTS.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which was published in the "Times" of Saturday, will be distributed to Members of this House?

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had assured the House that Reports should not be given to any newspaper before they were distributed to Members. He wished to know whether they might receive the same assurance from the Home Secretary as to the future?

Mr. GEORGE HOWARD wished to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether he himself had received the Report referred to in the Question?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the proper course in reference to the Report on Royal Commissions is that they should, in the first instance, be forwarded to Her Majesty, and after a Report has been forwarded to Her Majesty it is presented to this House. The Report in question was received at the Home Office to-day from the Commission, dated the 24th of July. I immediately forwarded it to Her Majesty, and it will be presented to the House this afternoon. I am unable to say how the Report in question was communicated to the newspapers; it was not done by my authority or with my sanction.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY asked whether the Report published in *The Times* was correct?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have not read either the official Report or the newspaper account of it, so that I am unable to say.

CHARITY FUNDS (METROPOLIS).

Sir THOMAS ACLAND asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he is aware that attempts are being made to induce the Trustees of the Parochial Charities of the City of London to make grants from the charity funds held by them to defray the expenses of a Private Bill brought in in opposition to a Public Bill which has been approved by a Select Committee of this House; whether he is aware that the Charity Commissioners have already expressed their disapproval of such an application of charitable funds; and whether he will be prepared, if any trustees should be certified to him by the Charity Commissioners as having committed a breach of trust by so applying charitable funds, without any statutable authority for doing so, to proceed against such trustees by filing an information in the usual way?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, he had no official knowledge of the circumstances, and he did not know what steps the Charity Commissioners would take in the matter. He could not pledge himself to the adoption of any particular course, but he would receive with careful attention any recommendations made to him. He might, however, mention that Lord Eldon had given a decision to the effect that such payments as those referred to in the Question ought not to be made out of charitable funds.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — DETENTION AND ARRESTS — JOHN VINE AND OTHERS.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will be so good as to direct the release of Mr. William Eiliff, who was arrested on the 24th of April, and is now detained as a suspect in Enniskillen Gaol, the district from which he was taken being perfectly quiet, and other persons from the same neighbourhood who were arrested at the same time having been released some weeks ago?

MR. TREVELYAN: William Eiliff is detained under the Protection of Person and Property Act on reasonable suspicion of shooting at with intent to murder. His case comes on for reconsideration to-day.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John Vine, photographer, of Athenry, County Galway, who had come to Loughrea, County Galway, for the purpose of seeing some friends, was arrested as a "stranger" by Head-constable Payne, Loughrea, at eleven o'clock last Sunday night, and was remanded for a week to Galway Gaol, and upon what evidence, and by what magisterial power, this process was accomplished, seeing that the Crime Prevention Bill had not yet passed into Law; whether his attention has been called to the following statement in the "Freeman's Journal" of the 14th instant:—

> "The condition of Loughrea is deplorable. The markets, which were very good, have latterly dwindled down to nothing. The country people are afraid to come in, as the police are arresting every stranger on suspicion;"

and whether, in order to guard against such effects as those described, the Irish Executive will issue instructions as to the Police administration of the Crime Prevention Act?

MR. TREVELYAN: John Vine was found under very suspicious circumstances after midnight in the public streets of Loughrea. He was a stranger, and refused to give his name or any account of himself, and was arrested under the ordinary powers of a peace officer under suspicion of being about to commit a felony. He is at present in custody on remand, pending inquiries which are being made regarding him. There is no foundation for the newspaper statement quoted in the Question. The Sub-Inspector of Constabulary stationed in Loughrea informs me that the markets are as large as they usually are at this time of the year, and no stranger has been arrested there except Vine. Consequently, no such instructions as those alluded to in the final paragraph of the Question are called for.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what conditions Mr. Francis Gentleman, of Ballybunnion, was released from Kilkenny Prison?

MR. TREVELYAN: There were no conditions imposed on Francis Gentleman on his release. He was released with a warning, on the ground of his health failing.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — PAY AND POSITION.

MR. GIBSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Has any final decision yet been arrived at on the recommendations made to improve the pay and position of the Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

Mr. TREVELYAN: A Bill dealing with this matter is at present in the draftsman's hands, and I hope to be able to introduce it in a few days.

IRELAND—THE LADIES' LAND LEAGUE MEETINGS AT CASTLECOMER, KILKENNY—PRESENCE OF THE POLICE.

Mr. MARUM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that two policemen regularly attend the meetings of the Ladies' Land League of Castlecomer, in the county of Kilkenny, contrary to the wishes of the members of the same; and, whether he will take steps to have such action on behalf of the Constabulary discontinued for the future?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am aware, Sir, that these meetings have been attended by members of the Constabulary, and I consider this supervision is still necessary.

CRIME (IRELAND)—REPORTED THEFT OF RIFLES.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true, as stated in the "Times" of the 20th instant, that a van on the Waterford and Limerick Railway, containing a large number of rifles and a quantity of ammunition, was broken into at Waterford, and the rifles as well as ammunition carried off; whether any of the stolen property has been recovered; and, whether it is true that the van was left without a military guard?

Mr. CHILDERS: The hon. and gallant Gentleman will be glad to hear that there is no truth in the report to which he refers.

ARMY—THE BRIGADE OF GUARDS.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is true that it is not intended to observe the provision of the Queen's Regulations, by which, when a brigade of Guards is ordered on active service, the brigade shall be commanded by a Guards' General?

Mr. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; Major General the Duke of Connaught will command the Guards' Brigade. May I ask the hon. Gentleman to quote the paragraph in the Queen's Regulations to which he refers? At the risk of being considered hypercritical, I would point out to the hon. Gentleman that there is no paragraph in the Queen's Regulations on the subject. The Guards' rules are different from the Queen's Regulations.

Mr. O'DONNELL gave Notice that on the Vote he would call attention to the Regulation which had been violated, and in particular to the manner in which three distinguished general officers with from 32 to 34 years' service had been passed over. He would also ask whether these three were not men all of whom had been promoted for distinguished service in the field, and what were the influences to which the Government yielded in committing this act of favouritism?

ARMY—PRIVATE PURCHASES OF ARMS.

Mr. PARNELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that last week upwards of 350, No. 12 gauge, double-barrel fowling pieces were purchased at Birmingham through Major King-Harman, R.A., Assistant Superintendent for Small Arms Factory, from Messrs. Webley and Son, Robert Hughes, Charles Pryce, and others; and, whether he has any information as to the purpose and destination for which those guns are intended?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that I know nothing of the details of the purchase, but that I have authorized a certain number of double-barrelled guns to be bought for use by the soldiers employed on personal protection duty, in preference to the single-barrelled rifle they now use.

Mr. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether he has heard that Major King-Harman purchased these 350 guns, and if their destination is intended for the Orangemen?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir; I cannot state the destination of any guns purchased except for the Public Service. I know nothing of this particular circumstance. I could not know except it was for the Public Service.

Mr. HEALY: Might I ask if Major King-Harman is entitled to use his position as Superintendent of the Small Arms Factory to buy guns for private persons?

MR. CHILDERS: The hon. Gentleman must give me Notice of the Question. Speaking at the moment, I should say that the usual duty of a public officer is to act only in the Public Service.

MR. HEALY: I shall give Notice of that Question.

EGYPT — ALLEGED PILLAGE BY BRITISH SOLDIERS.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the statement made by the correspondent of the "Times" at Alexandria, that "perfectly respectable inhabitants have lodged complaints that they have been robbed and their houses pillaged by English soldiers;" and, whether he will take measures to secure the prompt punishment of soldiers guilty of acts of violence or pillage?

MR. CHILDERS: The hon. Member does not state in what issue of *The Times* the assertion which he quotes was made, so I have not verified it; but Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Sir Archibald Alison have ample powers to repress and punish acts of violence and pillage.

EDUCATION (WALES)—HIGHER AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.

SIR ROBERT CUNLIFFE asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether he is now able to state to what extent the Government are prepared to carry out the recommendations of the Departmental Committee with regard to higher education in Wales?

SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether any decision has been come to relative to the measures to be adopted for the promotion of Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales.

MR. MUNDELLA: In reply, Sir, to the Questions of my hon. Friend and of the hon. Member for Glamorganshire, which are similar, I beg leave to remind the House that the recommendations of the Departmental Commission related to —first, higher grade board schools; secondly, grammar schools; thirdly, Colleges. I am now in a position to state that a Circular will shortly be issued by the Education Department to the school boards of Wales, explaining the facilities which we are prepared to give for the establishment of these higher elementary schools. The establishment of grammar schools will require legislation. As regards Colleges, I may say that a sum of £2,000, being the first half-yearly payment of £4,000, will be placed on the Estimates for the Aberystwith College this Session, and a sum of £4,000 a-year next year for each of two Colleges, one in North and the other in South Wales. This grant will not be continued beyond the 31st of March, 1884, unless by that time satisfactory progress has been made towards their establishment, and a scheme approved for their management and maintenance. Legislation for the establishment of grammar schools must stand over till next year. Thus two of the three recommendations of the Commission will at once come into practical operation, if the liberality of the Government meets with an adequate response from the inhabitants of the Principality.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS — CHRIST'S HOSPITAL — THE NEW SCHEME.

MR. FIRTH asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether the new scheme of the Charity Commissioners as to Christ's Hospital is matured; and, when the same may be expected to be laid upon the Table; and what is the cause of the delay?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the Charity Commissioners have furnished me with the following statement in reply to the inquiry of the hon. Member for Chelsea:—

> "After the publication of their draft scheme for Christ's Hospital, the Commissioners received from the governors of the hospital certain objections on points of great importance and difficulty, with which it was found to be impossible to deal without minute inquiry into the account books and other records of the hospital from the latter part of the 16th century down to the present day. This inquiry was undertaken by Mr. Fearon, and, together with the writing of his report thereon, occupied him during the greater part of the months of November and December, 1881, and January, February, March, April, and May, 1882. His report, covering upwards of 100 pages of printed folio, has been in the hands of the Commissioners for about a fortnight, and will require very careful attention. In these circumstances, it is impossible to say how soon the Commissioners will be in a position to submit a scheme to the department."

CYPRUS AND MALTA—EGYPTIAN REFUGEES.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any, and, if so, what, sum has been authorized by the Government to be expended out of Imperial Funds, by the proper authorities in the Islands of Cyprus and Malta in aid of the refugees from Egypt; and, whether, up to this date any expenditure has been incurred by such authorities from sources other than those of private charity?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, as to Cyprus, our information is that the Cyprus Government has spent some very insignificant amounts in aiding the refugees, and that the great bulk of the refugees there are not destitute. As to Malta, the Government there is drawing out of the Island Exchequer considerable sums, and the Colonial Office is at this moment in communication with the Treasury as to what assistance should be given from Imperial Funds.

RUSSIA—PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What are the grounds for his statement that—

> "The outrages which had taken place on Jews in Roumania and in Russia, and the burning of their houses, were the reaction of a poor and necessitous population against the gombeen men;"

and whether, in view of the great danger to which the Jewish population in Russia would be exposed if so serious a charge emanating from so high an authority, remained uncontradicted, he will quote or lay upon the Table of the House any Reports from Her Majesty's Consuls which he may consider to bear out the above statement?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I know not from whence the hon. Member has drawn the words which he puts in inverted commas. I do not think he heard me, or he could not possibly have put these words into my mouth, and I am by no means prepared to adopt them. The fact is this, I was not making charges against the Jews or anybody else engaged in money-lending. I was apologizing for the "gombeen" men, as they are called. I was pointing out that these money-lenders, though they may have in this case used their power unmercifully, are probably discharging a necessary function, and that their unpopularity does not prove that they were mischievous persons. I made no charge against the Jews.

EGYPT—ALLEGED MASSACRES OF EUROPEANS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any confirmation of the reports of terrible massacres of Europeans throughout Egypt, made to the Khedive by Omar Soufti Pasha, and affirmed by the correspondents of all the English papers in Alexandria, and of the "critical position of 12,000 Europeans," described by the "Daily News"—

> "At Port Said, many of them women and children, now at the mercy of Egyptian soldiers and fanatical Arabs;"

and whether, in view of the statement of the Correspondent of the "Standard," that—

> "After providing for the safety of the town and palace, we have now five thousand men available for operations in the field, and two more regiments are expected to arrive here to-night. Were it not for orders from home this force would be able to put an end to the Egyptian difficulty in twenty-four hours,"

Her Majesty's Government will withdraw the orders referred to, which prevent the immediate action of the forces now at Alexandria; whether he can state also what steps Her Majesty's Government are taking, or intend to take, in order to preserve Cairo and the rest of Egypt from the fate of Alexandria; and, whether, in view of the fact that the British Government alone have been willing to resort to force, and that the interests of England in Egypt are greater than those of the rest of Europe, Her Majesty's Government will refrain from inviting the other five Powers to share in the occupation of Egypt?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: It is believed that Europeans have been massacred in the interior of Egypt. The European population of Port Said are, I understand from the Admiralty telegrams, by no means at the mercy of the Egyptian troops and the Arabs, but can be perfectly protected by the English and French forces at Port Said. The remainder of the Question of the hon. Member comes within the terms of the statement made by the Prime Minister on Thursday last.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT — SPECIAL WAR CHARGES—EXPLANATION.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will state the correct figures of the special war charges mentioned by him in the Budget speech as having fallen upon the years 1880-81, 1881-2, and 1882-3, respectively?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GLADSTONE) said, he might explain that some confusion had arisen from the fact that, owing to some accident, the speech in question had not been sent to his office for revision. The correct figures were—For 1880-81, £2,347,000; for 1881-2, £3,842,000; and for 1882-3, £1,570,000.

EGYPT—POLITICAL AFFAIRS—THE CONFERENCE.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House Papers from Lord Dufferin as to the sole action of the several European Powers pending the deliberations of the Conference?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, a proposal made by the Italian Ambassador at the third meeting of the Conference on the 27th of June, that it should be understood that, while the Conference lasted, the Powers would abstain from any isolated enterprize in Egypt, was accepted under the reserve of *force majeure*, such as the necessity of protecting the lives of their countrymen (*nationaux*). At the next meeting, on the 30th of June, Lord Dufferin declared in distinct terms that Her Majesty's Government would consider any attack upon the Canal or any sudden change or catastrophe which menaced our special interests as comprehended under the term of *force majeure* embodied in the reserve appended to Count Corti's proposition. No comments were made in the Conference upon this declaration.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AMENDMENT BILL—THE WINTER ASSIZES.

MR. RANKIN asked Mr. Attorney General, With what object it is proposed by Clause 7 of "The Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment Bill, 1882," to extend the operation of the Winter Assize Act of 1876 to the month of February, seeing that the special assizes held by virtue of that Act now take place in the months of October and November; and, whether that proposed extension aims at the application of the grouping system to the ordinary civil and criminal assizes now held in January and February, notwithstanding the provision in the Spring Assize Act of 1879, that separate assizes in and for each county shall still be held twice a year?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, if Parliament gave its sanction to Clause 7 of the Supreme Court of Judicature Act, he thought there would be power to group Assizes for both civil and criminal business, and he thought such grouping would not necessarily interfere with the provisions of the Assize Act of 1879.

CYPRUS—THE HARBOUR OF FAMAGUSTA—COST.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If the Government have received the plans and estimate of cost of a naval harbour at Famagusta prepared by the engineer of the Cyprus authorities; and, if so, whether he has any objection to lay the same upon the Table of the House?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: These Papers have been received, and will be laid on the Table of the House very shortly.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET—SIR BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR'S DESPATCHES.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which he had given him private Notice. There was a despatch from Sir Beauchamp Seymour which appeared twice—namely, in the recently published Foreign-Office Papers, and in the Report of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, which was laid on the Table on Saturday by the Admiralty. As these sets of Papers were to some extent discrepant, an omission occurring in one of them, while the other was apparently complete, he wished to know which of them was correct; and whether the omission had been made intentionally?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, that the Papers in question had been prepared in extreme haste by the Admiralty and the Foreign Office together. It had been thought advisable to omit certain references to the subjects of a foreign Power, but these had not contained matter of any importance.

EGYPT—THE MASSACRE AT ALEXANDRIA.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Prime Minister, Whether his attention has been called to the testimony of Sir Beauchamp Seymour and other British officers that the disturbances at Alexandria on the 11th of June had no political significance, but are only the consequences of a riot between Greeks and Arabs; whether those authorities have not praised the steady behaviour of the Egyptian troops and the good faith of the Government of Alexandria in dealing with the rioters; and whether the Government will take any steps to contradict the unfounded accusations of massacre that have been brought against the Egyptian National party?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We have no information as to the latter part of this Question. With regard to the first part of the Question, referring to the statement of Sir Beauchamp Seymour in the despatch written hurriedly on the next day after the riot that it had no political significance, I have to tell the hon. Member that later information, in the possession of the Government, entirely contradicts that opinion. Sir Beauchamp Seymour was imperfectly informed as to the state of affairs when he sent that despatch.

MR. O'KELLY asked whether the troops had not assisted to put an end to the riot?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Four hours' delay occurred before the troops, who were in very large force, took any steps to suppress the riot. As soon as they appeared on the streets, the actual attack on Europeans entirely ceased; but looting continued.

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether, on the day of the riot or the following day, there was not a meeting at Alexandria of the British authorities and others, in which they expressly recognized the fidelity with which the Governor had kept his undertaking to protect the lives of Europeans till the time the troops entered the town?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The conduct of the Governor was approved; but the Sub-Prefect of Alexandria was one of those most gravely compromised.

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT — PUBLIC BUSINESS—ORDERS OF THE DAY.

RESOLUTION.

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise, Sir, to move—

> "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday."

In making such a Motion as this, it is usual to state the time in past years when a similar course was proposed. In 1876 the Motion was made on the 9th of August, only seven days before the Prorogation, and in 1877 on the 23rd of July; in 1878 these days were first taken on the 16th of July, in 1879 on the 15th of July, in 1880 they were taken on the 13th and 14th of July; in 1881 not until the 2nd and 3rd of August. The usual practice of the House is that private Members' days should be taken at a late period of the Session. This year it has been observed that private Members have had no opportunity of bringing forward their Motions and pushing their Bills. That is perfectly true; but it is also equally true that the Government have had no opportunity of advancing legislation. The Bills upon which we have been engaged have merely grown out of the necessities of the moment, and, with certain small exceptions, are quite distinct from those projected and promised in the Queen's Speech. Of course, it is a question for the convenience of the House. I am aware it is a very great sacrifice that private Members are called upon to make; but still, with the prospects before us, if we are to wind up the Business of the Session within a reasonable time, I think this is a proper period according to the spirit, if not the letter, of former precedents for making this Motion. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution which stood in his name.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he was quite aware that at this period of the year it was usual to make a Motion of this kind, and it was for the convenience of the House, no doubt, that the Session should be wound up within a reasonable time. But he rose to ask one question of some importance. The right hon. Gentleman proposed that for the remainder of the Session these Orders should have precedence. What did the right hon. Gentleman mean by "the remainder of the Session?" Under ordinary circumstances they should understand that the Session would close sometime about the middle of August, and with that view they would give precedence to certain Business. But they were informed that this year it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose that the House should only adjourn to meet again later on. He wanted to know when they were to meet again, and whether the Government Orders were to have precedence? In point of fact, they were entitled, under the circumstances, before acceding to this Motion, to have some distinct intimation as to the Bills with which it was intended to proceed. He did not think the House would or ought to be satisfied with a mere general declaration that there were certain Bills to be proceeded with, and others which might be proceeded with if they had time. They ought to be told what were the Bills the Government intended to proceed with, and they ought also to have some information about Supply. The House would remember that they were extremely backward in Supply. There were between 170 and 180 Votes still to be passed, and the time was approaching when it would not be so convenient for Members to attend who might wish to bring forward questions connected with Supply. He would also like to know what was to be the course of Business that night? His right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke) had put a Question on the Paper with regard to the manner in which the Government proposed to proceed when they came to the Vote of Credit, and drew attention to the fact that when the late Government proposed a Vote of Credit they were appealed to by the Leader of the Opposition at that time, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington), merely to propose and explain the Vote, and then to agree to report Progress, so as to give the House time to consider what course it would take. In the present circumstances, and with their present information, he thought the House would find it very difficult to come to a decision on the Vote; but, no doubt, the difficulty might be greatly removed by the explanation that would be made by the Prime Minister in a short time. He thought what the Prime Minister had suggested was very reasonable—that they should wait until then in order to see whether they should be able to go on, or whether they should have to postpone the discussion. He was anxious in no way to impede the Public Service, and if it should be found possible to proceed at once, he should not desire to offer any impediment. But it was the duty of the House to consider the statement that would be made, and in the very grave circumstances in which they were placed, they ought not to be hurried if they had any reasonable ground to ask for a postponement. The Government, he understood, would first move the Vote of Credit, and would then ask for the number of men named. Perhaps the Government would be able to tell the House at what time they intended to move the remaining Estimates, as there might be various stages at which the conduct of the Government might, if necessary, be challenged. He would also wish to know what was the course the Government contemplated with respect to procedure on Public Business? He hoped the Government would tell the House whether they still adhered to the intention of having an Autumn Session, and whether the Resolution they were asked to adopt would apply to it.

MR. GLADSTONE: There are three questions which have been put to me. Regarding the course of procedure to-night, I will state that distinctly when I rise to call the attention of the House to the Vote of Credit. It is quite understood, after my statement, that Gentlemen will consider for themselves whether, under the circumstances, it is or is not desirable to ask for an adjournment of the debate before proceeding to the Vote. The question remains open to both sides. The right hon. Gentleman also put to me two other Questions. He noticed—and justly noticed—that this Motion, as it stands, has been drawn in the usual form, and that it would cover the period during which we may be engaged in winding up the ordinary Business of the Session, and also cover what has been called the Autumn Sitting. The fact is, that according to our views that will make no practical difference. I thought I had explained two things—that it was our intention during this Sitting to ask that Procedure would take precedence whenever set down; and, second, that I had bound the Government—of course, setting apart cases of necessity—to put down nothing but Procedure. However, it is not necessary to raise that question now, as I will amend the Motion so as to provide that it shall only apply to the close of the month of August. With regard to the Bills which are to have precedence, I am not aware that anything remains to be discussed or explained by me. It is well understood that all our important Bills projected in the Queen's Speech have, generally speaking, been dropped. The right hon. Gentleman knows that there are always a number of Bills relating partly to matters of form and partly to matters of very small consequence, which invariably make a formidable appearance towards the close of the Session. I am not aware of any question on which there is serious difference of opinion as to which the intentions of the Government have not been fully declared. [An hon. MEMBER: The Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill.] It is understood that we mean to go on with the Corrupt Practices Bill, if we can, and the question of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill is regarded as a bye question belonging to Scotland, which has been taken very much into their own hands, with the general assent of the House, by the Scottish Members. There is also the Bill relating to Scottish Entails, which, as far as I am aware, is a Bill that need not occupy many minutes of the time of the House. I believe there is a very general concurrence amongst Scottish Members with respect to the provisions of that Bill. I know not what Bill there is of a serious character. [An hon. MEMBER: The Ballot Act.] With regard to the Ballot Act, undoubtedly we cannot raise any contested question. We must be contented with putting it into the Continuance Bill in case of necessity. [An hon. MEMBER: The Disenfranchisement Bill.] I thought it had been declared that the Government felt compelled to abandon that Bill for the present Session. The regular course would be to discharge the Order. The Government do not intend to legislate nor to assent to Motions for Writs. Last year a short Bill of suspension was brought forward, and a similar Bill will be taken again this Session.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked what were the intentions of the Government with regard to the Police Superannuation Bill and the Government Annuities and Assurance Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the Government did not at present propose that there should be a Saturday Sitting for the Police Bill. They would delay deciding what course should be followed with regard to that Bill until they could gauge the amount of opposition which would be shown to the measure. The Bill was looked for with great anxiety by the police throughout England, and it would be a great grievance from their point of view if it were to miscarry. He therefore trusted that Gentlemen who were opposed to the Bill would not exhibit such opposition as would prevent the discussion of the measure.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether he would consent to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the crofters in Skye and the Western Islands of Scotland? There was a Notice of Motion upon this subject standing in his name upon the Paper, but he was afraid it would be inevitably shelved. He, therefore, appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to grant the request which it contained.

MR. FAWCETT said, that with reference to the Annuities Bill, he might remind the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that the measure did little more than carry out the recommendations of the Friendly Societies Commission of 1875, of which the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition was Chairman and the right hon. Baronet himself was a Member. He feared, however, that it would be useless at this period of the Session to attempt to pass the Bill in its present form. The only provision to which serious objection was made was that by which the maximum limit of insurances and annuities would be raised to £200. He was now prepared to move that the maximum limit should remain at its present point, and that the limit of annuities should also be £100. In view of this concession, he hoped but little opposition would be shown to the Bill.

MR. ONSLOW called the attention of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who had charge of the Ballot Act Continuance Bill, to the fact that the Bill contained a great deal of contentious matter, and he did not think it would be got rid of in a short time. As to the Municipal (Unreformed) Corporations Bill, there were eight Notices of opposition to it, and it contained a great deal of contentious matter. He asked whether it was proposed to drop the Bill?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that he must with great regret drop the Municipal Corporations (Unreformed) Bill. The vast majority of the places named in the measure were very desirous that it should become law, and the opposition to it came from a very small number of Members. The Ballot Act would be continued in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE thought that it might be fairly urged that the Corrupt Practices Bill, which imposed great changes in Constitutional Government, ought not to be considered at the fag-end of a Session. He hoped, at any rate, that the House would be told on what day they would be likely to have a chance of proceeding with it.

MR. BLAKE, as one of those affected by the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, requested to be allowed shortly to state his grievance. For three months he had been balloting for a good place in order to bring forward a Motion respecting the condition of the Ryots of India. He had at last secured, as he thought, a certain place for to-morrow, as his name stood first on the list; but on the eve of the day on which he hoped to proceed with the Motion he had undertaken, the Prime Minister made a proposal which would, in all probability, shut him out for the rest of the Session. He ventured to think that his Motion was even of greater importance than the one the right hon. Gentleman proposed bringing forward. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might ridicule the idea; but he differed with them, and perhaps the day would come when they would agree with him. His Motion was—

> "To call attention to the miserable condition of the peasantry of India generally, and particularly those of Oudh and Behar; and to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire and report as to the means that ought to be adopted to ameliorate their condition."

The subject dealt with the condition of fully 100,000,000 of their fellow-subjects. In Oudh and Behar alone there were 30,000,000; but as he was not confining himself to these Provinces, but would refer to the grievances of the peasantry in many of the parts of the Indian Empire, he was rather below the mark when he stated that the story of wrong, oppression, and suffering which he would relate to the House, when an opportunity should be afforded him, would extend to over 100,000,000 of people. They did not, it was true, all suffer equally; but there were 50,000,000, at least, in a wretched condition, and 50,000,000 more, who endured oppression and hardship in a lesser degree.

MR. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Member for the County Waterford should confine himself to the subject involved in the Motion then before the House, and not take advantage of it to make a statement concerning the condition of the people of India.

MR. BLAKE said, he did not then intend to deal with the entire Indian Question; he should select a more favourable time and place for that; but he contended that he had a right to state a small portion of it, at least by way of comparison with the one which the Premier proposed to substitute for it, in order to prove that the House ought to give a preference to a discussion on the condition of the peasantry of India. ["No, no!"] They were quite welcome to hold that opinion, mistaken even though it was. If he only got the chance, he thought he would convert them to an opposite view. He was prepared to show that there were bad laws in India, against which the people had strong reason to complain, and that many of the good laws were a dead letter. In many places, especially in Oudh and Behar, millions of the cultivators of the soil were ground under cruel exactions, and often grossly ill-treated, at the hands of their landlords, whatever their denomination might be—Talukdars or Zemindars. Notwithstanding all the boasted progress of India in commerce, railways, telegraphs; in the founding of colleges and other institutions; the building of Courts of Justice, and the appointment of a legion of officials for their administration, the condition of the great mass of the people was deplorable in every respect. Millions of them would welcome back their old Native rule to-morrow, bad as it was, in several respects. It was a terrible risk for England to allow so many of her subjects to have just causes of complaint, for if they remained unredressed they would seriously endanger the safety of their great Empire in the East. [*Murmurs of dissent.*]

Mr. SPEAKER said, he should again remind the hon. Member that he could not then raise a discussion on the affairs of India.

Mr. BLAKE said, he had not the least idea of doing so. He only desired to show the Prime Minister and the House that the subject he wanted to bring forward was of sufficient importance not to be relegated to next Session. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to have a very inadequate idea of the state of things calling loudly for redress and reform in India. On Thursday last, when he (Mr. Gladstone) announced his intention of absorbing, for the remainder of the Session, the private days of Members, the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) asked him whether, considering its importance, he would not allow the Motion on India to be proceeded with to-morrow? The reply was, perhaps, the most astonishing that ever came from a Prime Minister—

> "He did not think the Motion afforded a sufficient reason for departing from a proceeding called for by the general convenience of Public Business; but his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India would be happy to give his best attention to any statements with which he might be favoured by the hon. Member (Mr. Blake) or his Friends."

That seemed, indeed, a strange way to propose dealing with an important subject. What would be thought if an Irish Member proposed bringing forward some very important question relative to Ireland, and that the Prime Minister told him to have a private interview with the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, in order to settle the matter? He (Mr. Blake) believed that the Secretary of State for India was anxious to ameliorate the condition of the people there. When lately in India he had become aware of his desire to do what was right in certain directions; but, granting him this disposition, there was much he could not accomplish without having the opinion of Parliament to back him; and how could the House of Commons be expected to pronounce until it had the facts laid before it. It had been his (Mr. Blake's) intention to rest mainly for the proofs of his case on the Reports of Commissions or the statements of officials who had the courage and humanity to make public the wrongs and sufferings of the people, as they came under their notice. Although he had been over nearly the entire of India, he had not intended to intrude much of his personal experiences on the House, except so far as they went to corroborate what he would state on higher authority. He could assure the House that he had seen enough while in India to convince him that strong and speedy measures were required to set things right as regarded the relations between the landed proprietors and the cultivators. The latter, nearly everywhere, could not be in a much worse condition; whilst the former lived, for the most part, idle, worthless, luxurious, and often profligate lives, on the money mercilessly extorted from their unfortunate tenants, frequently by the most cruel means. In common with many others, he had read the eloquent and heartrending accounts which the Premier had given to the world, both by pen and tongue, of the sufferings of the Neapolitans under the Bourbons, and the Bulgarians under the Turks; and he honoured him for the sympathy he had displayed for these victims of tyranny and misgovernment. But there were other people more closely allied to England, and whose woes it was very much in the power of the Prime Minister to alleviate, who merited his efforts and appeals quite as much. There were many millions of Her Majesty's Indian subjects who had as just complaints against the way they were governed as ever Neapolitan had against a Bourbon, or Bulgarian against the Sublime Porte. In conclusion, he earnestly asked the Prime Minister, in the interests of humanity, and especially of the unfortunate people on whose behalf he felt he had but very feebly pleaded, to grant him a day before the end of the Session, if he was resolved on depriving him of the one to-morrow, which he had so hardly earned, in order that he might lay their sad case before Parliament, and ask it to grant an inquiry, either by a Select Committee or a Commission. As the right hon. Gentleman could carry anything he chose, it was, of course, quite useless to oppose the Motion then before the House, if he was resolved on persevering with it. The Prime Minister and the House might rely that there never was a case where humanity, duty, and policy more imperatively demanded a thorough inquiry, with a view of mitigating the sufferings and redressing the wrongs of the gentle, enduring race whose unhappy lot, when he was amongst them, had so filled him with compassion that he had resolved to do what lay in his humble power to make their deplorable condition known to Parliament.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, before the Prime Minister replied he would like to make a further appeal to him with respect particularly to the two Bills he had previously mentioned—namely, the Police Bill and the Government Annuities Bill. The Home Secretary replied to him a few moments ago in a very menacing tone. The right hon. Gentleman said the Police Bill was one which was generally acceptable to the House, and he menaced him (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) for the opposition which he proposed to give to the measure. If there ever was a Bill calculated at once to diminish local control, and to increase the burdens of the ratepayers, this was that Bill, and he was confident it would receive very great opposition throughout the House. As to the Government Annuities Bill, he must disclaim the responsibility which the Postmaster General desired to place upon him; but he could show, if necessary, that the recommendations of the Royal Commission to which the right hon. Gentleman referred were quite different from those embodied in the Bill. What he wished the Prime Minister to consider was this, that when last Session the Government were given the two days for which they now asked, they had reached the 2nd or 3rd of August, and this followed, that no Business which provoked any opposition was subsequently considered, except the Amendments to the Land Act, which came down from "another place." Last year, when this Motion was made, the House was more forward with Supply, and they had not before them a lengthened discussion on Foreign Affairs; yet it was found to be practically impossible to proceed with anything else but the business of Supply. He might fairly ask the Prime Minister whether he considered that the Corrupt Practices Bill and the two measures to which he had already referred could really receive adequate consideration if the House was to adjourn about the time stated. If these measures were pressed, they would be considered in a way which would reflect no credit upon the House.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he would be very sorry to oppose this Motion, which, under the circumstances, was, no doubt, more or less necessary; but, if the House did assent to it, they ought to do so on the distinct understanding that no other Business except that which was absolutely necessary would be taken. Considering the present state of Supply, and having regard to the long debate upon Egyptian Affairs, it was manifestly impossible that a measure like the Corrupt Practices Bill could receive this Session the attention it deserved.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, he was greatly disappointed at not having been able to bring on his Motion in reference to the Income Tax, and wished to know whether the sum of money required for war purposes in Egypt would be raised by an addition to the Income Tax; and whether, if the House met in the autumn, private Members would have their usual privilege of bringing on discussions and Motions on Tuesdays and Wednesdays?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked what course the Government propose to take with respect to the Electric Lighting Bill, which was put down for the third reading on Saturday last; but the consideration of which was postponed in favour of a small Irish Bill.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Member for the County Waterford (Mr. Blake) had done him the honour to say that anything he proposed was quite certain to be carried. In answer to the hon. Gentleman, he need only point to a Motion which he made with great earnestness and seriousness three weeks ago, and which was entirely defeated. He was sorry hon. Gentlemen who had Motions on the Paper should lose the opportunity of bringing them forward; but, having regard to the general state of Business, he could not find any expedient which would enable those Gentlemen to give utterance to their views. It was impossible that he could distinguish between the varying importance of the Motions of hon. Gentlemen. With respect to Bills, the Question just put by his hon. Friend (Sir George Campbell) was an illustration of the difficulty in which the Government stood. If he were to say absolutely that no Bill which was opposed should go forward, so far as the Government were concerned, he would offer a distinct premium to any individual Member to oppose a Bill he did not wish to proceed. There was the case of the Electric Lighting Bill, which, he believed, did not receive a third reading on Saturday through a mere accident. The Bill was almost beyond the risk of serious opposition, but still it was in the Orders. The pledge he had given to the House was that the Government would press no Bill to which there was any serious or extended opposition, and if there was any exception to that, it was the Corrupt Practices Bill, because he believed it to be a very general desire of the House that the Bill should pass. It was simply with a view of winding up the Business by about the middle of August that this proposal was made to the House, and in a very short time it must become plain whether they would be able to go forward even with the Corrupt Practices Bill. In case there was developed any serious and extended opposition to that Bill the Government would not go forward with it. What they wished to do now was to close at once the matters relating to the Egyptian Question and the Tax Bill of the year, then to go steadily forward some days with Supply, and in a very short time it would be perfectly obvious whether they could or could not fulfil the wishes the House generally entertained with regard to the Corrupt Practices Bill, which was the only important Bill remaining to be dealt with. He would ask leave to withdraw his Motion, in order to re-propose it in the form suggested by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote). The Motion would then apply to the end of August only.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, until the end of August, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY complained, that by the proposal of the Prime Minister he would lose an opportunity of bringing forward a Motion he had on the Paper with regard to the condition of the Irish agricultural labourers. He had hitherto been prevented from bringing the matter on owing to the course taken by the Government; and the condition of the labourers, in view of the coming winter, was something terrible.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (who spoke amid cries of "Divide!") said, that hon. Members opposite seemed to think that it was only necessary for the Prime Minister to express his will, and it immediately became incumbent on all to bow and accept whatever was proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. There never was a Session so entirely surrendered to the Government as this Session, and there never had been a Session when such a mess of confusion had been made of the Business of the House. He thought it would be well to consider the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman before assenting to it, because there were several important questions which must come before the House before the Session closed, and for the discussion of which the Government were bound to find an opportunity. Personally, he objected to the Motion altogether, and he wished to point out how much time had been wasted at the instance of the Prime Minister himself in taking up the Procedure Resolutions and the House of Lords' Committee on the Irish Land Act. In his (Mr. Arthur O'Connor's) opinion, time ought to be given for the discussion of the Vote of Censure on the Chairman of Committees, and also for Local Option, and the Army and Navy and Civil Service Estimates whenever they came before the House; but what guarantee had they that they were to have proper discussion in the future? It was high time that the House took this matter out of the hands of the Government. In Ireland they had suspended Constitutional liberty, and in that House they had mismanaged everything. He, for one, did not believe in an Autumn Session, though it would depend entirely upon the caprice of the Prime Minister. He should feel it his duty to oppose the Motion before the House.

PARLIAMENT — RULES OF DEBATE— UNPARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE— MR. O'DONNELL.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he could fully understand the anxiety with which the House awaited the next exposition of the Liberal Estimates of a War Expenditure. The experience of the House went to show that Liberal Expenditure bounded up at the rate of £1,000,000 every two hours, and, therefore, the House was necessarily anxious to know what might be the wants of the Government at this hour. He was quite sure, if the full truth were known, that the typical £6,000,000 had been already exceeded. He rose for the purpose of replying to the remarks of the Prime Minister—that he could not draw any distinction in favour of the appeal of his hon. Friend the Member for the County of Waterford (Mr. Blake). He thought there was a strong reason for drawing a distinction between his appeal and that of others. The Secretary of State for India had given Notice that he would to-morrow move to burthen the revenues of the unrepresented people of India with large sums towards the expenditure of the war which now seemed the necessary consequence of the piratical bombardment of Alexandria. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Surely that ought not to be done without some opportunity being given for examining into the grievances from which the people of India suffered. There was a special reason why the grievances of the people of India should not go unattended to—because it was seething with discontent at this moment. Everyone knew that in the mosques prayers were being offered up to Allah for the success of the enemies of England. During the last 10 years the Mohammedan population of India had increased from 40,000,000 to 45,000,000.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not confining himself to the Motion before the House. I must call upon him to confine himself to the Question which is now before the House.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he would readily accept the ruling of the Chair. He was bringing forward an argument why the House should redress the grievances of the people of India—[*Cries of* "Question!"]—and why they should not accede to the Prime Minister's Motion. To his mind nothing could be more appropriate to the Question. He asked that the House should take into its own hands the consideration of Indian subjects. ["Order!"] The complaint he had raised was not only made by an Irish Member, but one of the most important, most liberal, and most thoroughly English of the newspapers of India declared—[*Cries of* "Question!" *and* "Order!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is now anticipating the discussion of a Motion of which Notice has actually been given by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India. The hon. Member must confine himself strictly to the Question before the House.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he had not the slightest intention of anticipating that discussion. He presumed that the interruptions of hon. Gentlemen had prevented the Speaker from hearing the words he used. He confessed it was singularly embarrassing to a Member of that House to find that not only what he was stating should be objected to, but what he was about to say should be predicted for him by the presiding Authority and then decided upon—[*Loud cries of* "Order!" "Name!"].

Mr. HEALY was about to speak, when Mr. GLADSTONE rose.

MR. HEALY said, he understood the Speaker had called upon him.

MR. SPEAKER: I understand that the right hon. Gentleman rises to a point of Order.

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise to Order— to take notice of the closing words of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. HEALY: I rise to a point of Order, Mr. Speaker. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. GLADSTONE: The words appear to me to be totally destructive of all authority. I move that those words be taken down. The hon. Gentleman stated that the Chair had made a prediction of the words he was about to speak, and had condemned those words. ["No, no!"] I move, Sir, that those words be taken down.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Before you put the Question, Sir—["Order!"]—I rise to Order——

MR. SPEAKER: It appears to me to be the general sense of the House that the words adverted to be taken down, and I have directed the Clerk at the Table to take them down.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I wish to know whether it is competent for the right hon. Gentleman to make that Motion after some interval of time has elapsed between the observation being made? You, Sir, after an interval of time, called upon the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), and he had already begun to address the House. [*Cries of* "No, no!"]

MR. HEALY: I wish to raise a point of Order. It has been decided in Committee that if a Member of the House—even the Prime Minister—rises to a point of Order while a Member is speaking, and after the Member to whose words the point of Order refers has concluded his speech, he cannot be heard. That has been decided by the Chairman of Committees. The Prime Minister did not rise until after the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had finished his speech—the right hon. Gentleman waited until he had consulted with the bellicose Home Secretary. [*Loud cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I am bound to say that I did not catch the concluding words of the speech of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). When he sat down the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) rose, and then immediately the right hon. Gentleman rose. I concluded that the right hon. Gentleman desired to address the House on a point of Order; and thereupon I called upon the right hon. Gentleman. The proceedings are perfectly regular.

MR. BIGGAR: I beg leave, Sir, to rise to another point of Order. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The words as taken down are as follows:—

"The Chair had made a prediction of the words he was about to speak, and then decided upon them." ["No, no!"]

MR. GLADSTONE: I wish to move, Sir—if this is the regular course—that these words be taken into consideration to-morrow.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That those words be taken into Consideration To-morrow."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is, "That those words be taken into consideration to-morrow."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I wish to ask you, Sir, as a matter of Order, whether the words to be taken down are to be the exact words used by the hon. Member, and not the interpretation put upon those words by the Prime Minister or any other Member of the House? The words attributed to my hon. Friend by the Prime Minister appear to me to be a distortion of the actual words used, and to have no resemblance to the words of my hon. Friend. That being so, I ask you, Sir, to decide whether this Motion which has been made by the Prime Minister, is a Motion that can be submitted to the judgment of this House? [*Cries of* "Order!"] I respectfully ask you this question, Sir, whether the words which are said to have been used by an hon. Member, and which, on the Motion of the Prime Minister, were taken down, must be the exact words used by the hon. Member? If that be so, as the words quoted by the Prime Minister are not the words used by my hon. Friend, I wish to ask you whether the Motion can be put from the Chair?

MR. SPEAKER: It is for the House to say whether those are the exact words or not.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I know they were not.

Mr. HEALY and Sir WILFRID LAWSON rising together——

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I think the House will agree with me——

MR. SPEAKER: I call upon the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy).

MR. HEALY: Sir, I observed that when the Prime Minister made his Motion there was a departure from the usual practice, which has hitherto been that the Question should be put, "That the words be taken down." The Prime Minister has simply moved that the words be taken down, and the Question was not put to the House in the usual way. This appears to me an extraordinary state of things. Does it arise out of the New Rules which we shall be discussing, I presume, at the Autumn Session? If a Motion is made that certain words be taken down, is that to be carried into effect without more ado, and without the House saying "Aye" or "Nay" on the Question being put from the Chair? Does the Prime Minister incorporate in himself the functions of the Chair? Can the Prime Minister arrogate to himself duties which do not belong to him?

MR. SPEAKER: I wish to put the hon. Member right on that point. When a Motion is made that words be taken down, it rests with the Chair to collect the sense of the House whether the words should be taken down. I so collected the sense of the House, and had the words taken down. This proceeding is quite according to the usual practice, and there has been no departure from the usual course.

MR. CHAPLIN: I rise to Order.

MR. HEALY: I suppose it is no departure from the usual course that a man may be allowed to continue his speech. I wish to ask you, Sir, then, by what process that collection takes place? ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite appear to think that the presiding Officer of this House is outside the range of argument. I do not think so. I presume it is open to an hon. Member to question the Speaker and to argue with him. ["No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite state their opinion. I state mine. When a Motion was made to take down some words of my own this week, the Question was put from the Chair, "Is it your pleasure?" and a shout of "Ayes" and "Noes" took place. Well, such an unholy din was being made in the House at the time when my hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) concluded his speech that I am utterly at a loss to know—no Question having been put, and it being possible to interpret the various noises heard by hon. Members in any way you please—in what way the sense of the House could be arrived at. Upon the Question that the words of the hon. Member for Dungarvan be considered to-morrow, I wish to know whether the Main Question before the House is not that all future Business shall be postponed till the end of August? How, then, can a Motion be interpolated that words used by an hon. Member shall be considered to-morrow? I wish to know whether any hon. Member can move that the Prime Minister's words be taken down, and then interrupt the proceedings of the House by moving that those words should be considered to-morrow? There ought to be such a thing as regularity, even in the present extraordinary proceedings. The Prime Minister has stated what the words used by my hon. Friend were——

MR. GLADSTONE: I did not state the exact words. I gave the best account of them I could.

MR. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman says he gave the best account of the words he could; but I am bound to say it was a very bad account. We had the garbled account of the Prime Minister—["Order, order!" "Withdraw!"] I suppose that by-and-bye it will not be allowable to say a word about the Prime Minister. I presume he will become as sacred as Vishnu. I did not use the word "garbled" in a sinister sense; but certainly the words the right hon. Gentleman used were "garbled." Then the Clerk at the Table was directed to take down words which had not reached the Speaker's ears, and which, owing to the din which prevailed, he (the Clerk) could not have heard——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to make such observations, and I call upon him to withdraw those words.

MR. HEALY: I withdraw the expression, Sir, that the Clerk at the Table did not hear the words. I presume you must have some knowledge of the fact that he did hear the words. At all events, the words read out from the Table gave me the impression that he could not have heard them—because they were not the words I heard. We have, therefore, got into nice questions in what I may call auricular science. We hear hon. Gentlemen sitting next the hon. Member for Dungarvan giving one account of the words he used, the Clerk at the Table giving another, and the Prime Minister stating that he gave them to the best of his ability. I would suggest that a telephone or phonograph should be used in this House. Well, the Question is, that these words be taken into consideration to-morrow, and I am disputing the advisability of so taking them into consideration, and am showing that the Prime Minister, who is only half the distance from my hon. Friend that the Clerk at the Table is, did not hear the words with sufficient accuracy to give an exact account of them; whilst hon. Members are prepared to give it as their emphatic knowledge that the words taken down are not the words used. As far as I am able to judge, the words of my hon. Friend certainly do not merit the importance which the Prime Minister has attached to them; and instead of being taken into consideration to-morrow, it appears to me very desirable that the question should be postponed until the Autumn Session — [" Oh, oh!"] — well, that is my opinion—and I think we shall then be more likely to have the opportunity of taking them into consideration than we shall to-morrow. If it does come on to-morrow it will interrupt the course of Business, and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) will not have the opportunity of making his important statement, to which hon. Members are looking forward with some impatience. My objections, then, are these —first, the difficulty of hearing the words in question; secondly, their relative unimportance; and, thirdly, the interruption to Business which is likely to follow. The words imputed nothing derogatory in any sense to the Chair—they imputed to the Chair the spirit of prophecy, and in old times such a spirit was considered a qualification of exceeding excellence. It appears, however, from the statement of the Prime Minister, that if, in addition to the ordinary qualifications, hon. Members attribute to the Chair the spirit of prophecy, that is to be considered an imputation on the Chair. [" Oh, oh!"] My opinion is that it is not derogatory to the high conscientiousness of the Chair——

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY: I rise to Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the hon. Member for Wexford, under the pretence of defending—[*Cries of* " Oh!" *and* " Withdraw!"]—the hon. Member for Dungarvan, is not absolutely repeating in substance the imputation on the Chair?

Mr. HEALY: I rise to move that the words of the hon. Member for Oldham be taken down. [*Cries of* " Name, Name!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member for Wexford to confine himself to the Question before the House.

Mr. HEALY: I submit that the hon. Member for Oldham imputes to me a pretence. I altogether disclaim that. If, however, it be the general sense of the House that the hon. Member is not out of Order, I will proceed. I fail to understand the interpretation of the hon. Member for Oldham, who always distinguishes himself in this House by calling out " Question!" and " Order!" [*Cries of* " Question!" *and* " Name, name!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must caution the hon. Member—for the forbearance of this House has its limits—and I must distinctly call upon the hon. Member to confine his remarks to the Question before the House.

Mr. HEALY: That is exactly what I will do, Sir. As I understand the Question before the House, it is that the words used by the hon. Member for Dungarvan should be taken into consideration to-morrow; and that being so, I am stating that the words are not of sufficient importance either to be taken into consideration to-morrow or at any other time. In my view, the words of the hon. Member did not impute to the Chair the slightest disrespect—[" Oh, oh!"]—and I add, further, that you, Sir, were unable, owing to the interruptions which occurred—[" No, no!"]—to follow my hon. Friend in his argument. This House has many more important things to consider besides the words of my hon. Friend, whose remarks in this case have not the importance generally attached to them. It is to be deprecated that the Prime Minister should constantly be in the habit of bringing in these small matters, and of interrupting the proceedings of the House by diverting its attention to personal issues. It is not the first time that the right hon. Gentleman has done so, and I think it too much to ask 500 or 600 Gentlemen to come down here to take into consideration, not the words of an hon. Member, but an erroneous account of some chance words used in debate, and in the heat of the moment.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he rose to express a hope, which he believed was shared by the great body of the House, that some means might be found of terminating a scene which was hardly creditable to that Assembly. They were assembled for the purpose of transacting very important Business. Not only the House, but the country, was expecting most important statements; and yet they had been, for he was afraid to say how long, engaged in a wrangle of a character which could not but lower the House in the eyes of the country, and, he might almost say, in the eyes of the civilized world. He understood the position of the case to be this. The hon. Member for Dungarvan made use of some words which were objected to as reflecting on the conduct of the Chair. The Prime Minister moved that these words should be taken down, and they were taken down. [*Cries of* "No!"] At all events, some words were taken down, the precise accuracy of which was disputed by hon. Members who sat in that part of the House—and he was bound to say that he did not hear the words precisely as they were taken down, although the expression was to the same effect. A Motion was then made by the Prime Minister that the words should be considered to-morrow. This was a wise provision, which the House had always observed, in order to avoid as far as possible the heat of the moment; and it would be perfectly competent for the hon. Member for Dungarvan to explain or to qualify the words when the question of their consideration came on. But no good could result from the course now being pursued. They were now creating difficulties for themselves, that could only end in some unpleasant result; and he would earnestly request hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to divide, if they liked, against the Question of the words being taken into consideration—that was their affair—but, at all events, he hoped the House would be allowed to go on with the important Business before it.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he desired to make a suggestion in consequence of what the right hon. Gentleman had said. The defence of the Member for Dungarvan, as far as he understood it, was that the words were not intentionally insulting to the Chair. If the hon. Gentleman were to get up and say that he did not intend to insult the Chair, probably the Prime Minister would not press his Motion.

MR. CHAPLIN wished, on a point of Order, to ask whether the words which had been taken down might not be again read from the Chair? There was considerable interruption at the time, and he could not hear all the words which were read by the Clerk at the Table; but that part which he did hear certainly did not tally with the words actually used by the hon. Member for Dungarvan. Nobody could be more anxious than he himself was to support the authority of the Chair; but he feared that in the noise and confusion which prevailed some injustice might have been done, and he hoped the words might be read again by the Clerk at the Table. Then, perhaps, the suggestion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle might be adopted.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the practice in these matters was laid down in *Hatsell's Precedents*, a book of great authority. An incident very like the present one was therein recorded. On a particular occasion Sir George Hungerford made use of certain words, and a cry was raised of "Write them down," several Members repeating the words, and all differently. Afterwards a Member asked the Clerk to read the words he had written down, and Sir George Hungerford then made some apology. He ventured to say that that was a very good precedent for the present case. The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) said that the words used by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) were not intended to be insulting to the Chair. The impression of the great body of the House was that they were intended as an insult to the Chair. They understood that the hon. Member for Dungarvan, after having been called to Order by the Chair, and directed to address himself more closely to the Question, instead of doing what any other Member of the House would be disposed to do and bowing to the ruling of the Chair, proceeded to attack that ruling, and to state that the Speaker had not only condemned that which he (Mr. O'Donnell) had said, but had predicted what he was going to say, and having so predicted had condemned it. ["No, no!"] Whether those were the exact words, that was the substance of what the House understood the hon. Member for Dungarvan to say. It was quite true, as the hon. Member for Wexford had remarked, that the House had very important and most momentous Business before it, which it could not transact. They could not transact important Business if Members were to be permitted to insult the Chair. The very first condition for the transaction of Public Business was that there should be regularity, and that the authority of the Chair should be supported. Either the hon. Member for Dungarvan had intended to challenge the authority of the Chair—in which case it was plain that the House must support the Chair; or he did not intend to do so:—and if he got up and said that it was not his intention to do so, the House would be very willing to accept such explanation and apology.

Mr. SPEAKER: As I have been asked by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) to read the words I will do so; they are to this effect:—"That the Chair had made a prediction of the words he was about to speak, and then decided upon them."

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether it would not be proper that the hon. Member for Dungarvan should be called upon to declare whether the words as taken down by the Clerk were accurately reported to the House?

Mr. MARJORIBANKS said, he was sitting immediately opposite to the hon. Member for Dungarvan, and paid great attention to his speech, and immediately after the utterance of the words in question wrote them down as follows:—

> "It was very embarrassing to a Member when, not only were his words prevented reaching the Chair, but they were predicted for him before they were uttered by the presiding Authority."

Mr. O'DONNELL (who rose after repeated calls from the Ministerial Benches): Sir, as I have not been asked by the presiding Authority, since these charges were made against me, as to my version of the words I used, I wish only to say at the present moment that in anything I did say I had not the slightest intention of any insult against the Chair. I did intend—and I dare say when my words are read to-morrow it will be seen that I intended—to convey a very decided and strong protest against the disorderly and habitual interruptions which prevented my words reaching the Chair.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think, Sir, that although the different versions of these words vary materially, so far as the words are concerned, they are completely coincident as regards the sense. From the statement last made it appears that the Speaker, having called a Member of the House to Order, was told by that Member that he had predicted what that Member was going to say—["No!"] I may be quite wrong; but I understood that there was a distinct statement that the Chair had condemned words which had not been uttered. I cannot conceive a more distinct slight or offence conveyed to the Chair. Sir, the hon. Gentleman has just informed the House that he did not intend any offence to the Chair. It is not my desire to interfere for the purpose of pressing a division in the circumstances in which we stand; but I venture to express a hope that, whether intended or not intended as an insult to the Chair, no such words will ever be used again in this House.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

The following is the Entry in Votes:—

[Mr. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, having in course of Debate stated "That the Chair had made a prediction of the words he was about to speak, and then decided upon them:"—

Mr. Speaker directed the Clerk to take down those words, and the same were taken down accordingly.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That those words be taken into Consideration To-morrow."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

And Mr. O'Donnell having explained the words to which exception had been taken:—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*]

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Question again proposed,

> "That, until the end of August, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. HEALY said, that he was in possession of the House when the Prime Minister, a short time ago, rose and interrupted the proceedings, and prevented him concluding his protest against the taking away of private Members' days. In view of the uncalled-for attacks on the Land Act in "another place," and of the Motion of which Lord Brabourne had given Notice, in view, also, of the questions asked in this House in the landed interest, with the object of putting forward opinions hostile to the Land Act, he wished to know from the Government whether an opportunity would be altogether denied the Irish Members of stating the tenants' view of the Land Act? The territorialists possessed great power in that House, and uncontrolled power in "another place;" and the effect of taking away private Members' days, and giving no opportunity to hon. Gentlemen representing the tenants of counteracting these attacks, would be that the Land Commissioners would be intimidated into making their decisions, not in accordance with the evidence, but in accordance with the opinions put forward in Parliament by certain distinguished persons. They were told that respect for the law ought to prevail in Ireland, yet hon. Gentlemen representing the landlords were allowed to speak of the Sub-Commissioners in that House as "confiscators." If hon. Gentlemen representing tenants were given the opportunity they would be able to show that the Sub-Commissioners did not deserve the names given them by the landlord party. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name, Name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: It must be quite plain to the hon. Member that he cannot, upon a Motion like this, challenge the conduct of the Land Commissioners.

MR. HEALY: I think I may say, without venturing to dispute your authority, that I was doing nothing of the kind. [*Cries of* "Name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member will not pay attention to my direction I shall have no alternative but to adopt a decided course.

MR. HEALY desired to repeat, with all respect, that he was doing nothing of the kind. [*Cries of* "Name!"] He was only pointing out what the effect would be if the Land Commission could be assailed as it had been, and private Members were deprived of the opportunity of vindicating it. If their time were annexed by the Government they would be compelled to take up time intended for Committee of Supply.

MR. T. COLLINS said, the Corrupt Practices Bill contained a great deal of good matter, and it would require a considerable time to discuss it. With 150 Votes in Supply to be taken, with debates on Egypt, and a great number of other matters to be disposed of, it was impossible that adequate time could be devoted in the next three weeks to the consideration of the Corrupt Practices Bill; and, therefore, he hoped it would not be persevered with.

MR. MACFARLANE gave Notice that he would call attention to the question as to which he had appealed to the Prime Minister on going into Committee of Supply.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MR. GLADSTONE said, that if it was for the convenience of the House that he should make his statement in Committee, he could only do so if hon. Members who had precedence with Motions on going into Supply were willing to waive their rights.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (VOTE OF CREDIT).

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise, Sir, for the purpose of submitting a Motion that a Vote of Credit be granted by this House for the sum required beyond the ordinary grants of Parliament towards defraying the expense that may be incurred during the year ending March 31st, 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean. I believe it has been already stated to the House that the Vote of Credit which we propose amounts to £2,300,000, and that it is divided between the Army and the Navy in the proportion of £1,400,000 to the Navy and £900,000 to the Army. But it is well to observe that of that £1,400,000 for the Navy by far the larger part, not very far from the whole, I think, or about £1,200,000, is for Army Service, and consists simply of the estimated amount that will be necessary to meet the charges incurred by the hire of transports to carry Her Majesty's troops from this country to the Mediterranean, and the point to which they may ultimately be destined. As regards the force which this Vote of Credit will enable us to send to the Mediterranean, I may state it roughly in these terms—Of Cavalry there will be 2,400; Infantry, 13,400; Horse and Field Artillery, 1,700; making in all 17,500; but, besides these, there will be garrison Artillery, Engineers, Commissariat Corps, Hospital Corps, and the like, amounting to 3,700 men; and there will be a reserve of about 3,100, to sail at a later date. Perhaps it may be convenient—for I have not to trouble the Committee with many details of fact—that I should at once mention to the Committee that we intend to move that a provision nearly equal to this sum, and ultimately exceeding it, be made by introducing a proper clause into the Tax Bill of the present year. The sum immediately to be met is, as I have stated, £2,300,000, and it is our intention to provide for it in the manner which has been adopted on several occasions when the House has found cause to add to the burdens of the country at a time considerably after the commencement of the financial year—that is to say, by making an addition to the Income Tax, which will be charged upon the latter half of the year at double the rate at which it would apply for the whole year. In the present instance, we propose to make an addition of 3*d.* to the second half-year of the Income Tax of 1882-3, which would be equal to an addition of 1½*d.* for the tax of the whole year, making the tax of the whole year 6½*d.* The Committee is aware, of course, that not the whole of the Income Tax can be raised within the year under the present arrangements, greatly improved as they have been since the time when the present Income Tax was first proposed, and when scarcely half the tax, if half, was received in the financial year in and for which it was proposed. I ought to say that the sum intended to be the produce of the financial year of the imposition to which I have referred would be £2,262,000; but that sum is very moderately and safely estimated, and over and above that sum there will be between £500,000 and £600,000, which will not be received until after the present financial year. The Committee will, therefore, observe that the entire financial provision I ask Parliament to make will considerably exceed the charge we ask them to incur. With regard to the general state of the Revenue, I may say that I am not in a condition to submit any alteration of the Estimate to the Committee; but I am in a condition to say that some gain has been made upon the Estimates as far as our experience down to the present date is available, and in these circumstances I shall find myself able to make the grant promised for certain purposes in connection with highways, without asking the House to disturb the present law as to the tax upon carriages. An imposition of that kind, which must, of course, have some effect in disturbing trade, need not be made at a period when we are asking the House to make a much more considerable and a much more direct addition to the taxation of the country. Having stated so much simply for the sake of clearness, I now must go on to say that, in proposing the Vote of Credit to-night, we look, as the next stage of the proceedings, to bring down a Message from Her Majesty, declaring emergency to exist to-morrow, in order to form the foundation on which we should ask the House to make an addition to the present Vote of men which would be necessary in order to enable us to send a force to the Mediterranean such as I have recently described. In due time, in this series of measures, my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India will also ask the House to give its consent to the action of Indian troops in conformity with the Act of Parliament, and then what will remain for us will be to ask the House to go into Committee on the Tax Bill for the purpose of making the pecuniary provision. That will be the series of steps we shall have to take in order to give effect to the resolution at which Her Majesty's Government have arrived. And now it is necessary to consider what is the state of things in Egypt which this provision is designed to meet. It is a state of things which we must describe, except in the City of Alexandria, as one of lawless military violence. And I am sorry to say that state of military violence is apparently aggravated by cruel and wanton crime. It is not for me to assume the ultimate state of the facts as they may appear when we have before us more full and detailed information; but we have before us certain facts which are as significant as they are happily rare in previous history and experience. That the fortifications of a town should be bombarded is of itself a very grave fact, sure to be attended with serious damage; but that that town itself should, not by the bombardment, but by the action, entirely apart from the bombardment, of those who are in positive possession of the reins of Government, and in the exercise of the powers of Government—that a conflagration should be brought into that town upon the retirement of an army which must have known itself perfectly able to hold the town—nay, must have known that for a time, at least, it could hold that town without risk of attack, and that, with that conflagration, there should be let loose on the town those who were to sack and pillage it—these, I say, are dreadful facts which, if they be made good, and we have no reason at present to doubt they are such as I have described—deserve the appellation of cruel and wanton crime. And now, Sir, we have advanced one step further. The Committee is probably aware that the great town of Alexandria is dependent for its supply of water upon the great work called the Mahmoudieh Canal. The water of that Canal is a matter of almost entire insignificance as far as Her Majesty's Forces are concerned. They are possessed of scientific means and machinery by which their wants can, as we are informed, be adequately and amply supplied. The measures, therefore, that have been taken—some say for contaminating it with salt water, but of that there is some uncertainty—but for cutting off the supply of water, are measures directed not against the comfort only, but also against the very lives of the mass of the population of Alexandria, whose offence can amount to nothing but this—that they are not offering an armed resistance to the forces of the English, and the authority of their lawful Ruler the Khedive. Until within the last few weeks, we looked on those who have established the reign of military violence in Egypt as misguided and ambitious men who had broken the law necessary to bind political society together. More grave charges now come up, and it will be for those who have hereafter to consider what course shall be taken to determine, upon careful investigation, whether we can or cannot pronounce to be mitigated the appearances, now too conclusive of barbarous and brutal conduct, directed to objects at variance with the first impulses of humanity. This being the case, as far as Alexandria is concerned, over the rest of Egypt, the same Military Party is acting in violent opposition to the authority of the lawful Ruler. I am not aware that any charge has ever been made against him. We have never learnt that he has in any way abused his trust so as to deserve to forfeit his position. We have not the smallest reason to believe that the popular feeling of Egypt is adverse to the continuance of his rule. What we know, so far as our knowledge goes, is that this same rule of violence is put in force, as far as the power of the Military Chiefs can do it, in every part of the country. The Governors in three out of five Provinces have been dismissed because they were not willing to become the tools of the Military Party. It is, in fact, a case in which we see established the essence of civil strife in its most intense and highest form — the lawful Ruler shut up in Alexandria, where he receives, we believe, the willing obedience of the people; but the bulk of the country, for the present in the possession of the Egyptian Army—that Army, whether a willing or unwilling instrument, directed by its ambitious commander for the purpose of achieving the ultimate fruits of rebellion, and apparently for the purpose of setting up some military dictator. It is not within a circle of associations like these that liberty can grow. There have been periods in this history at which it has been charitably believed, even in this country, that the Military Party was the popular Party, and was struggling for the liberties of Egypt. There is not the smallest rag or shred of evidence to support that contention. In truth, military violence and the *régime* established by military violence, are absolutely incompatible with the growth and the existence of freedom. The Reign of Cromwell was a great Reign; but it did nothing for English freedom, because it was the rule of military force, and it has not left on the Statute Book the record of such triumphs as were achieved by peaceful action under the, in many respects, base and infamous Reign which followed it—the Reign of Charles II. The Reign of Napoleon was a splendid Reign; but, being a reign founded on military power, it did nothing for freedom in France, but tended rather to increase the embarrassments which have continually clogged the succeeding history of a great and noble nation. But, if that be the state of the facts, the question may be asked—"What have we to do with it? Why do we not leave the strong to exercise the rule of strength until in the course of nature, from within the circle of the country itself, and by its own resources, a just retribution is inflicted?" Well, Sir, that is a question fair and right to answer, because, undoubtedly, the fact that you have great interests in a foreign country, and that those interests are seriously suffering in consequence of its civil war or its anarchy, does not of itself suffice to establish the theory of the right of a stranger to enter into that country by force and undertake to find a solution for its political difficulties. Let me, then, Sir, proceed to answer the question—"What have we to do with the solution of this great difficulty in Egypt?" The Egyptian Question, under its present conditions, lies entirely outside the general question of non-intervention. Circumstances have happened from the direct consequences of which we cannot escape, which we are bound to take into account, and which the present Government have found to be imperatively regulative of their conduct. The question, "What have we to do with the internal concerns of Egypt," if it were to be asked at all, ought to have been asked earlier. We admit that we have undertaken some of the most important functions of government in Egypt by international engagements; and it is not free to you with honour, after once entering into such relations, to say that you will regard those engagements as if they had never been contracted, and will fall back upon your own doctrine that non-intervention in the internal affairs of a foreign country is in general to be approved. [Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT made an observation which did not reach the Gallery.] I wish the hon. Gentleman would contain himself for one moment. It was some years ago that this question was really decided, and the groundwork was laid upon which the action now proposed is founded. It was not difficult to foresee that embarrassments and complications such as are now before us would probably arise from undertaking engagements such as were formed in Egypt some years ago. I have no doubt that many foresaw them. It is in my own recollection—and I will venture to trouble the Committee by quoting myself—that I did not fail to deliver a warning on the subject. On the 6th of March, 1876, when it was proposed to send a Commissioner to Egypt for the sake of assuming some powers not very fully and clearly defined over Egyptian finances, I said—

"I should, therefore, wish to know whether, if the proposition for the appointment of such a Commissioner be entertained, the right hon. gentleman means the appointment of a Commissioner who would really have such an effective control over all arrangements and the mode of accounting for these revenues that he could guarantee to us the receipt of the whole that it might be applied to the purpose in view? If this is what it does mean, it appears to me that we are only shifting the difficulty one step further; because in that case our Commissioner is to take into his hands the administration of a very important portion of the government of Egypt; so that the measures which we may think necessary as a matter of prudence to cover the proposal which we are to consider may entail upon us still greater difficulties and mix us up still further with a heavier responsibility for a portion of the internal government of Egypt. (Hear, hear.) When we have begun with one portion of the internal government of Egypt, we may pass on to another. We may come to occupy the entire ground by a series of degrees not difficult to contemplate."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxxvii., 1426.]

Well, Sir, nothing was done at that period to bring about the realization of such anticipations. But, in the year 1879, decisions were taken which supply the real starting-point of the whole of the recent political Correspondence. In 1879 a change was effected in the Supreme Ruler—at least, in the legally Supreme Ruler—of the country at our instance, or nearly at our instance, and the present Ruler, Tewfik Pasha, succeeded one who was compelled to withdraw. Even by the fact of that succession we incurred a great responsibility to the person thus elevated. The Committee will see that unless the person so chosen and so preferred failed in his duty, it became more our duty, and no small amount of obligation, to support him in the exercise of the rule to which we have had a large share in preferring him. But that was not all; because Controllers were appointed by the positive action of the English and French Governments, who became members of a Council in Egypt corresponding with the Cabinet in this country, or, rather, exercising a much larger and wider power than the Cabinet of this country, and invested with a real and substantial control, extending directly to a great part of the Egyptian finances, and virtually, perhaps, extending to the whole of it. Under these circumstances, it was impossible for any Government of England or France to decline advising the Council in the internal affairs of Egypt. You could not say to the Ruler, when he asked your help and assistance—"It is no affair of ours." You could but give him the best advice of which the circumstances admitted; and it is by giving that advice, time by time and step by step, that we have arrived at the present position. We have arrived at it by a series of steps which form a chain that cannot be broken. I am not going now to pronounce an opinion as to the wisdom of the original proceeding. After having read to the Committee the sentiments I have myself declared, it will not be supposed I was prejudiced in favour of that policy. I have never been called upon to approve or condemn it. We found it existed as a fact, and we recognized frankly the claims of honour and duty which it appeared to us to impose. And thus we have arrived at the point where we now stand. It is fair to say, however much—and I think it is greatly open to question—we may question on grounds of policy and prudence whether the present embarrassments ought not to have been foreseen, and whether the course taken in 1879 was wise—it is but fair to say—I add my own testimony to the many testimonies forthcoming—that no inconsiderable benefits have been conferred by what was done upon the people of Egypt. It may be that, in certain respects and within very narrow limits, new abuses may have grown up; but it is a fact of a hundred times greater importance that the condition of the cultivator of the soil, which in Egypt was miserable almost beyond belief, has been greatly reformed with the limits—I think it may generally be said, capable of proof—within the limits of something like regular law and order. That being the state of the case which we have had to meet, I will now explain the manner in which we have arrived at our present position. It is not necessary for me to go into the details of that position, for they have been set forth fully in the Papers that are now upon the Table of the House, and, perhaps, with adequate fulness, in a consecutive manner, in the lengthened despatch from Lord Granville, dated July 11th. But the point which I conceive to have been the turning point in this series of transactions was when the long festering military discontent, that had already broken out into occasional acts of aggression and violence, at length reached such a height that, in the first place, the military dictators thought fit to summon the Notables, without the consent of the Ruler of the country and in defiance of the law, and then when those Notables, highly to their own honour and with conduct that really gives better promise than any other single occurrence in the whole series of circumstances before us—when those Notables declined to be parties to these proceedings; when those military dictators persevered in the course on which they had entered, and, casting off the mask, determined to govern the country without the consent of the Notables, as well as without the consent of the Khedive. The condition of thorough and violent illegality, hopeless for the people of Egypt, having thus been achieved, and we, feeling ourselves under an obligation to recognize it as a state of things for which it was our duty at least to take part in devising a remedy, it is time that I should endeavour to state to the Committee what the general view we have taken is of the mode in which that remedy ought to be applied. We had to take into account the Sovereignty of the Sultan in Egypt. We had no desire to impart a shock to the fabric of the Ottoman Empire. Some Members of this House appear to think that a general crusade against the Ottoman Empire had been taught by this Government or by some Members of it. Probably where that idea prevails there is hardly anyone who is more in the view of those who entertain it than myself. But I have never taught a crusade of that kind. I have always held, in language perfectly unvarying, that we ought to insist upon the duty of making some acknowledgments with respect to the condition of the subject races in Turkey—of making those acknowledgments in more than mere words when opportunity offers. But I have never ceased steadily to maintain that we were the best friends of Turkey; and if, on a certain occasion, which was the very highest climax to which I ever ascended, I did contemplate the removal of Turkish power from one Province—the Province of Bulgaria—I said then what has proved to be true—namely, that those who then professed themselves the friends of Turkey would lead her to the loss of that Province, and of a good many more also. Well, such has been the teaching of history in this matter; and we have approached the question of the Turkish Sovereignty in Egypt with this same feeling, that we were earnestly desirous to maintain that Sovereignty within the limits of lawful right. We, therefore, looked first of all to the Turkish Power as the quarter from which intervention would be most desirable, when once the point had been reached which made the intervention of force absolutely necessary. We did all we could to soothe the susceptibilities of the Sultan. We received from him, over and over again, the most gratifying assurances. We cherished, as long as we could, the expectation that to him we might look for the restoration of order in Egypt. We invariably held out to him the Firmans given by himself and his Predecessors as supplying the political basis on which we desired that the Constitution of Egypt should stand. We endeavoured to remove from the minds of himself and his counsellors every trace or shadow of suspicion as to the views and intentions with which we ourselves had entered upon the consideration of the matter; and even so long as up to the day of the bombardment we held firmly by the idea that if the Sultan had recognized the opportunity he had then, possessing, as he did, the knowledge that we and the other Powers of Europe were prepared to give him every countenance and assistance, he had then an opportunity, easier and more effective than ever, of restoring tranquillity to Egypt by the exercise of his authority and the use of his Military Forces. I have no right and no disposition to judge the policy which has been pursued by the Sultan; but, in our opinion, that opportunity appears to have passed away. We are no longer able, viewing the actual condition of Egypt, viewing the confusion and disorder, viewing the continual reports that reach us of pillage and murder in parts of the country where the affording of help is totally impossible —we are no longer able to hope that a remedy for that state of things can be or will be applied by the use of the military power of the Sultan. He has had the case before him, not for weeks only, but for months. There is no reason that I know now why he should arrive at a resolution to which he has been so long and so earnestly pressed and urged, but which he has, up to the present, declined to take; and we are, therefore, reluctantly, but decisively, compelled to turn our view towards other courses.

Sir, next to our desire that the Sovereign of the Ottoman Empire should discharge the first duty of Sovereignty, by bringing about a restoration of order and tranquillity in Egypt, was our desire to make an appeal to the common authority of Europe, and to avoid, above all things, the exhibition of a disposition to a line of isolated action, on grounds which it is needless to question at length —grounds alike of policy and of principle—on the ground of policy, because in that way we felt that we were taking the wisest course for the purpose of avoiding future and entangling complications; and, on the ground of principle, because I believe that it is the just opinion of reflecting men that there is nothing more important fôr the future of civilization than to make free resort, wherever it can be done, to that authority of united Europe which, when it does speak, does really speak with a weight which causes it to be felt that it has a real title to be heard. It is certainly very difficult to bring that authority to bear, and the history of endeavours to make use of it is a history of partial successes and of partial failures. There was a partial failure to bring it to bear in 1853-4, before the Crimean War, and yet there was also a partial success. There was also another interesting instance that happened many years before, in the case of Greece, when it was impossible to move either Prussia or Austria; but when France, Russia, and England formed a combination, which combination, casting aside every selfish view which any of the Powers singly might have been tempted to entertain, brought about by a shorter course than might have been expected the establishment of a free Greek Kingdom. Well, for these reasons we laboured hard to bring together the Conference which has been sitting, and is still sitting, at Constantinople; and important good, undoubtedly, we have obtained from that Conference, because we have obtained a solemn appeal to the Sultan to take into his own hands, under conditions approved by civilized Europe, the settlement of the Egyptian Question. But we have obtained more than that. We have obtained the negative result that the Powers themselves are not willing, as a body, to be directly parties either to military action in Europe or to granting a Commission, or, as it is sometimes termed, a Mandate, to certain of their number to exercise that military action. But we have obtained, I think, to our entire satisfaction, the moral support and concurrence of Europe in the policy which we are pursuing. There has been a universal recognition that a case has arisen where, in the interests of humanity and of the future, force should be employed to put down the military dictatorship in Egypt, and a recognition that, although it unfortunately be true that Turkey has not been found ready to take into her own hands the discharge of the duty appertaining to Sovereignty in that respect, yet that it was a duty which ought to be performed. Of that we have had full and adequate assurance, and it forms an important part of the case on which we stand. On this matter, of course, we have looked in a very special degree to our great neighbour France, not only on account of her power and influence, but because of the close and direct relations in which we were placed with her under the arrangements of 1879. And here the principle of concurrence has obtained something more than moral assent, because as to one important part, at least, of the Egyptian Question—namely, that which concerns the free passage of the Suez Canal—we have succeeded in obtaining the direct and active concurrence of France. France, I believe, so far as the French Government is concerned, holds herself now prepared, along with ourselves, to guarantee the safety and the free use of that great maritime highway. We have no present reason to suppose that France will go further. It is not for me to predict what she will do, or what she may not be prepared to do, in the exercise of her undoubted right; but I should be deceiving the Committee if I held out to them the expectation that we were entitled to look for her naval or military concurrence in operations in Egypt further than with respect to the security and defence of the Suez Canal. Well, now, the defence of the Suez Canal does not, in our view, meet the necessities of the case, or the obligations under which we are bound to the present Khedive of Egypt, or the international arrangements that have been in force now for several years. Perhaps I may, in one single sentence, say with regard to the Khedive that undoubtedly the circumstances of his accession to power gave him a right to much consideration at our hands, the circumstances of his conduct during the last three or four months of difficulty never surpassed, and of danger to his life most formidable and alarming. His conduct, I think, has been without a single step in deviation from the one direct line of honour and of duty, and has greatly enhanced his claims upon us. But the insecurity of the Canal, it is plain, does not exhibit to us the seat of the disease. The insecurity of the Canal is a symptom only, and the seat of the disease is in the interior of Egypt, in its disturbed and its anarchical condition. We do not feel able to be satisfied that we should fully have discharged our duty without endeavouring to bring to bear adequate means of converting the present interior state of Egypt from anarchy and conflict to a state of peace and order. During the time that yet remains to us we shall still look to the co-operation of the Powers of civilized Europe; if it be in any case open to us. It is with us a policy, and it is with us a duty, to hail such co-operation, not merely as lightening our burden, but as strengthening our title, and as divesting it of an aggressive character. If, therefore, it be available we are prepared and desirous to hail it. If, after having exhausted all chances; if, after having failed with Turkey, and not having succeeded, at any rate, in bringing the full authority and force of the Powers represented at the Conference to bear upon this question—if every other chance is exhausted, we shall not, Sir, shrink from undertaking the duty by the single power of this country. It is, no doubt, a serious charge; but it is a charge which seems to devolve upon us from our duty, and which we believe to be within our means. We believe that it will have the full sanction of all those who are observers of our policy, and we are convinced that we shall be performing a great service to Europe and the world. Well, now, Sir, let me say a few words on the subject of what our action thus far has been. We sent ships to Alexandria in pursuance of a practice well established—that, when there is serious danger to our fellow-subjects—to the subjects of the Government in a foreign country—to endeavour to afford them, at least, the means of refuge through its Naval Force, and that was the main and the justifying cause why our ships were first sent to Alexandria. The danger increased; the number of those ships was not adequate to that augmented danger, and it was enlarged. I do not suppose the contention will be raised in this House, or, at least, I do not believe it will be widely supported, that these ships ought to have been withdrawn from Egypt. There were practical questions to be considered which would not have permitted us to entertain such a view; but I will not enter into argument until I find we are challenged upon that point of our policy. We believed that our ships were lawfully and rightfully in Alexandrian waters, and, feeling so, that it was our duty to take whatever measure might properly be taken, and might imperatively be called for in the interest of self-defence. With a view to the security of that Fleet, authority was given to interfere with the persistent endeavour to extend and to strengthen the fortifications of Alexandria; and those who have observed what was done on the 11th July may be apt to believe that had the process been allowed to continue for a much longer time, I will not say that it would have been fatal to the British Fleet, but I will say the consequences might have been much more serious. We justify the act of bombardment simply, strictly, and exclusively as an act of self-defence. Such was our object; but the question is raised—What ought to have been our conduct? And the answer given by some is that we ought to have sent with the Fleet a sufficient force for the purpose of preventing conflagration and pillage. I shall be very curious to hear that matter argued out. I should like to know what is meant by a sufficient force. A sufficient force, in the first place, must have been a force adequate, not only to meet in the field, but to drive out of every street and lane in a great city an Egyptian Army which was reported to us, according to the best accounts, to be between 10,000 and 15,000 strong. What would that sufficient force have been? I do not think I overstate it if I put it, for the sake of hypothesis, at 10,000 men; and I want to know in what way the sending of a sufficient force could by any possibility have been made to cohere—even decently to cohere—with our profession that our Fleet was in Alexandrian waters without the intention of offence, except what might be necessary for its own security. It would have been absolutely to belie our professions if we had sent such a force. It would have meant an invasion of that country; and an assumption of authority to determine the Egyptian Question by our sole action would not only have utterly belied our whole action in reference to the title and object with which we sent our Fleet—not only would it have belied our professions as regards the Power reigning in Egypt, but it would have been grossly disloyal in the face of Europe and of the Conference we had brought together. I want to point out what is the real charge against us, and let us be challenged on that charge if it is thought fit. We had brought together, with great pains and difficulty, the Powers of Europe, the aid of whose endeavours we had invoked to bring Turkey into the field. We had warned the Conference that if they failed to bring Turkey into the field we should still urge on it the consideration of other and effectual measures. Was it possible for men to go further than we had gone? We invest that Conference with a title to our forbearance, at least, from anything that might be in conflict with the policy which had met with the approval of what is undeniably, after all, the highest authority known in the civilized world. To have sent an invading Army to Egypt when the Conference had but recently met, and when it had not been able even to make its application to the Sultan, would, in our opinion, have disentitled us to every claim to respect in the eyes of the Powers of Europe, and it would, in truth, have been a flagrant contradiction to all of our professions. But I am bound to say I go a little further still. I want to know what force of 10,000 men, or of any number of thousands of men, could by any possibility have prevented an army in the occupation of a town from setting fire to it before leaving it? There is no force that could have done it. We should have been acting disloyally towards Europe; and, in addition, I believe it would have been impossible for us, by landing forces after the bombardment, to prevent the deplorable occurrences which took place in Alexandria through the wanton and gratuitous excesses of the Egyptian Army. There are many bombardments known to history; but I doubt very much if you will find a case in which an army possessed of the town of which the fortifications had been bombarded has retired from that town, setting fire to it in many places, and exposing vast portions of its population—not Englishmen, for they were all gone; not Europeans, for the population was not confined to them; not Christians, because it was not confined to them, but the general population of the town—to all the horrors of sack and pillage. So much, then, as to what we have done. And now I have a word to say about what we intend to do. I only speak of the object with which we shall move. As to the instruments with which we move, I have already said that we look to co-operation as long as a likelihood and prospect of co-operation remain; but the spirit of our action, with co-operation or without co-operation, will be this. We hope to put down that tyranny which now reigns in Egypt, and when that preliminary step may have been achieved—and God grant it may be soon—we hope to promote a settlement of Egyptian affairs, based upon the maintenance of international right, based upon the avoidance of every selfish purpose and design. We shall desire to strengthen the Throne worthily occupied by the present Khedive, if we have reason to believe—and I feel confident we shall have every reason to believe—in the continuance of that worthiness. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) has more than once put upon the Paper, within the last few weeks, a sympathetic Question addressed to me, and evidently intended to convey the suggestion and the hope that in any measures which we might take or share in for the settlement of Egyptian affairs we should not forget the liberties of the Egyptian people. Sir, I requested the hon. Gentleman to withdraw that Question for the time, and I did so because I was of opinion that to raise any particular question in respect to any particular right or object which it might be proper to hold in view when we come to a settlement might possibly arouse susceptibilities, and give rise to misconstruction. I have to thank the hon. Gentleman for not having put that Question to me at a time when it seemed unreasonable. I can assure the hon. Gentleman it will be a sacred part of our duty to favour equal laws in Egypt, and, within the limits of reason, to favour popular liberty. We must not be too hasty in our favourable assumptions; yet I, for one, do certainly believe that Egypt is a country which has, not economically, but socially and politically, made great progress; and there is reason to hope that when the incubus which now afflicts her is removed, and a reign of law is substituted for that of military violence, something may be founded there which may give hope for the future —something which may tend to show that the desire for free institutions is not wholly confined to Christian races, but that even in a Mahomedan people, whose circumstances are certainly less favourable to the development of free institutions, a noble thirst may arise for the attainment of those blessings of civilized life which they see have been achieved in so many countries in Europe. Sir, these will be the purposes with which we shall move. It will be premature now to enter into details as to a general re-establishment of the *status quo.* It is impossible, for example, to form at this time any judgment with reference to maintaining or changing what is called the Control in Egypt; but what I do wish to convey is this—that whether we go to Egypt alone or in partnership we shall not go for selfish objects. Even if it happen that our action be isolated, except for the happy conjunction with France I have already noticed with respect to the Suez Canal—and I venture to think that conjunction may be considered assured—if our action should be isolated, not isolated will be our purpose. Our purpose will be to put down tyranny and to favour law and freedom; and we shall cherish something of the hope that it may yet be given to Egypt, with all her resources, and with the many excellent qualities of her peaceful and peace-loving and laborious people, to achieve in the future, less, perhaps, of glory, but yet possibly more happiness than she did once achieve when, in a far-off and almost forgotten time, she was the wonder of the ancient world.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I must say it has never been my lot to have listened to a speech in this House which has given me more grave reason for consideration than that which we have just heard. I do not for a moment yield to the right hon. Gentleman in my conviction that if England sets herself to work in her single strength to accomplish the objects which, so far as we can understand, the Government are setting before themselves, she will show that she is competent to discharge that duty, and to accomplish the end desired. Of this, at least, I am certain—that if England undertakes that task it will be in the full strength of her sons of all shades of opinion. But I feel that this is a moment at which we require further explanation and fuller consideration than it is possible for us to exercise at the first blush of the statement to which we have just listened. There is much in that statement which has both surprised and, I think, disappointed the House. We find that we are no longer to look for aid either from the Porte—the legitimate Sovereign of Egypt, charged, as the right hon. Gentleman says it should have been, with the execution of the duty of maintaining peace within its own Dominions—nor are we to look for the assistance of any of the Powers of Europe, except in a limited degree. [MR. GLADSTONE made a gesture of dissent.] Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will explain.

MR. GLADSTONE: What I said was that all the hopes and chances of co-operation are not exhausted.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The "hopes and chances of co-operation are not exhausted!" Well, are we to live upon hopes? It seems to me that in those two words we have a clue to a great deal of what has been done. We can now understand that for 12 months, or nearly 12 months, it has been upon hopes and chances that the Government have been proceeding; and I am bound to say that, looking to the position of affairs as it is now represented to us, looking to the conditions under which we are to engage in this enterprize, looking to the enterprize itself, so mistily shadowed forth to us, and looking, at the same time, to the attitude of the other Powers, we require some little consideration before we commit ourselves to a support of the Government in this matter. I am, and always have been, one of the very last in England to embarrass and weaken the hands of the Executive in a policy of a character involving military operations. If we are persuaded that military operations ought to be undertaken, and will be undertaken, we ought to give the Government our support and strength; but we ought to expect, and we have a right to expect, and it is our duty to demand from the Government, full explanations both as to the grounds on which they are proceeding, the object at which they aim, and, in such degree as is compatible with proper military considerations, full explanation as to the means by which they expect to attain the object in view. But what have been the statements of the right hon. Gentleman? He began by endeavouring, as far as possible, to throw the responsibility for the present state of things in Egypt from himself and his Government upon the Government which preceded him. If I thought I should not weary the Committee I should now be prepared to contend very warmly against the description which the right hon. Gentleman has given of this matter. I contend he has given an entirely erroneous description of the proceedings at the time of the Mission of Sir Stephen Cave.

MR. GLADSTONE: No, no.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Yes. To whom was the right hon. Gentleman referring when he told us that the groundwork of these proceedings was laid some years ago—in 1876?

MR. GLADSTONE: No; I said in 1879. [*Cries of* "1876!"] The groundwork was laid in 1876.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I entirely dispute the accuracy of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, and if the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to finish my sentence he will find I am prepared to make good what I state. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the groundwork of these proceedings was laid some years ago; and then he referred to a speech of his made in the year 1876, upon the occasion of Sir Stephen Cave being sent out, as the right hon. Gentleman described it, as a Commissioner with very considerable powers. He then went on to say that nothing serious came of that, and what he was ready to point to was rather the decisions arrived at in 1879. I entirely dispute that the right hon. Gentleman's description is anything like an abstract of the proceedings of the late Government. I say that Sir Stephen Cave's Mission was one which was of a purely inquiring character; it was to enable us to obtain certain information; and the Control to which the right hon. Gentleman refers was not only originated in 1879, but it was entirely independent of the action of the Government—in fact, it was originally instituted upon the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) and his Colleagues. When we come to 1879, I wish to point this out to the right hon. Gentleman, if he will give me his attention for a moment—that the decree that was put out in 1879 greatly limited and reduced the powers given to the Controllers by the previous decree, which was the work of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) and his Colleagues. They were expressly excluded from the exercise of administrative functions previously given to them, and entirely removed from such a position as the right hon. Gentleman ascribes to them. They were told they were given a consultative voice and powers of investigation, but not such powers as belong to the Cabinet of which the right hon. Gentleman is the head. I am prepared, on the proper occasion, to enter at length into an explanation and defence of the proceedings of the late Government; but I maintain that on the present occasion I ought not to be called upon to do that, because it would be evading altogether the question really at issue. Whether the conduct of the late Government was or was not open to the remarks the right hon. Gentleman has now made, this certainly is to be said—that by his own admission, not only now on the floor of the House, both by himself and of his Colleagues, in State despatches and otherwise, the work we did was good work, that produced a state of things greatly for the benefit of Egypt, and greatly for the advancement of the prosperity of the people of that country. That being so, we have a right to come forward, having left things in that position, and say—"Why, if it was unsatisfactory, did you not alter or reverse it? If, on the other hand, it was satisfactory, why have you made this piece of work out of that which we left in your hands?" I contend that it will be found, when we come closely to examine these matters, that, to a great extent, the miserable condition to which things have been brought is due, not to the action of the late Government, but rather to the action, if we can call it action, of the present Government. I maintain that, from the beginning of the disturbances occasioned by the Military Party—of whom the right hon. Gentleman has spoken in terms of just indignation—from the beginning of those disturbances the conduct of the Government has been such as not to meet the emergencies of the case, but, on the contrary, to cut away and to embarrass the means of resisting it in the hands of the Khedive. With whom were we to have acted? When the late Government had to deal with a position of considerable difficulty in reference to the change in the position of the late Khedive, his deposition, or rather his forced resignation, at that time the Government of the day acted in cordial co-operation and concert with the Porte, as the Sovereign of the Khedive. But what has been the conduct of the present Government in regard to their relations with the Porte? They tell us they have looked to and desired that the Porte should exercise its Sovereign rights, in order to preserve peace in the Principality of Egypt. But how has the Porte been able to do it? The Government have hung upon its arm continually; they told the Porte that it was bound to exercise its functions; but they embarrassed it by sending troops there, and by taking other measures for the exertion of force. How have they acted in relation with France? I think, if we look at the relations with France, and read the whole story of the negotiations, we shall see that there has been an entire case of the want of a real and effective understanding between them. That is one of the points we put before them. They profess that we are in cordial co-operation with France. But when we ask—"What are you doing here—here is a difficult state of things growing up; what are you going to do?" The Government say—"Do not inquire; we are in cordial co-operation with France; we agree to act together; but, at the same time, we hold ourselves free with regard to any particular action that may be taken." I do not believe that, from first to last, there was anything that really could have been called an effective understanding with France, or that there was anything like an effective understanding between the two Powers. It was the sort of understanding that existed between the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) and his Colleagues. They agreed to hold together; but they were not agreed upon any effective action. At the date when it was necessary that something should be done they fell apart *in toto.* I am sorry as to the manner in which the Government have acted throughout this matter. They have, as it seems to me, taken exactly the most foolish and unwise course they could have taken, because they have fallen into the error of dawdling and endeavouring to succeed by their demonstrations. A policy of demonstration and dawdling is a most dangerous one. It may succeed, but it must be judged by results, and when we see what the result in this case has been, I am bound to say that we cannot form the best opinion either as to the wisdom or diplomacy of the Government. I am sorry that I have been forced to explain so much on account of the unnecessary attack which was made by the right hon. Gentleman upon his Predecessors. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] I see that the right hon. Gentleman shakes his head; but he said something which was understood as an attack—and which we understood to be an endeavour to shift on to the Government which preceded him the exclusive responsibility for the position into which things have got. I quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman in the appreciation which he has expressed of the great importance of putting down the military tyranny to which Egypt is subjected; and I am prepared to say with him that the general course, not only of the late Government, but of any Government in this country for a considerable time, has been such as to make it impossible for us to look with indifference on such a state of things. The proceedings with regard to the Control are, after all, but an incident in the general history of our dealings with Egypt. If we look back to the days of the old Capitulations, and the substitution of judicial reform, even down to the time preceding Sir Stephen Cave's Mission, we shall see how the complications arose in connection with the obligations of Egypt to this country. Our claims on the tribute, for instance, were assigned, not under the late Government, but under a Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was a Member. It was assigned as a security for the debt which was created in 1850 and 1856. When we look at the other interests which England has in Egypt, independent of her great interest in the maintenance of the Suez Canal, we shall see how important it was that Egypt should prosper and be peaceful; that she should be contented and happy. I may say that I think the action which each successive Government has taken with regard to Egypt has been both justifiable and beneficial, and has entailed on us the obligations to which the right hon. Gentleman has adverted. And now I want to ask one or two questions about the present state of things. We have been told that the object of our joint mission is to put down tyranny and re-establish good government in Egypt. All that may be very excellent. But we want to know, as far as it is possible to tell us, what are the steps by which we are about to proceed? We are about to go alone, with, as the right hon. Gentleman says, the sympathy and moral support, at all events, of every Power in Europe, and the aid of France to a limited extent. I think we ought to be told what is the attitude of other Governments, and we ought to have some assurance with regard to France, and as to the extent of the moral support and sympathy which are said to exist. When we see that we are going into an enterprize of such magnitude and importance, and when we are told that no other nation but one is going to stand by our side, and that one only to a limited extent, we ought to have some evidence to show that we are not acting alone without the assent of these Powers, but that we are acting as a mandatory of them. We are forced to ask these questions, because the Government have not been very ready to tell us all that is going on. And I must say that with reference to the negotiations with the European Powers, and the representations of the Conference, we are left, at a moment like this, in a condition of darkness, which I hope the Government will very speedily terminate. We also want to know, if we are to go alone, what force is going to be employed, and if any contingent, and if so, what contingent is coming from any other part of the Empire? Are there to be any Indian troops? We have not heard one word about them from the right hon. Gentleman; but the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, in the early part of the evening, gave Notice of a Motion to show that it is intended to use Her Majesty's Forces, and that some part of the expense is proposed to be charged upon India. I hope we shall be informed with regard to that matter, and how far it is their intention to draw upon the resources of that part of the Empire. I hope that an answer will be given to the Question suggested by my hon. Friend the Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow)—namely, whether it is intended to charge the expenses of the employment of these troops on the Indian or the British Exchequer? These are all points on which we desire to have information. I do not, at the present moment, desire to express any final opinion on the proposal made to us by the right hon. Gentleman. I think we have a right to ask for a short time to consider the proposal. I hope the right hon. Gentleman does not intend to press us to give a Vote to-night. I am quite sure that whenever we get an explanation such as we want, and have a right to ask for, the House of Commons will approach the question in a spirit worthy of Englishmen, and that there will be no unnecessary delay or embarrassment when we are satisfied that we are right in the course we are pursuing. Before I sit down I should like to ask whether there is any truth in the report which has reached this country that the Conference is already dissolved?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not heard, Sir, that there is any truth in that report. I was surprised when I found that the right hon. Gentleman meant to ask for time, because the right hon. Gentleman has already proceeded to make a partial reply to my speech. He entirely misunderstood what I said about Sir Stephen Cave. I quoted my own words, and those words had no reference to Sir Stephen Cave, but to a scheme which was not his, but one which the late Government aired at one time, but which they did not act upon so long as Lord Derby remained at the Foreign Office. I never said or implied that the functions of the Control were extended. The difference was this. The Control was established upon the authority of the English and French Governments, and, being so established, the Controllers were not dismissable by the Egyptian Rulers without the consent of England and France. A more extraordinary interference with the affairs of a foreign country cannot be conceived. I have made no attempt to exempt the present Government from responsibility for each and every step they have taken, and I defended them upon all the points on which I thought their policy has been challenged. But, I say, follow up those points; try them one by one, and if you follow them up, you will then, in my opinion, come to a certain epoch, which is the true origin of all that has since happened. That is, I apprehend, a perfectly fair method of proceeding. The right hon. Gentleman went so far as to say I made an attack upon the late Government, when I said expressly I was called upon neither to approve nor condemn, and I went out of my way to say that the Control had done good to the people of Egypt, and that is the reward which I receive for such an acknowledgment. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has taken that course; but if he desires that time should be taken, I shall not resist his proposal, and therefore I will not oppose the Motion to report Progress.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I did not make any Motion to report Progress.

MR. GLADSTONE: If such a Motion is made I shall not resist it. [An hon. MEMBER: The Indian troops.] The explanation which I have given to-night is a strictly limited one. The proper time for explanations in regard to Indian troops will be when my noble Friend makes his Motion. My explanations to-night have been limited, and I do not attempt to describe the whole of our course on this subject.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had one question to put to the right hon. Gentleman. Was the Vote of Credit now proposed to be strictly limited to the expenses of the troops to be sent from this country? Did it include anything for the expenses of the troops to be sent from India?

MR. GLADSTONE: In no sense whatever. I stated that in my statement as clearly as I could. It is entirely for the troops to be sent from this country.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, there was one more question he should like to ask. For what period had the expenses been calculated which they were now asked to vote? They were told that it was to be a large expedition; that 20,000 or 23,000 men were to be sent out to Egypt. It must be borne in mind that they were being sent to a very expensive part of the world; and it might be fairly assumed that the sum of £2,300,000, now asked for for military operations in Africa, would not last very long. He should, therefore, be glad to be told for what period the Vote was calculated. It would be a great satisfaction to find that the expedition could be conducted without a further appeal to the Exchequer.

MR. CHILDERS: Perhaps I had better answer the question of the hon. Gentleman. The amount required to be taken for the Army—and I have no means at present of checking the details —has been calculated for the period which those who advise the Government in military matters consider would be sufficient to complete operations. It is designed to cover a period of three months.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he was not going to enter into any open question, or to follow the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. All he desired was to ask for information on one point. The right hon. Gentleman, in vindicating the course of action of the Government up to the present time, had made a statement to the effect that the terrible state of things in Alexandria was owing to action entirely apart from that of Her Majesty's Navy. Now, was it not the fact that the Government had received a distinct warning from various sources as to the unavoidable result of that course of action? It was not denied that Major Tulloch sent home distinct information to the Government to this effect. Now, who was Major Tulloch? He was a gentleman of unquestionable ability and of great experience, who had lived in Alexandria for a considerable time, and who was sent out by the Government for the purpose of collecting information. Major Tulloch did send home detailed information to the Government on the subject, upon which the Government might have acted, and by means of which some of the horrible consequences which had ensued might have been avoided. He wanted to know if that was the fact or not; and, if it was the fact, whether the Government would not lay on the Table of the House of Commons whatever information, if there was any, that had been forwarded to them by Major Tulloch? In the despatches which had been laid upon the Table there was information to show that most unquestionably did the British residents in Alexandria call on Her Majesty's Government to provide sufficient means for the protection of life and property. It was also stated that the bombardment of the forts would, in all probability, result in serious danger to the European population, and in regard to which the Government ought to have been prepared. [MR. GLADSTONE: Will the hon. Gentleman read the despatch?] In one of the despatches it was stated that there was every reason to fear a recurrence of the horrors which had taken place; that the Europeans in Alexandria were absolutely defenceless, and that they had not the means of retiring, as in order to reach the harbour they would have to run the gauntlet of the guns through the streets. The despatch added that when the forts were disabled there would commence a great danger for Europeans. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would order the rest of the despatch to be given. He was sorry to find that the right hon. Gentleman had left the House, because this was a despatch which he understood the right hon. Gentleman to desire him to read, and he wished the right hon. Gentleman to hear the rest of the despatch. The despatch went on to say—

> "Then would commence a period of great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of the soldiers, exasperated by defeat, while the British Admiral could not risk his men ashore, because his whole available force for landing purposes did not exceed 300 men."

He (Mr. Chaplin) was bound to say, quite apart from the information which might or might not have been supplied by Major Tulloch to the Government—and he hoped the Committee would be distinctly told to-night that the information which had been supplied would be laid on the Table—he was bound to say that, quite apart from that information, there was contained in the despatch he had read sufficient to induce him to believe that the Government had ample warning of the fearful consequences likely to ensue from the bombardment, which fearful consequences actually did ensue, and which Her Majesty's Government took no sufficient means to prevent. These were points upon which he hoped the Government would give the Committee distinct information and full explanation before the debate was closed that night.

MR. CHILDERS: I thought I had answered the Question put to me by the hon. Member in reference to Major Tulloch the other day. What I said then was, that Major Tulloch was neither the agent nor the adviser of the Government in any sense. Major Tulloch was an officer on the Staff at Portsmouth, and, having a considerable local knowledge of Alexandria and the neighbourhood, he was sent by me to Sir Beauchamp Seymour to give him information about Alexandria and its vicinity. He was simply attached to Sir Beauchamp Seymour for that purpose before the bombardment commenced. He was not sent as the agent of the Government, nor as their adviser, to Sir Beauchamp Seymour; but it was felt that his local knowledge might be useful to the Admiral. I have already made that statement. Whatever information Major Tulloch possessed in regard to the neighbourhood of Alexandria he gave to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, but he was never asked to advise Her Majesty's Government on naval or military operations. Therefore it is not my duty, and it would be establishing an extraordinary precedent if, having appointed an officer for that purpose, I was to allow myself to be catechized about his personal opinions on subjects which were altogether beyond the sphere of his duty.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that was not the question. He had not asked for what purpose Major Tulloch had been appointed, or to whom he was credited, or what special powers he might have at this moment. What he did ask was, whether Major Tulloch did not send home information to the Government that probably a bombardment, unsupported by troops, would result in the horrible state of things which had since been witnessed at Alexandria? He had further asked whether, if Major Tulloch did send home information to that effect, the Government would lay it on the Table?

MR. CHILDERS: That was not the subject of Major Tulloch's employment. He might send over his opinion as to the politics of the Cabinet; but that would have nothing to do with the purpose for which he was sent out. He was sent to Alexandria for a specific purpose—namely, to give Sir Beauchamp Seymour local information—information in regard to Alexandria and the neighbourhood. Beyond that, he had no other duties to perform, and I can certainly give no other answer than that which I have already given.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he thought there ought to be an understanding whether the debate was to be continued, or Progress was to be reported. The questions involved were of great importance, and a desultory discussion of this nature would only prejudice them. Either the debate should proceed regularly, if that was the general feeling, or it should be brought to a close. He felt very strongly the disadvantageous character of a desultory discussion of this kind.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he had understood the Prime Minister to say that he would not be indisposed, if there was a general desire on the part of the Committee, to consent to an adjournment of the discussion. He thought the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Goschen) only expressed the feeling of a great many Members on both sides of the House. The statement which had been made by the Prime Minister was one of such extreme importance, and was made under such circumstances, that it was most desirable the House should have time to consider all the various and important issues which were involved; and he had, therefore, ventured to rise for the purpose of asking the Government until what day it would be convenient to adjourn the debate?

MR. GLADSTONE: I propose to take it to-morrow; but, perhaps, the best course would be for me to withdraw the Motion I have made.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked if it was proposed that the House should meet to-morrow, at 2 o'clock?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes.

MR. ONSLOW said, he hoped the Government would tell the Committee exactly the number of troops it was proposed to bring from India, and the estimated cost.

Mr. GLADSTONE: To-morrow.

Mr. ONSLOW said, the question would not come on to-morrow; the noble Marquess the Secretary for India (the Marquess of Hartington) had given Notice that he would not move his Resolution until after the present debate had closed. He thought the House and the country ought to know as soon as possible what the precise number of troops was that Her Majesty's Government intended to send to Egypt, not only from this country, but from India, and the estimated cost of the expedition. It was a matter of the highest importance that this information should be given.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I do not think it is desirable that the House should ask at the present moment for exact information as to the number of the troops. The exact composition of the force to come from India is still under the consideration of the War Office. I may state, however, that, as the hon. Member is aware, tolerably accurate information has been given in the newspapers. A force—I think it is called a division—amounting to between 7,000 and 10,000 men, has been warned for service in India, and the Government of India are prepared at short notice to supplement it if necessary. I am afraid I shall not be able even to-morrow to state the exact cost; but any information which I may be able to give will be most appropriately given when I move the Vote.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, that as a great deal had been said about a Question which he had asked the other day, he thought it only fair to say that he got no answer from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War. He had drawn the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to a passage in *The Times*. It was not necessary for him to read the passage; but the Secretary for War, in answer to the Question, simply stated, as far as he (Lord Eustace Cecil) understood him, that there was no accredited agent of the Government whatever in Egypt, and that he did not in any way consider Major Tulloch an accredited military agent. But there were official agents and non-official agents. They had had instances on more than one occasion of unofficial agents being employed by the Government. There was the case of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Errington), who was not long ago employed as an unofficial agent at Rome. There were also the cases of Sir William Gregory and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who had been unofficial agents in Egypt; and now they were told that Major Tulloch was an unofficial agent. He had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman was right in saying that Major Tulloch was an unofficial agent; but he had not asked exactly what the opinions of Major Tulloch were, but whether the whole story, as it appeared in *The Times*, was true or not? He wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman of the last portion of the story as it appeared in the letter of *The Times*' Correspondent. *The Times*' Correspondent related the whole of his conversation with Major Tulloch, in order to show that the Government themselves had received from their own trusted agent recommendations of a course of action which would have saved the whole of Alexandria. "Why," asked *The Times*' Correspondent, "have they failed to adopt it?" That was the point of his (Lord Eustace Cecil's) Question. He wished to show that the Government had received such information as they were stated in *The Times* newspaper to have received. But he got no answer to that Question. He did not care whether it was from Major Tulloch, or from anyone else, that the Government received the information. The material point was, whether they did receive such information. If the Government were really warned, as he was informed, several weeks before, that it would be a very improper thing to attempt to bombard the forts of Alexandria without being prepared to land a force on those shores, he asserted, advisedly, that the Government were most culpable in not paying attention to that advice. His Question did not turn upon the fact that Major Tulloch was or was not an accredited officer; but whether the Government did or did not receive the information contained in the statement in *The Times?* And to that Question he received no answer. They had had on that side of the House, on more than one occasion, to complain of the manner in which Questions had been answered by Members of the Government. A Question was put to the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) the other day by his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) as to what had happened to the guns of the

Alexandra during the bombardment. His right hon. and gallant Friend was naturally very much interested in that Question, and he (Lord Eustace Cecil) could not, for his own part, see that it was at all an improper Question to put. Negotiations were going on in Europe, and any facts of this kind could not long be concealed. But the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty refused to answer the Question; and yet to-day he found a full statement of the damage done to the guns in the newspapers. He held in his hand an extract showing exactly what had happened, from which it appeared that in one case one of the tubes had burst, and that neither of the accidents was very serious. In point of fact, one of the guns was perfectly serviceable shortly after the accident. He merely mentioned this to show that the Secretary to the Admiralty could have given an answer if he had chosen without any detriment whatever to the Public Service. It was only fair and right that such information, if it could be supplied, should be given. He hoped that when Questions of this kind were asked, the occupants of the Front Bench would treat hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House with the same consideration and courtesy with which the Opposition treated them three or four years ago. At that time a great many Questions were put to the late Administration—Questions of a grave character which it was sometimes difficult to answer without injury to the Public Service; Questions which did not always display a great amount of discretion on the part of those who put them; but he challenged any hon. Gentleman to show that they were not invariably answered with perfect frankness. On two or three occasions the Opposition had a right to complain of the manner in which certain Members of the Government answered Questions, and especially on the occasion to which reference had been made in the course of the present debate.

MR. CHILDERS asked what Question had been put to him which he had not answered?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: The Question respecting an accredited military agent at Alexandria.

MR. CHILDERS: I answered the Questions put to me by the noble Lord categorically, and if my manner was not courteous I am very sorry for it. The first Question was—"Had the Government an accredited military agent at Alexandria?" I said, "No; not until Sir Archibald Alison arrived." When he arrived he was, of course, the agent of the Government. I was then asked if Major Tulloch was an agent for the Government? and I stated "No;" that he was neither the agent nor the adviser of the Government, but a subordinate officer on the Staff at Portsmouth who knew Alexandria, and was sent out to give local information to Sir Beauchamp Seymour as to the geographical features of Alexandria and the neighbourhood.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to correct him? I only asked if any communication had been received from an agent of the Government, and, if so, what was the date of it? I never said a word about Major Tulloch.

MR. CHILDERS: Quite so; but the noble Lord referred to the paragraph in *The Times* in which Major Tulloch's name was mentioned.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: But I never got any answer.

SIR JOHN HAY said, that what the House had a right to complain of was, that information was given to the newspapers before it was given to the House, and apparently by Members of the Government. Indeed, information had been given to the newspapers which had been refused to the House—such as the information alluded to by his noble Friend (Lord Eustace Cecil) with reference to the Question he (Sir John Hay) had put to the Secretary to the Admiralty as to the guns reported to have burst on board the *Alexandra*. If the guns were inefficient, there could have been no harm in saying so; if they were not inefficient, it would be satisfactory to the country to know the fact. At the present moment the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had a large Vote of £350,000 for new guns in connection with the Naval Ordnance, and it was only right and proper that the House should know how the ordnance at present in the possession of the Navy stood its work at the bombardment. The hon. Gentleman, however, snubbed him, and said it was a Question he had no right to ask, and that it would be disadvantageous to the Public Service to give a reply. He was bound to say that he had always received the greatest possible courtesy from the right hon. Gentleman now Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr.

Trevelyan) when he filled the Office of Secretary to the Admiralty. He had questioned the right hon Gentleman frequently upon naval matters, and was always treated with courtesy. Indeed, the replies of the right hon Gentleman were always given in a candid manner, respectful to the House, and were of the greatest advantage to the Service. He trusted that the hon. Gentleman the present Secretary would, in future, follow the same course; and that when a naval officer—there were not many in the House at the present moment—put a Question in regard to a matter upon which he was competent to form an opinion, the hon. Gentleman would at least reply in a courteous manner to the appeal made to him. He (Sir John Hay) was sure the Committee would see that when a sum of £350,000 was about to be voted for the purpose of providing Naval Ordnance, they ought to know whether the existing Naval Ordnance was of a character the public could rely upon. With all courtesy and kindness towards his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, he wished to say that the House had a perfect right to receive information on subjects of that character. He would only add, in reference to the Notice he had given to delay the Vote for Naval Ordnance, that he should not put the Committee to the trouble of discussing it.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the right hon. and gallant Baronet had said a great deal about a want of courtesy shown him. He should be the last person in the House to wish to have discourtesy attributed to him. If he had ever said anything in the nature of what had been called a "snub," he should be ready to apologize; but it was never his intention to say it. There was a distinction between answering Questions put from one Member to another in the House, and anything relating to the public interest. The Government had had a great many Questions addressed to them since he had the honour of filling his present Office—Questions, addressed to the transactions at Alexandria, and in reference to the presence of the Fleet in Egyptians waters, which appeared to himself and those with whom he consulted it would be injurious to the public interest to answer. Statements had appeared in the newspapers, perhaps rather tending to throw discredit on the Service, and these, on many occasions, had been immediately embodied in a Question, and the Government were asked whether or not such statements were true. He quite admitted that in some of the operations in which they were engaged there might, in some instances, be little danger in communicating information; but he would ask the House whether it was a good precedent that, being engaged in active operations of war, or in immediate preparations for such operations, any sort of Question a Member might choose to ask must be at once answered by the Government under penalty of being accused of a want of courtesy? He could only say to his right hon. and gallant Friend that he had no intention of behaving discourteously to him, or to anyone. Now, with regard to the two guns mentioned. As a matter of fact, he believed there were three guns injured on board the *Alexandra;* and why, it was asked, was not full information given of the amount of damage, and how the guns stood the work? The first reason was that the Government did not know, and that was a substantial reason in itself. And how could it be expected they should know two days after an engagement? Of the manner, the nature, and the effect of the injury, the Government were not yet in possession of the information, and therefore he might be excused, he thought, from attempting to give a hypothetical answer. And he would submit to the House, with the greatest deference, even if the Government had known, it was undesirable immediately to make public, and without full inquiry, damages of this sort. He thought he was justified, in the circumstances, even if he had full information, in declining to give an answer.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he accepted the hon. Gentleman's statement, and thanked him for the expressions he had used. He supposed he might gather from the statement that the apparently communicative paragraph in *The Times* did not come from the Admiralty?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, no communicative paragraph had been sent from the Admiralty. Nothing would be communicated to the newspapers by the Admiralty that would not be stated in the House.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, this desultory discussion was scarcely worthy of the gravity of the subject. It ought to be announced whether the debate was to proceed or not. If the Government really wished to adjourn it, they should do so.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question before the Committee is, that the Vote be withdrawn.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, then that should be done. These comparatively insignificant and not particularly relevant topics were unfitted to the gravity of the subject and the dignity of the House.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he desired to say a word on the question of the payment of the Indian Forces out of the Indian Revenue. That question had been alluded to by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote) and others. He was sorry not to see the Postmaster General in his place at the moment, and he hoped that there would be a full discussion of this subject. It seemed to him that this question was decidedly an Imperial question, and that they were not justified in taxing the already overtaxed people of India for the payment of Imperial expenses. He was glad his hon. Friend the Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) had given a Notice on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is discussing a Vote down for tomorrow; it is not before us now.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, the point had been alluded to by others, and he only wished to say that when the question arose, he should give his cordial support to the Motion of his hon. Friend.

MAJOR DICKSON asked if the Government had received any recent telegrams from Egypt which they could communicate to the House?

MR. CHILDERS said, that none had been received that evening.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he desired to refer for a moment to the statement in *The Times*, and the answer in reference to it given to the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil). That reply was a remarkable instance of the Minister for War's answers, and he took notice at the time of the words used. The right hon. Gentleman stated that a distinguished and experienced officer was specially sent by the Minister for War to Alexandria and the seat of operations to advise the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, with regard to the condition of Alexandria, and, of course, in regard to the events happening or likely to happen, and yet in the same breath he stated that this distinguished officer was not an agent of the Government, not an accredited official agent. He also declined to state whether the War Office had received, directly or indirectly, through Sir Beauchamp Seymour or through Major Tulloch, that information which every Member of the House was morally certain they did receive—namely, that to undertake the bombardment of Alexandria without a landing force to cut off the retreat of the enemy, would necessarily doom the city to destruction. The country would form its own opinion of the motives that made the right hon. Gentleman unwilling to commit the Government to an admission that they had received the information. They must have received such information not only from Major Tulloch, but from Mr. Cookson, the acting Consul, and probably from Sir Edward Malet, and they certainly knew it from communications from the leading British inhabitants of Alexandria. For days, for weeks, before, they had been told that that would happen which had happened. They were told so by inhabitants who had been in Alexandria for decades, and who knew perfectly well what would be the course of events. Then the Prime Minister had asked, how was it possible to adopt any other course than the bombardment, and how, in loyalty to the Powers, could a force be landed? But how, then, was it not disloyal now? If it was disloyal to the Powers, to the Conference, to the Porte, to send a force on the 11th of July, how was it legitimate or loyal to land a force a few days later? Last Thursday it was stated there were 6,000 or 7,000 troops in Alexandria. What was the object of this force? Was it with the vain and hopeless attempt to make the hand-to-mouth, drifting policy of the Government consistent with their statements in the House, that their policy was to protect life and property? The argument of the Prime Minister failed, because if such action was disloyal on July 11th, when it would have been effective, it was no less disloyal now. He hoped the hon. Members who had taken up the question as to Major Tulloch's statement would press for an answer, which the House had a right to demand.

MR. GOURLEY said, he would now ask the Secretary to the Admiralty a

Question which he had down for that evening, but which, in deference to the wishes of the Prime Minister, he did not put before. He wished to inquire if the Secretary to the Admiralty could inform the House what vessels had been told off for the purpose of convoying our merchant ships through the Suez Canal, and also what vessels had been told off for the same duty by other Powers? Last week the hon. Gentleman stated, in answer to his Question, that an Italian man-of-war had acted as convoy. He would like to ascertain exactly what was being done in protecting the vast amount of commerce which this country had passing through the Canal. The Prime Minister had said that something would probably be done for the protection of the Canal; but what he was anxious to know was, what the English Government were really doing at the present moment for the purpose of convoying our commerce? Rumours had arisen of attacks by Arabs, and the Government had not stated what precautions had been taken to prevent such. The Question was one which, in the interests of commerce, demanded a specific statement on the part of the Government.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he must pursue his *rôle* of reticence and decline to tell his hon. Friend all the particulars for which he asked. He could perfectly understand his anxiety and that of others interested in the enormous amount of commerce passing through the Canal; but he could only say that from all he could hear there had been no danger of disturbance of the traffic yet, and the authorities on the spot considered the arrangements made and the force they possessed sufficient for purposes of protection. He could not give particulars of the British or other vessels there. It would not be desirable to give such information.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, so far as he could gather from the explanation of the Secretary for War of the reasons why the Government did not listen to the warnings of Major Tulloch, it was one of the most singular defences of a Government policy it had ever been his fate to hear. If he was not mistaken, the defence of the Government for not listening to the warnings of Major Tulloch was that Major Tulloch was sent out to Egypt in a totally different position; and when Major Tulloch warned the Government of the probable consequences of their policy and the imminent danger to life and property in Alexandria from the absence of a landing force, he was performing no business of his. These were the words of the right hon. Gentleman—it was no business of Major Tulloch's to warn the Government of the consequences of the bombardment. It was the most singular application of Spanish etiquette to this country he had come in contact with. A Spanish King was once unpleasantly near a blazing fire; but because the proper official was not present to put up a screen, His Majesty was allowed to roast. In a similar manner it seemed not to have been Major Tulloch's position to put up the screen at Alexandria, and the Government considered that Major Tulloch's presumption in trying to do that which was no business of his justified the Government in taking no notice of Major Tulloch's warning. This was the logical position assumed by the Government. For his own part, he entered his protest against the theory which had been enforced in the House, that the Arabs or the Egyptian Army set fire to Alexandria. He had no doubt whatever that, in the despair and exasperation of the moment, the work of conflagration was probably extended by the desperate Arab population; but he was perfectly certain of this, that the shells from the English Fleet originally set fire to Alexandria before a single incendiary extended the conflagration. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] The declarations of hon. Members opposite, some of whom had not taken the trouble to make certain of the facts, would not move him from his assertion that the shells from the English guns set fire to Alexandria hours before any incendiary assisted the work. When the manner in which the Fleet fought the fortifications was considered it would be seen how, without attributing any blame to the action ef the Fleet, it occurred. The *Inflexible* fired on the forts from a distance of from 3,000 to 5,000 yards, and the slightest possible change in the elevation would be equal to a very wide deviation from the mark and would be sufficient to hurl the 1,700-lb. shells right into the centre of the town—if they missed the forts at the water's edge they must inevitably go into the town. The manager of the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, with 60 or 70 other Europeans, were witnesses of the fact that the shells of the

Fleet in several cases fell into, and in a large number of cases went over, the town. Denials of this were of no use, because he knew that reports on the subject had been sent in from foreign officers who were witnesses of the bombardment, and these reports were in the possession of all the Governments of Europe; so if Her Majesty's Government wished to escape the blame of setting fire to Alexandria in a time of peace, they must choose some other line of argument than that their shells did not hit the town. They did strike the General Hospital, where the Geneva flag was flying—unintentionally he had no doubt—they did strike the English church; they struck the Arab quarter.

MR. R. N. FOWLER rose to Order. Had these remarks any connection with the Question before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Vote is not yet withdrawn, and the hon. Member is in Order if he persists, though the right hon. Gentleman wishes to withdraw the Vote.

MR. O'DONNELL said, this interruption did more credit to the worthy Alderman's patriotism than to his knowledge of the Rules of the House. He could understand the natural desire of every Englishman to throw a cloak over the black deeds of the 11th July. He would not dwell upon it, for it would be fully examined in the further progress of discussion. But he was struck by the statement of the Premier, in which he laid severe stress on the calling together of the Chamber of Egyptian Notables without the previous consent of Tewfik Pasha. On that he would remind the Committee it was a question with which Turkish allegiance and Mohammedan law had a great deal to do. The previous conduct and actions of Tewfik in authorizing the despatch of a foreign Fleet, with possibly hostile motives, to Alexandria, and his conduct in accepting a menacing declaration from England and France ordering him, under penalty of *force majeure,* to dismiss certain officers and Egyptian Ministers, made Tewfik *de facto* a traitor to the Sovereign of Turkey. That was a fact that created a powerful effect in Constantinople—that, before Arabi took any steps to oppose the authority of the Khedive, the Khedive had violated his allegiance both as a Mussulman and a Civil servant of the Sultan of Turkey. One reason why the Government could not get the Sultan to act decisively was because the Sultan was convinced that, before Arabi took any steps to defend Egyptian nationality against foreign invasion, the Khedive had violated his allegiance and become an ally of the enemies of Islam and Turkey. He also observed a strong statement in the Premier's speech to the effect that it was only in default of Turkish intervention that Her Majesty's Government determined on the course they had taken. But he was unable to see any signs of urging upon the Turkish Government to intervene, except under conditions that Her Majesty's Government ought to have known it was impossible the Caliph Sultan could satisfy. So far from the Sultan being opposed to intervention in Egypt, his interest as Suzerain would have prompted it. So far from Her Majesty's Government trying to counteract his disinclination to intervene, in the accounts and the despatches the House had before it the Government opposed to the utmost of their ability any design of the Sultan to intervene in Egypt, except under conditions that the Sultan Caliph could not accept. So late as the 18th May, Lord Dufferin reported, in his despatch to Lord Granville, that he had taken advantage of a visit paid to him by the Turkish Foreign Minister to do what? To recommend the Sultan to intervene? No; but to remonstrate against the alleged preparations for a Turkish expedition to Egypt. So that, when Her Majesty's Government tried to allege Turkish inaction as an excuse for their action, they were met by the fact that their statement was contradicted by their own official papers. Her Majesty's Government must have known, if they had any knowledge of Eastern Courts, that it was absolutely impossible for the Sultan to intervene in one of his own Provinces as the mere mandatory of the infidel Powers of Europe. At this present moment, in consequence of the action of the Government, the Mussulman feeling at the back of Arabi was very strong, as strong, perhaps, as that at the back of the Sultan himself. He could not accept it, in the slightest degree, as a defence or explanation that a number of European Powers favoured or supported the action of the Government. The interests of foreign Powers were not the interests of England in the East. It was part of their policy to see England impose conditions upon the Sultan.

He knew how useless it was for him to make this protest. He had addressed the House in protest against former measures under the present and the former Government. Only two days ago, Her Majesty's Government decided that the South African Act was to be allowed to lapse; and he remembered, when he opposed that Act, he was treated with scorn, and his opposition was regarded as wilful, idle Obstruction, though it so happened that he was well acquainted with South African affairs. Two months ago, he had, in the course of debate, ventured to warn the Government that the course taken was calculated to imperil matters, and he was left to the suave assurances of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs that his forebodings were unfounded; but now it appeared that what were called "gloomy forebodings" were true, and the optimist assurances of the Under Secretary turned out to be unfounded. He had failed to find any justification for the statement that the riot at Alexandria on June 11 was anything but what he had repeatedly stated it to be—the outcome of a desperate riot between Arabs, Greeks, and Maltese, in which European roughs were aggressors, and in which four Arab lives were taken for every one European. A foreign writer acquainted with the facts estimated the number of Arabs killed as 600 or 700. No misconception of facts could get over this—that wherever a force of troops was under Arabi's command, and he was allowed to control matters, there European life was safe. So long as Arabi and his troops ruled in any part of Egypt, previous to the aggressions of Her Majesty's Government, there European life and property were safe; the anarchy in Egypt was the direct result of the intervention of Her Majesty's Government. The Government were now entering on a course of aggression in Egypt, and he had very little doubt that Her Majesty's Forces would be quite successful in scattering the forces of Arabi; and he had no doubt that Her Majesty's Forces would in time, perhaps in a short time, reduce the whole of Egypt to obedience to such order as reigned in Warsaw. But after Arabi was driven from the field, and after the Egyptian forces were scattered, the whole of the problem in reality remained to be solved, and the whole Eastern Mussulman world would be enlisted in hatred of the English pirates. Wherever the name of Allah was invoked curses would be rained on the heads of Englishmen. Not long ago there was a solemn consultation among Mussulmans in India as to whether Mahommedans were bound in true allegiance to the English Sovereign of Hindostan, and Mussulman Doctors being consulted came to the resolution that so friendly and impartial had been the action of England towards Mahommedans, so just had been their conduct and friendly their relations with the Padishah, that Mussulmans, without any violence to their religious principles, could, and ought to, yield loyal, law-abiding allegiance to the English Sovereign. That binding consultation of the Doctors of Islam, which ranged the forces of Islam on the side of English rule in India, had been dissipated for ever by the shells of the *Inflexible* that burst over Alexandria. In reply to a Question of his, the Government denied that the shells had done any damage to the town of Alexandria; and he was tempted to inquire what was the amount of destruction which was likely, in the views of artilleryists, to be caused by the explosion of a 1,700-lb. shell amidst the houses of an Oriental town. But even though it was assumed that these 1,700-lb. shells had no influence in creating the conflagration, they had, at any rate, destroyed for ever the alliance which had lasted now for nearly a century between the Mohammedan Power in the East and the more or less Christian Power of the West. After Egypt had been occupied, after Arabi had been conquered and, if British chivalry had its way, had been hanged—for British chivalry had a peculiar way of exhibiting itself under some circumstances—after all that had been done, a greater difficulty remained before the Government. Never did an English Minister make a greater mistake if he fancied that Europe meant more than to further complications for English policy, and to further embarrass England's position, by egging England on to the work she was now undertaking in Egypt. At this moment it was said that questions about the future position of Holland and Luxembourg towards the German Empire were among the little matters with which Prince Bismarck would approach England as a *quid pro quo*, and as determining his attitude towards proceedings in the East. Austria would make her claim——

The Chairman: The hon. Member is going very far from the Question; he must not discuss other matters than those connected with the Vote.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he intended to say but a few words to show that the policy of the Government was not a solution of the difficulty, but was the beginning of evils. He felt the same confidence with which he predicted, five years ago, that the South African Act would not be a solution but a beginning of difficulties in South Africa — that the policy in Egypt was the beginning of difficulties in Europe.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would appeal to the Committee to do one thing or the other. It was not the wish or desire of the Government that the debate should be postponed—the desire of the Government was that the debate should go on that night; but, in answer to an appeal from the other side, the Prime Minister felt that there were reasonable grounds for the appeal, and he had, therefore, decided to give way, and had asked leave to withdraw the Vote until to-morrow. That being so, it was rather unfair for hon. Members to address the Committee—many of whom had left the House—and to carry on the discussion partly by a desultory conversation upon minor topics, and partly by speeches going over the whole ground, like that to which they had just listened. He would not attempt to follow the hon. Member in his speech; but there was one point in reference to a question of fact that he would notice. The hon. Member said that the events of the 11th of June arose out of a quarrel between Arabs and Europeans, in which the latter were the aggressors. Now, the information he had in the Papers before him left no doubt that such was not the case. He had not only read the depositions taken before the Commission at Alexandria, so far as they went—for the Commission broke up upon the withdrawal of the Consular Agents—but he had spoken with the British Commissioner and with American missionaries and others from Egypt, and the evidence thus obtained placed it beyond doubt. There could be no doubt left on the mind of anyone that the first accounts received of the massacre were accounts of a very imperfect kind; and there could be no doubt now that the massacre of June 11 was premeditated, and that arrangements were made beforehand for carrying it out.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, with regard to preparations among the Arabs, to which, probably, the hon. Baronet referred, no doubt there were such; but the hon. Baronet omitted to state that there were previous proposals for brigading the European inhabitants into a regular armed force; and though this was rejected by Her Majesty's Government, the knowledge of the fact came to the ears of the general population of Alexandria, and the consequence of this proposal for arming 3,000 or 4,000 able-bodied Europeans in Alexandria was to spread a feeling that the authorities in Alexandria were engaged in a plot to form, in fact, an advance guard of an army of occupation. The Under Secretary could not deny that proposals were laid before Sir Beauchamp Seymour, previous to the riot, for forming the European inhabitants of Alexandria into an armed force, ostensibly for purposes of self-defence; and the Committee would at once see the influence such a proposal had on the minds of the Arab population. But the riot itself arose out of a quarrel commenced by Greeks and Maltese.

Sir ANDREW LUSK said, that, impressed by the importance of the subject to the shipping interest, he desired to follow up the Question put by the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley). He would not ask for any particulars in the answer; but he hoped the Government would try to give some assurance in reference to the protection of the trade and commerce in the Suez Canal. It was a very serious thing for the mercantile community, and "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind." Seven-eighths of the trade was British, and they were in a great state of anxiety and perplexity to know what to do. One of the chief uses of a Navy was to protect our trade; and they ought to have some confidence that the Canal trade would be protected. Would the Government, then, speak out at the present time? He did not want particulars; but let the Government give an assurance that the shipping would be protected, and be allowed to proceed on its way; and, seeing that we had so many ships to do the work, it was fair to ask the Government to say that the shipping interest should be looked after.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member asked for a positive declaration; and if that declaration had not been already made—and he thought it had by the Secretary to the Admiralty—he could assure his hon. Friend that the Government intended to give every protection.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS hoped the Committee would have clear information at what hour the House would meet to-morrow.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Class I.—Public Works and Buildings.

(1.) £23,110, to complete the sum for the Houses of Parliament.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would agree with him, having regard to the length of time hon. Members were now called on to spend within the four walls of this House, that every arrangement, within reasonable limits, should be made for their comfort and convenience inside the building. But the arrangements were open to great improvement. Last year £1,200 was voted for rooms to be given up to the House of Commons by the House of Lords, and there was another Vote of £400 for the same object this year. The result of the alterations had been that hon. Members who were smokers had had an elegant, convenient, and comfortable Smoking Room provided for them; but he was anxious to know what arrangements were to be carried out for the convenience of Members who did not smoke? Those hon. Members who were more interested in the Tea Room than the Smoking Room were told last year that this Session additional accommodation would be provided for them. There was a room which had been devoted to judicial purposes which was to be given up to them; but he understood that owing to the delay in the completion of the New Courts of Justice, the right hon. Gentleman had not been able to place that room at their disposal this Session. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) wished to get a distinct statement from the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the appropriation of the room to Members next Session. He should also like the First Commissioner of Works to inform the Committee whether the new Tea Room, like the new Smoking Room, was to be for the exclusive and private accommodation of Members? There were many reasons, which it was unnecessary for him to point out, but which everyone must appreciate, why hon. Members should have a room to which strangers were not admitted. With regard to another matter to which the right hon. Gentleman had promised his attention should be given this year, but which, no doubt, had escaped him, was anything going to be done to improve the conveniences in the News Room? At present, if hon. Members went into the room in anything like numbers—if there were more than 20 present—great difficulty was experienced in getting a newspaper or obtaining a seat.

Mr. FIRTH said, that with regard to the external repairs to the stone work of the building, he should like to know whether they were to go on steadily for the future, and whether they were not mainly necessary in consequence of the imperfect stone which had been used by the original contractors? He believed the imperfect stone came from the same place as the perfect stone, but from a different bed. How was it that during the, comparatively speaking, short life of this building such extensive continuous repairs were necessary? Then, as to lighting, he should like to know whether it was intended to adopt any of the now perfected systems of electric lighting in the House, and whether it was intended to replace the gas in the Tower by electricity? The hon. Member who had last spoken had referred to newspapers in the News Room. He (Mr. Firth) endorsed the hon. Member's observations. He had found 10 copies of *The Daily Telegraph*—no doubt, a very interesting journal—in the room, but not a single copy of *The Standard*, which some hon. Members might prefer to read. How was that?

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that all would agree with the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) that there was insufficient accommodation in the House for hon. Members who did not smoke. But, in his view, even the accommodation for Members who did smoke was not so good as it might be. All hon. Members who smoked—or the majority of them—were aware of the advantage of the St. Stephen's Cloister for their accommodation. On more than one occasion Memorials had been placed before the Predecessors of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works requesting them to make inquiries for the purpose of ascertaining whether it would not be a satisfactory arrangement to glaze over a portion or the whole of the Cloister. Inquiries had been made as to the cost of glazing over the centre of the Cloister, because if the cost of glazing over the whole would be too much, all hon. Members would desire would be, that part should be covered in, and that the bay windows should be opened down to the ground. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he had any information in his Office on the subject, and whether he would give it his attention between this and next Session? There was another point to which he wished to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. He had noticed that in the Estimates for the present Session there was no reference whatever made to the decoration of the Houses of Parliament. Well, since they last met, a large picture painted by Mr. Herbert had been put up in what was formerly intended to be a Court of Appeal, but which was now the Court of the noble Lord who presided over Railway Committees in the House of Lords. The subject of the picture was "The Judgment of Daniel." He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there was any intention on the part of the Government to proceed with the decoration of the Houses in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission which sat many years ago to consider the subject? In the room he had mentioned there were several blank spaces that might be very properly filled; and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether Mr. Herbert was to be intrusted with the work, or whether it was intended now, or at some future time, to submit proposals for filling the spaces with pictures by the best living artists? He had taken interest in this matter for a long course of years, but had never been anxious to see public money spent in this way; but in the present instance, as the work had been begun, it would be quite as well that they should finish it. As two spaces had been filled in Lord Redesdale's room with pictures, steps might be taken to fill the vacant places. Probably they might do what was done, or suggested, when the decoration of the Houses was in contemplation—namely, obtain prize pictures. Some of the pictures in the building were very much in want of varnish and some attention; and he would, therefore, suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that he should take into his counsel those who had the care of the pictures in the National Gallery or South Kensington Museum. With the knowledge and under the direction of these gentlemen the pictures might be put into a proper condition.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he agreed with the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) that, looking at the length of time hon. Members had to spend in the House now-a-days, they were entitled to have their comfort attended to, and he thought it would be admitted that since he had occupied his present Office, he had not been neglectful of that comfort. After making the needful inquiries he had been successful in obtaining from the House of Lords three additional rooms for the convenience of hon. Members. One of these was now the new Smoking Room, another was the new Dining Room, and the third was to be a Tea Room. The last named was now used as a Court of Appeal; but it would cease to be used as such in the course of the coming autumn, and the room would then be handed over to the House of Commons. He had said this apartment was to be used as a Tea Room; but that might not be literally correct. It might be found to be convenient to devote the room to other purposes; but if that were done, another room would be given up for the purposes of a new Tea Room. Questions had been put to him with reference to the supply of newspapers in the News Room. He was afraid the subject had, since he promised to consider it, escaped his attention; but he would undertake that the same thing should not occur next year. He would bear in mind what had been said, and see what could be done for the convenience of hon. Members. As to the external repairs to the stonework of the building, he was sorry not to be able to hold out any hope to the hon. Member that the expenditure on this work would be less in the future than it had been in the past. The stonework would be perpetually requiring repair, a fact which was due to the stone used in the building having been taken from a quarry that turned out to be not so good as was expected, and to the bad atmosphere of London which had an injurious effect upon the very best stone. As to the subject of lighting the House by electricity, experiments in that direction had already been made; but they had not been so satisfactory as to induce the Government to adopt that method of lighting, and no further experiments would be attempted until it was believed, from what was experienced elsewhere, that the electric lighting had been brought to such a condition that it would be advantageous to adopt it in the Houses of Parliament. It would be acknowledged by everyone that the lighting arrangements of this House were about as perfect as they could be under the system of lighting by gas. This, in fact, might be described as about the best sample of gas-lighting in London. It had been determined to light the New Law Courts by electricity, and that would give them an opportunity of forming an opinion of the character of that light, and of the advisability of adopting it in the Houses of Parliament. If the experiment was successful in the New Law Courts, he would introduce the electric light into the outside chambers and corridors of this building, leaving this room—the House of Commons—the last to have the gas taken from it. As to additional smoking accommodation, he had given considerable attention to the question of the practicability of covering in the Cloister. Great objection had been taken to the proposal from structural reasons; but he had discarded the idea on giving hon. Members the extra Smoking Room to which he had referred. That room was a substitute for the Cloister, the cost of covering which would be very considerable.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: But not the cost of covering in a part?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the cost would be £5,000 or £6,000, and that would be an expenditure which he did not think he should be justified in incurring, seeing that he had such a very short time ago provided additional accommodation for hon. Members who were smokers. He had been asked whether he was prepared to continue the decoration of the Peers' Room, where there were already two pictures by Mr. Herbert. The two pictures had been obtained at considerable cost. Originally, when it was intended to decorate the whole of the room, the outlay was put down at £10,000 for four pictures. That sum was subsequently considered too little, and Mr. Herbert, he thought, had received £9,000 for the two pictures. It was not intended to continue this expenditure, at any rate, at present. The first of the two pictures by Mr. Herbert had given universal satisfaction. The second picture had only been recently placed in its present position, and it was, perhaps, too soon yet to express an opinion with regard to it. It was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government, so far as he was aware, nor did he think it would be fair to Mr. Herbert, to give an order to anyone else for the completion of the decoration of the chamber in question.

Captain AYLMER said, he had seen a Question on the Notice Paper to-day which was similar to one he should have liked himself to have put to the Government. There had lately been great complaints of the objectionable smells experienced by persons passing the entrance to the Speaker's Court, and at other parts of the building. An hon. Member had put on the Paper a Question with regard to it.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that was so, and he had asked the hon. Member to postpone it so that he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) might make the necessary inquiries into the matter. He did not think there was anything to apprehend from the drains which came into the building; but, at the same time, he knew there had been complaints as to the bad atmosphere outside some parts of the building. This arose, he believed, from the bad air which came out of the building, and if he were right in that supposition, it would be a thing over which he would have no control. It appeared, also, that certain foundries and manufactories on the other side of the river at certain times discharged a large quantity of smoke which affected the atmosphere surrounding the Houses of Parliament.

Captain AYLMER said, that if the right hon. Gentleman would allow him he would take him to a place on the land side of the House where he could smell the drains at all times of the day and night.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the right hon. Gentleman had not answered his Question. The right hon. Gentleman said that it would cost £6,000 or £7,000 to glaze over the whole of the

Cloister; but that was not his (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's) point. He had suggested that one or two bay windows might be covered in, and if that suggestion were adopted, it would not be at all necessary to interfere with the structural character of the House. The stonework need not be touched, and it would be quite sufficient to do what he proposed. If his recommendation were carried out it would be a source of great satisfaction to a great many hon. Members who were fond of their cigars or tobacco. When the House was at all full it would surprise people to see how crowded that part of the building to which he was referring became. When the Memorial, signed by a large number of hon. Members, was presented to the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor (Mr. Adam), the reply given to it was that the question would be taken into consideration in all its bearings, not only as to the advisability of covering in the whole of the Cloister, but a portion of it—one or two bays, perhaps, not quite up to the side door. He would recommend the right hon. Gentleman to take the matter into his serious consideration and place it before the surveyors, who were officials of his Department. If these gentlemen were of opinion that the improvement would be injurious to the building, that opinion could be circulated through the House, and the matter would drop. If he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) were alive next year, he would repeat the Question.

Mr. CALLAN said, he found items in the Estimates for gas, oil, and so on; but he found nothing for ice. It was no use mincing the matter; the House had been insufferably hot during the last few nights. Something had been said about it a night or two ago, and almost immediately a paragraph appeared in *The Daily News* on the subject; and those who had charge of the building were so extravagant as to use a ton of ice in one day. But let them take to-night, or even the night of a Scotch debate, hon. Members could not remain in the Chamber for any length of time without becoming sleepy from the condition of the atmosphere. He was sure that if the right hon. Gentleman obtained the opinion of the Committee, he would find there was a general belief that the arrangements for cooling the House were not so good as they used to be. There was a time when this apartment used to be the best ventilated in the building; but now, if a person wanted to get cool, instead of coming into this Chamber, he would have to go outside on the terrace. An over-heated atmosphere had an effect on the temper, and for that reason, as well as many others, the right hon. Gentleman should issue orders for there to be no stint in the supply of ice.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he did not think there had been any stint of ice, and hon. Members would agree that the atmosphere of the House was fairly cool.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he should like to get an expression of opinion from the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the means of communication between this Chamber and other parts of the House. The right hon. Gentleman would be surprised to hear that in the newspaper offices they had a better knowledge of what was going on in the House than hon. Members had in such parts of the building so little removed from this Chamber as the Dining Room or Smoking Room. There were several telegraphic instruments which could be used to acquaint hon. Members in other parts of the building with what was going on in this Assembly. Telephones could be used, and it would be very easy to have an official at one end of the wire whose duty it should be to answer all inquiries from various parts of the building as to what was going on in the Chamber. There was another point to which he wished to draw attention. He did not know exactly how much of the Ladies' Gallery was at the disposal of Mr. Speaker; but, although he did not wish unnecessarily to interfere with any of the right hon. Gentleman's privileges, he thought, from what he had heard, and seeing the limited extent of the Gallery, that it would be as well that the right hon. Gentleman should not have exclusive rights over such an amount as one-third of the Gallery. Mr. Speaker's Ladies' Gallery, he supposed, was rarely more than half filled; therefore, the right hon. Gentleman had privileges of which, although they really interfered with the rights of private Members, he was unable to make fair use himself. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had considered the subject of the removal of the grating from the Ladies' Gallery. Some months ago he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was in the House of Representatives of America, and he observed that there they managed these things much better than they did in England. Anyone was at liberty to enter any of the Galleries in the House, except one or two reserved for diplomatists. During the two or three days he had attended, he had seen in the Galleries a large number of ladies, who, apparently, took the liveliest interest in what was going on. The American Legislators did not seem afraid of beholding the ladies, and the ladies, on their part, did not seem anxious to conceal themselves behind a veil of iron. The practice of hiding the females from the gaze of the other sex seemed to him to be an objectionable recognition of an Oriental custom in this country.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, with regard to communicating from that Chamber what was going on in other parts of the House, he would make inquiries into the matter, and ascertain if it would be convenient to adopt any of the electric inventions to which the hon. Member had referred. With regard, also, to the Ladies' Gallery, he would consider the point, and see whether the existing arrangements could be altered. He could not say more than that.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £550, to complete the sum for the Monument to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON said, he could not help saying that he thought this the most appropriate Vote that could have been brought forward at this time. He believed there was to be an inscription on the Monument recording the services that the late Earl of Beaconsfield had rendered to his country, and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would suggest that to that should be added a line commemorating the faithful imitation of the noble Lord's policy by Her Majesty's Government.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £88,064, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, including various special Works; for providing the necessary supply of Water; for Rents of Houses hired for the accommodation of Public Departments, and Charges attendant thereon."

Mr. DILLWYN asked for some explanation of the Vote for repairs of Admiralty Buildings, &c.

Mr. FIRTH said, he should like to have some information with regard to the Orange Street Waterworks; and, with regard to Westminster Bridge, he noticed that there was a charge made upon the Imperial Revenues for its repairs, and he should like to be informed whether it would not be possible to put that charge on the local rates?

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he should be glad to have some explanation of this Vote of £3,200 for repairs to existing Admiralty Buildings; and, perhaps, at the same time as the right hon. Gentleman gave him some explanation, he would tell them whether he intended to bring forward a Supplementary Estimate in regard to the construction of the new War Office?

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, he noticed that there was a sum of £835 to be devoted to the repairing of Whitehall Chapel, and this was £755 more than was voted in 1881-2. He did not think it was at all too soon for a large sum to be spent upon the building, and he was glad to see that this amount was to be devoted to the purpose. But what he wished to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman was this—he did not know whether there had been any plan prepared for the repair of the Chapel, but at present he noticed all around the Chapel what appeared to be a number of festoons of cloth that at one time had been of a crimson colour, but which were now completely covered with dust. It would be a great advantage if these decorations were removed, because they did not seem to have any sort of congruity with an ecclesiastical building. There was also another item in the Estimates to which he should like to draw attention. He saw there was a sum of £198 to be voted for Lincoln's Inn Appellate Court. He wished to know whether it was necessary to retain that Appellate Court, and whether there was not sufficient accommodation in the New Law Courts?

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE complained of the drainage of some of the Government Buildings, and desired to know whether any steps had been taken to recover compensation from the contractor or clerk of the works who had been guilty of neglect on this subject?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that, with regard to the Admiralty Buildings, there had been a transfer of the grant from one Vote to another, and the total amount was £11,300, of which £3,600 was for repairs, and £6,400 for rents. Hon. Members wished to know why this large sum was charged. It was true that a Bill had been passed for the acquisition of a new site for the War Office and Admiralty Buildings, but he apprehended that some considerable time must elapse before the work would be completed. It would be necessary to retain an architect, and competition of some kind would be invited. This would involve some considerable time, and it would be obvious that it would be necessary to go on repairing the existing buildings during the interval, and that the Votes in question were necessary. With regard to Westminster Bridge, no doubt, when there was a Municipal Government all over London, the desirability of putting the cost of maintaining the Bridge on the rates would come under consideration. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had already written a Memorial on this subject; but in the meanwhile he did not think it worth while to raise the question. With regard to Whitehall Chapel, it was, no doubt, true that for a long time the interior of the building had been in a very discreditable and disreputable state. The hon. Member who had offered criticism upon the condition of the Chapel would, no doubt, be glad to hear that they had provided for repairs and improvements in the Chapel. Whether the antique festoons would be removed or cleaned he could not say, but he could promise, at any rate, that something would be done. With regard to the Appellate Court, he had every confidence that there would be room in the new building; and as for the sanitary arrangements of the Public Buildings, an adequate Estimate would be taken this year, it having been decided that altogether some £30,000 would be required for putting all the Public Offices in a sanitary condition. It was not very satisfactory that such a large amount should be required for such a purpose; but, after all, it was not to be wondered at, seeing that all these buildings were very old, and that when they were constructed our knowledge of sanitary matters was much less than at the present time. A considerable sum of money had already been spent upon putting the Public Offices in a satisfactory sanitary state, and he thought he was correct in saying that £6,000 or £7,000 would have to be spent immediately for that purpose. The remainder of the Vote was required for Somerset House and other buildings. On the subject of Orange Waterworks, the Return would shortly be presented to the House. He believed that the costs of the works there would be £1,400.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR criticized the mode of preparing the Estimates, and objected to the repeated changes in the classification of the outlays on buildings and other public works. One of the most useful checks on such kinds of outlay was secured by uniformity of charging for works. A change in the arrangement of items destroyed the continuity which was so essential for comparing one year's outlay with that of other years. Then, besides maintaining this uniformity, it was also necessary to separate the distinct kinds of outlay. Instead of this being practised, they found new works, repairs, rents, and furniture, new and old, thrown higgledy-piggledy into one Estimate.

CAPTAIN AYLMER remarked upon the item of £40,000 for Rents and Assurance. He should like to know what sum in the shape of rent would be saved in future years after the buildings for which Parliamentary sanction had been obtained were completed; and he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman what was going to be done with that property in the hands of the Government between Downing Streeet, Great George Street, and the Houses of Parliament, and which spoilt the finest street in Europe? Further, he should like to know what the right hon. Gentleman was going to do with the buildings adjoining Westminster Hall when the legal business was transferred from them to the New Law Courts.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the total saving in rents from the erection of the New Government Offices was £16,000 a-year. As to the property belonging to the Government in Parliament Street, that was no longer necessary for the purpose for which it was acquired, as a new site had been determined upon for the erection of a War Office and Admiralty. They had bought the property, the removal of which would enable Parliament Street to be widened, on very reasonable terms, and any public body which in the future might take it off the hands of the Government at the price they had paid for it, by selling or renting a portion of it at a fair price, would be able to carry out the improvement in question without any loss. He would make a suggestion of this kind to the Metropolitan Board, and see if they would carry it out.

Lord ELCHO said, he should like to know whether the plans for the construction of the New War Office and Admiralty would be obtained from a limited competition or an open one? He said this, because recently there had been a competition at Glasgow, open to the whole world, for plans for new Municipal Buildings, and the gentleman who had been successful out of 125 competitors—a friend of his own—was not a person well enough known to have been selected in a limited competition.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he was going to give a practical turn to the discussion by moving a reduction of the Vote. He was not satisfied with the right hon. Gentleman's statement as to the expenditure on Westminster Bridge. It was no use telling them that the expenditure would be avoided when a measure was passed dealing with the Municipal Government of the Metropolis. There was no reason in the world why they should be called upon to pay nearly £3,000 a-year from the National Exchequer for the repair of the Bridge any more than they should be called upon to pay for the repairs of Pall Mall, or any other street in London. He would move that the Vote be reduced by £2,790, the amount proposed for the repairs of Westminster Bridge.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £85,274, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, including various special Works; for providing the necessary supply of Water; for Rents of Houses hired for the accommodation of Public Departments, and Charges attendant thereon."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that before he dealt with the question raised by his hon. Friend, he would say a word as to the point referred to by the noble Lord. He had not yet decided what form of competition should be invited. There was some objection to open competition on the part of the great architects, who would decline on the score of expense to enter if there were too many competitors. He was thinking of having a double competition—first, a sketch design competition; and then selecting the authors of five or six of those sketches to compete for the complete design. In that way, he thought, it would be possible to overcome the objection of the great architects. All he could say was that it was his desire to have a competition, but the exact nature of it had not yet been determined on. With regard to the question raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), he was bound to say he did not think the cost of repairing the Bridge could be thrown on the locality by a decision of this Committee. There was an estate vested in the Government for the purpose of maintaining the Bridge. There were several houses in Parliament Street, the rents of which went to the maintenance of the Bridge. The question, therefore, was not so easy to dispose of as the hon. Gentleman seemed to think. It would be decided, whenever the subject of the Government of London was finally dealt with; but he did not think it would be desirable to attempt to settle it by a vote of the Committee.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he feared that the amount which was paid in the shape of rents for Government Offices would remain the same in future years in spite of the fact that a New War Office and Admiralty would be in existence. If hon. Members had studied the expenditure for rents for a series of years, they would find, as he (Sir George Balfour) had found, that in spite of the erection of new Colonial, Home, and Local Government Board Offices, the rents for the other years had not diminished. Then, the objectionable practice of having "rents" estimated for in separate Estimates was open to great objection. Either the rents for separate Departments should be presented to the House, or the rents for buildings for all Departments put into one Estimate. But neither course was followed.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that special police were charged for in connection with the Record Office. Were these Metropolitan police? If so, they should be charged for under the Metropolitan Police Vote. It was extremely inconvenient, as they found on the Public Accounts Committee, to have these separate police charges under different heads.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could not answer the question. If they were not Metropolitan police they should be charged under this Vote; but if they were it would seem desirable that they should be charged under the other Vote.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he should like to know what was the precise sum derived from the Westminster Bridge Estate, which was never stated as a set-off against the charge put on the public?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could not state at this moment what the exact amount was; but he thought about £5,000 a-year. The rents were considerable, he knew.

MR. DILLWYN agreed in supporting the objections urged.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he should support the hon. Member on a division, because the point raised was the principle whether the ratepayers in London were to bear burdens to which those in other boroughs throughout the country had to submit. A penny in the pound rate in London represented £100,000 per annum. The explanations of the First Commissioner of Works almost made the thing worse, for it appeared from that that Parliament had acquired an estate which did not bring in sufficient to pay the interest on the money advanced. He hoped the question would be raised again and again whether the wealthiest city in the world should have a part of the burden of its local expenditure defrayed out of the general Exchequer.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose to a point of Order. He believed the Government had already taken part of the Vote on a Vote on Account. Was it not necessary to move the reduction on the balance left? Such had been the ruling of the Chair previously.

THE CHAIRMAN said, it was not usual to apportion the sum among these smaller amounts.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 45; Noes 131: Majority 86.—(Div. List, No. 296.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) £12,860, to complete the sum for Furniture of Public Offices, Great Britain.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, hon. Members would see, if they looked at the Vote on page 24, that this Estimate provided only for the furniture of certain Public Offices in London and Edinburgh, and that further charges for certain specified Departments were made in the Votes for those Departments in Class I., and then, again, that there was a third series of charges for War Office, Admiralty, and Science and Art Departments. It was perfectly impossible to find out what was really spent in furniture. He should like to ask the First Commissioner of Works what was the actual expense of furniture throughout the Service; and, again, he should like to know how this furniture was procured? He had heard all sorts of rumours of gigantic jobs in connection with the supply of furniture. Was it supplied by contract, and, if so, by limited tender or otherwise; and, further, where the furniture was stored, and what became of the condemned furniture?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could not say what was the aggregate cost of furniture, and in regard to this Vote some of it was obtained by contract and part by running accounts. He did not think there were any such "jobs" as the hon. Member spoke of in connection with the supply.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not say that there were jobs, but only that he had heard rumours of such. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would not mind laying on the Table a statement of the amount expended in furniture, the details of running contracts, and the amount spent under each?

MR. HEALY said, this was a Vote for the Offices in Great Britain, and in reference to that he would mention that for years and years furniture to the amount of £500,000 in Colonel M'Kerlie's Department, and others had been allowed to go unregistered, and anyone might have stolen the property without the Board of Works in Ireland having cognizance of it. Would the Secretary to the Treasury state whether he would assent to some stock being taken of the furniture attached to the Office of Board of Works (Ireland)?

The CHAIRMAN said, he must remind the hon. Member that he was raising a point of detail that was not included in the Vote.

Mr. HEALY said, the Vote was for Offices in Great Britain ; was not Ireland in Great Britain?

Mr. WARTON: No.

The CHAIRMAN said, Ireland was not included in the Vote.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £177,011, to complete the sum for Revenue Department Buildings, Great Britain.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, that, ever since the transfer of the buildings of the Revenue Department, now four or five years ago, to the Commissioners of Works, the outlay had been largely on the increase, as a comparison of the Estimates for the several years clearly showed, for the last Estimate showed an increase, in comparison with 1880-1, of £30,000, and now this Vote showed an increase over last year by no less than £75,000, so that there had been an advance in the two years of £105,000, and the increase was much larger, if contrasted with the Estimates of the first year of the transfer. He was sorry to see this vast increase in the expenditure of public money on buildings. It seemed to be no use for Members of that House trying to be economical. He attributed the increase to the fact that no control was exercised by the Department over this outlay. There also was another marked feature in the accounting system —that repairs were mixed up with new buildings in a way that prevented proper knowledge being arrived at in regard to the amounts used for new works, separately from the charge for current expenditure. (He (Sir George Balfour) had, year after year, urged the strongest objections to this vicious practice. The outlay on new works or additions was the investment of money in permanent works, and practically increased the property of the Kingdom, and should be kept separate from the outlay on repairs, which maintained the public property, and, like salaries, became current charges of the year. If the noble Lord, whose loss they all deplored, had lived, that bad syetem would have been remedied. Then, the mode for accounting for furniture was objectionable. In four or five places the Votes for furniture were distributed. An hon. Member said there was neglect under the Irish Board of Works; but here there seemed quite as much mismanagement and want of system. The first and foremost consideration was to separate the charges for new works, for repairs, and furniture under distinct and separate heads, so as to improve the power of check.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, that a large sum had been set down for new buildings for electric telegraph purposes. Now, he could understand that the Post Office might be put to some increase of expenditure on that account; but £25,000 was a large increase for the Service. Had there been any exceptional or new development of the telegraph system calling for that large expenditure? He was under the impression there had been nothing of the kind.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the item in the increase of the Telegraph Department was caused by an addition to the new Post Office buildings in London. That increase was entirely due to the enormous increase in telegraph business. After a good deal of consideration, it was intended to put an additional storey to the building, at a cost of £30,000, and that was an alternative to erecting a new building, which would have cost £500,000. As to the complaint that no control was exercised, this was an illustration to the contrary, for by careful inquiry it was found possible to add this new storey instead of erecting a new building.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, had not the Government recently received urgent representations from the Inland Revenue Department as to the insufficiency of office accommodation, and did they propose any steps to remedy this?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, no; he had heard nothing about that.

Mr. HEALY wished to say a word in reference to postal pillar-boxes. He observed in certain parts of London the boxes contained an arrangement showing when the box would be next cleared. It would be a great convenience to the inhabitants of London, and, indeed, generally in the country, if this reform were generally adopted. It very frequently happened that in the night collections from the boxes that the postman was a quarter of an hour late; and it would be a great convenience to those who had occasion to despatch late correspondence to know, when they came to a pillar, whether the postman had passed or not. In some places this information was given; but could the plan be generally adopted, as it was in France and Belgium? Could not the Department carry it out in all parts of London—he would not say all over the country; but in London, with its 4,000,000 of inhabitants, a little slab indicating whether the box had or had not been cleared would be a great convenience.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, this practice had been carried out in some parts of the country; he had noticed it in the town he visited every year.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was a matter for the Postmaster General, who, no doubt, would give the information if a Question were put to him.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £34,480, to complete the sum for County Court Buildings.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,098, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Metropolitan Police Court Buildings."

MR. FIRTH said, £40 were paid for Hammersmith, and £50 for Wandsworth; was there any intention to provide these two Police Courts with proper habitations? The Home Office did intend to make a new division of the districts.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could not answer the question. He did not think there was any idea of a new building until the question of local government for London was settled.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was glad the question had been again raised as to charges upon the Exchequer for local matters, and some satisfactory answer would, he hoped, be ultimately obtained. But there had been frequent promises given by the Government, and he would be very glad to hear what practical steps were to be taken by the Government in the matter. It was certainly a most objectionable Vote, this continual charge from year to year; and he did not understand on what ground the Government could justify it, when similar buildings in other towns were entirely paid by the local rates. What practical steps would be taken to relieve the Exchequer from the charge?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, this was one of many items now paid from Imperial funds which would more properly fall on the ratepayers. But he thought, whenever the question came under consideration, there was another item on the other side to be considered—namely, that the City of London paid for its own police. When a Municipality was provided for the whole of London, no doubt the Government would contribute in the same proportion to the City Police as to the cost of the Metropolitan Police. But these were all parts of the larger question.

MR. WARTON said, he would not enter into the question whether the charge should, or should not, be borne by the Exchequer; but what he wished to call attention to was the objectionable state of the Police Court at Wandsworth. Whether it was to be paid for by the Exchequer, or by a Municipality, to be formed hereafter, he did not care to inquire; but he must call attention to this point, for hitherto no information had been given. Had the Chief Commissioner ever been to the Wandsworth Court? He (Mr. Warton) had had occasion to attend there to defend a man from an outrageous charge, and he was never in a more disgraceful Court House. It was about 20 feet long and 12 wide, and into this space were stuffed the magistrate and his clerk, half-a-dozen policemen, prisoners, witnesses, counsel, and the public. £50 a-year was far too much for such a miserable cottage; it was not worth more than £30, and it was disgraceful accommodation at that. If nothing were done to remedy the disgraceful condition of Wandsworth Police Court he should call attention to it by Motion. It was a filthy den, and not a fit place for any policeman.

MR. DILLWYN said, he was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works that he intended to deal with this matter. He (Mr. Dillwyn) should certainly propose a reduction of the Vote, because he thought it time that they should protest, in the name of the taxpayers of the country, against payments out of the Imperial Exchequer for local purposes.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that before they went to a division he would ask the hon. Member (Mr.

Courtney) if he could explain the new item in the Vote—that was, extra receipts, £3,560. He found it stated thus—

> "Estimated extra receipts (including for 1882-3 £3,032 12*s.* 8*d.* payable by the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police in respect of the new Bow Street Police Station) £356, 1882-83; £300, 1881-2."

What was the meaning of this? He was not disposed to vote with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) with regard to the Westminster Bridge Estate; but he thought the taxpayers throughout the country had reason to complain of the relief given to the Metropolitan rates out of the Imperial funds; therefore he would support the proposal of the hon. Member (Mr. Dillwyn).

Mr. WARTON said, that Hammersmith and Wandsworth formed part of the same district; but money had been spent on the Hammersmith Station, whilst that at Wandsworth was left without anything at all, and the Wandsworth Station was a wretched place, intolerable beyond all hon. Members could think of. Why, if the same principle was involved at Hammersmith and Wandsworth, was £2,700 spent on the former and nothing on the latter, which was in a most disgraceful condition?

Mr. COURTNEY was understood to say that the reason was that it was intended to remove the Wandsworth Police Station nearer Clapham Junction.

Mr. WARTON said, that if £100 was given to a builder he would be able to effect a great deal of improvement.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he would make inquiries into the matter and see what could be done.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 137; Noes 43: Majority 94.—(Div. List, No. 297.)

(8.) £4,195, to complete the sum for the Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland.

(9.) £67,200, to complete the sum for the New Courts of Justice and Offices.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he merely wanted to refer the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works to an answer he had given him some time ago, to the effect that the New Courts of Justice would be open before the Long Vacation. He understood that could not now be done, owing to the death of the architect. It would be an advantage to the public and the Legal Profession if they could be informed about when the Courts were likely to be opened.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had given an answer on the subject some months ago; but since that some delay had been rendered necessary, owing to the unfortunate death of Mr. Street, the architect. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), however, had great confidence that the buildings would be thoroughly complete, and the Judges would be able to enter them on the first day of term after the Long Vacation.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he was glad these Courts, which had been so long building, were now about to be opened. He should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would give them some information as to whether the old Courts would be pulled down when the legal business was removed from them, so that Westminster Hall might be seen in its original proportions.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had not consulted the Government in the matter; but it was his hope that the course indicated by the right hon. Gentleman would be pursued. The Government were under a kind of obligation when the new Courts were finished to pull down the old ones. It was believed that there were some flying buttresses to the hall built up into the brickwork of the Courts, and it would be an extremely interesting operation to lay those bare. What would be the general effect when the brickwork was removed he could not say; but, according to Sir Charles Barry, it would not be good. He could only hope that the eminent architect he had quoted was wrong in the view he took of the matter, and that the effect would turn out to be much better than was expected.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £135,000, to complete the sum for Surveys of the United Kingdom.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, a question had been before the Public Accounts Committee with reference to the Survey Accounts in Ireland. The balance had gone on increasing, and nearly £11,000 was now due. The Treasury had passed certain regulations in November, 1881, which it was hoped would tend to a reduction of the balance;

and he would like to hear from the Secretary to the Treasury that he (Mr. Courtney) would closely watch the working of those regulations.

MR. PUGH said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman would be able to give the Committee an assurance that some progress had been made with the Survey. The Committee were concerned to know in what number of years the work would be completed. It occurred to him to be a very strange thing that the headquarters of the Survey should be South Africa.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there was a very large increase of this Vote last year. That increase was agreed to upon the understanding that the Survey would be completed by the year 1890. They were, therefore, within a measurable distance of the completion of this great work. General Cook had made some improvements, which would greatly facilitate the issue of the maps; and he wished to take this opportunity of expressing the thanks of the Government to General Cook for these improvements, which would cause a saving of £100,000, and, at the same time, facilitate the issue of some of the maps by some years.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, it was all very well to say the work would be finished in 1890; but the Committee would like to know what was really being done. How many counties, for instance, had been surveyed? This was a matter of great importance to the landed interest of the country, and the Committee would like more detailed information than they had yet received. Could the Government state, even approximately, the number of maps sold and the amount realized by the sale?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that if he might supplement the remarks of his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), he would do so by suggesting that the right hon. Gentleman might present a Return to the House, in continuance of the Return presented last year, showing what progress had been made and indicating when the survey of the different counties would be completed.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was not able to give any specific account of the progress made. From General Cook's Report the Committee would see exactly what part of the country had been surveyed during the past year, and how far the work had been accelerated during the last 12 months by the increased Vote of the House. Of course, the present increased Vote would have its effect in the coming year. He could assure the Committee that General Cook was desirous of hastening on the Survey in every possible way.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he could hardly agree that the year 1890 was within a measurable distance of the present time. He did not think they ought to wait eight years for the completion of this work. Some time ago a very strong opinion was expressed on both sides of the House as to the delay in completing the Ordnance Survey, and there was a general feeling that no public money could be better spent than in accelerating this work. The Prime Minister, in introducing the Budget last year, expressed himself strongly in favour of additional expenditure on this ground; and he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) would urge the right hon. Gentleman to endeavour to increase the number of men employed upon the work. It was desirable, too, that when the Survey was commenced in one county, the work in that county should be completed before any other was undertaken.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, there was one point on which he should like a little information to be afforded to the Committee. If he recollected rightly, when, on a previous occasion, the Committee pressed on the Government the necessity of accelerating the Survey, the answer given was that the Government had not got the men at their disposal, and that it was impossible to get them at once; that men were required to be specially educated to make the Survey. What he wanted to ask was, what steps had been taken by the Government to provide engineers to make the Survey, or to provide for the education which the Committee were told, in previous years, was absolutely necessary men should receive before they could take part in the work. It was perfectly clear the work could not be pushed on with the rapidity the Committee desired, unless there was a large increase of the men employed.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Report of General Cook for the present year would give the information the hon. Gentleman (Mr. R. H. Paget) desired.

Captain AYLMER said, it was most unsatisfactory to notice the way in which all questions asked were answered by the right hon. Gentleman, considering that last year the Committee voted £50,000 extra, with the object of facilitating the progress of the Survey. The right hon. Gentleman might have expected some questions as to the rate of progress, as compared with previous years. No information, however, had been afforded to the Committee on the point; but still a further increased Vote was not proposed. The right hon. Gentleman ought to withdraw the Vote until he could afford the information the Committee desired.

Mr. PUGH suggested that General Cook should, next year, issue his Report before this Vote was taken. Such an arrangement would be very satisfactory.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there was no wish on his part to keep the Committee in ignorance. With reference to the point raised by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) — namely, the desirability of completing the Survey of a county when once it was commenced, the Government had received many complaints; but he had always felt great hesitation in interfering with the work of the Survey in this respect. General Cook laid down a scheme for general survey, having regard to economy and the acceleration of the work; and he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) thought that, on the whole, it was not wise to interfere with the arrangements made by the gentlemen in charge of the work. He must ask hon. Members not to press him further on the point.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was glad the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Pugh) had asked the Government to lay the Report respecting the Survey, and other Reports, on the Table, when they would be of practical use. A good many weeks ago the Secretary to the Treasury was pressed to say when the Financial Accounts for the last year would be placed on the Table, and the hon. Gentleman gave the assurance that every effort would be made to push on the work. It was now the end of July, and the Committee had not yet received the Financial Accounts, which ought to have been issued in May. Might he ask the Secretary to the Treasury how the matter stood at present, and whether the Committee might expect, in the course of the next few days, to receive the Financial Accounts promised so long ago?

Mr. COURTNEY said, the Financial Accounts would be published without delay.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) £17,599, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department Buildings.

(12.) £3,947, to complete the sum for the British Museum Buildings.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he had only one question to ask in regard to this Vote. In page 43, under the head B, there was a charge for—

> "Rent of rooms at No. 103, Victoria Street, Westminster, for the temporary continuance there of the collection of Antiquities and Ethnographical Objects presented to the British Museum by the Trustees under the will of the late Mr. Henry Christy."

The collection was brought to Victoria Street last year, and a promise was then made that it was to be removed to the British Museum and South Kensington, and that this charge would cease. He would like to know if this had been done?

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he would like to receive some information about the Natural History Museum; for instance, he would like to know what steps had been taken in the past year, and what might be expected in future years, towards the completion of the work?

The CHAIRMAN: The Natural History Museum Vote will be taken next.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that when the collection of antiquities and ethnographical objects was removed the Christy portion would be removed.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, there was a magnificent building at South Kensington intended for the Natural History Museum. That building had been erected at a very large cost, and at the present time it was practically empty, and for the very reason that certain money was required in order to provide cases in which to put the objects of interest. If the Secretary to the Treasury would look at the Estimates, he would see that, so far as buildings were concerned, the Estimates were satisfactory enough, but not so with regard to the Estimates for internal fittings. For internal fittings the original Estimate was £177,570; the revised Estimate, £136,203; total amount of previous Votes and re-Votes, £97,337; total expenditure up to the 30th of September, 1882, £32,996; Vote required for year 1882-3, £37,336; voted 1881-2, £37,337; further amount required for completing the work, *nil.* There was an item of £4,356 under the heading "further amount required for completing the work," and with regard to that item he would like some explanation. The learned professor who was in charge of the Natural History part of the British Museum at the present moment was a gentleman who was getting into years, and he was extremely anxious to see the new arrangements completed in his lifetime. It was very necessary the Natural History Collection should be removed, and if the only difficulty in the matter was one of money he was persuaded it could soon be overcome.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Vote for internal fittings amounted to £37,000, and for that sum nearly the whole of the internal fittings of the building would be completed. Certainly not more than £4,000 or £5,000 more would be required.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £29,858, to complete the sum for the Natural History Museum.

MR. G. HOWARD asked whether the building containing the collection of objects in spirits had been separated from the Natural History Museum, owing to the inflammable character of the contents of the former building; and whether it adjoined the building which was now used for the National Portrait Gallery, which building was not fire-proof, and the contents of which were of a far more inflammable nature than the objects in spirits?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there was a considerable space between the building for objects in spirits and the National Portrait Gallery. The danger which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. G. Howard) seem to fear need not be apprehended.

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE said, that at present the spirit collection was placed underneath the Library of the British Museum. He agreed with his hon. Friend (Mr. G. Howard) that it was to be regretted that the spirit collection should be kept so near the National Portrait Gallery.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, the Trustees of the Museum had been for a long time anxious to separate the spirit collection from the other portions of the building.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he did not wish it to be supposed there was any real danger to the National Portrait Gallery by the proximity of the spirit collection. The two buildings were separated by such a distance that there was no real danger to be feared.

Vote *agreed to.*

(14.) £4,695, to complete the sum for Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT noticed that £2,982 of this Vote was in respect of the Dover Harbour. A Bill authorizing the construction of a new harbour at Dover was read a second time only the other day, and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade distinctly stated that the promoters of the Bill were to be answerable for all the expense. He understood from the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman that any expenditure on the part of the Board of Trade in regard to the harbour would cease, that the new Bill was not to affect the Admiralty Pier, and that the cost of maintaining Dover Harbour was to be undertaken by those who entered upon the work. He would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he had correctly interpreted his observations? He would also ask the right hon. Gentleman if it was not being carefully considered whether it would not be worth the Government's while to ask for a sum of money to be expended on Dover Harbour, so as to make the harbour one of real value to the country? The right hon. Gentleman had said the harbour when constructed would not be large enough for the accommodation of ships of war. It was to be regretted if, by the new works, the harbour was not made a really useful one.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I did not intend to convey, in what I said upon a Private Bill that was before the House the other day, that if that Bill passed into law all charge upon the public funds in reference to the harbour would cease. That was not in question, and was beside the point raised by the Private Bill. Of course, if the Government should at a later period repeat the proposals of previous Governments and propose to hand over the Admiralty Pier to the Harbour Board, the expense upon the Admiralty Pier would, of course, in future be defrayed by the Harbour Board; but so long as the Government retain possession of property vested in them at Dover, so long, of course, there will be an annual charge for it. The hon. and gallant Gentleman takes the opportunity of asking whether we do not think the time has come for making some proposals to the House for the extension of Dover Harbour for military and other purposes. The position at present is this. We have appointed a small Departmental Committee to consider the question of convict labour. That Committee has not yet reported; but, no doubt, it has under consideration the propriety of employing convicts upon some harbour works, and I know that it has specially and seriously considered the desirability of employing such labour at Dover. But until we get the Report of the Committee, we shall not be in a position to advise the House upon the subject. Under these circumstances, it would, perhaps, be as well if further observations on the subject were postponed until we get that Report.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR wished to know whether the case of Galway had been brought under the attention of the Departmental Committee of which the right hon. Gentleman spoke? The right hon. Gentleman might imagine that he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had a particular interest in this matter; but the reason why he had risen to bring it to the right hon. Gentleman's attention was that Spike Island, the great convict establishment of Ireland, had been disestablished. Several Chief Secretaries for Ireland had given an undertaking that they would favourably regard the employment of convict labour at Galway to construct a breakwater, which would be useful, not only in connection with Galway Harbour, but for the safety of all the vessels on the West Coast. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consider the case of Galway Harbour as well as that of Dover.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: If I may be permitted, I will answer this point at once. We have under consideration the employment of convicts in Ireland as well as in Scotland and England. It appears that it is the opinion of the Irish Government that a very considerable number of Irish convicts can be profitably and advantageously employed in building, chiefly in connection with convict prisons. I am informed that a large number of them will be so employed, and that only a few will remain; and, of course, with only a few, it is not likely that they will be employed in any great work of harbour construction. How these few may be employed I do not know at present; but that is a matter which is still under consideration.

Mr. O'KELLY wished to know whether, in view of the necessity felt for harbours in the West Coast of Ireland, it would not be well for the Government to employ convict labour in the construction of breakwaters there rather than in the erection of prisons.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would raise the question on the Vote for Convict Prisons.

Mr. ROUND said, he wished to ask a question with regard to Harwich Harbour. It was the duty of the Harbour Board to keep up the harbour, and to keep the navigation in proper order. That Board had existed for many years past, and consisted of members elected by the different localities in the neighbourhood. Some of the members were the nominees of different Government Departments—the Board of Trade, the Treasury, the Admiralty, and other Government Departments nominated some of them. At the beginning of each year the members elected a Chairman, and the question which he now wished to put to the Government was this. The Chairman who was elected at the beginning of the year 1881 was a Member of this House, and was greatly interested in the locality. His appointment, as was the case with all these appointments, might come to an end in five years. When his appointment as Chairman came to an end, at the end of last year, he was not re-elected, notwithstanding the fact that it was the almost invariable rule that the Chairman should be re-elected. He (Mr. Round) wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman what was the reason why such an unusual course was taken, and why the late Chairman was not re-elected. He was not aware that there was any case on record since the commencement of the Harbour Board of any Chairman not being re-elected. The late Chairman was a man in whom the members of the Board had full confidence, or they would not have placed him in the position he had occupied. He had all the responsibility and work of the Board in his hands; and it was very unfair, unless there were some good grounds for it, that when his term of office came to an end he should not be re-elected. He (Mr. Round) hardly conceived that there could be any fault to be found with the hon. Gentleman he referred to, unless it was that he did not sit on the same side of the House as the present Government. He was quite sure that hon. Members on both sides would agree with him that that should not be a reason why a gentleman who enjoyed the confidence of the Board should not be re-appointed. He would like to say that he had no objection whatever to the gentleman whom the Government had put in that hon. Member's place, because that gentleman also formerly sat in this House, and was a gentleman who certainly ought to be on the Board for that district. The new Chairman was in every way a proper person to fill the vacancy. But he would ask the right hon. Gentleman what grounds there were for dispensing with the previous Chairman's services; and whether there was any case on record of a similar course having been taken before with regard to any former Chairman of the Board?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was glad the hon. Member had raised the question of Harwich Harbour, because it was one which was well worthy of the consideration of the House, with the view of seeing whether or not the charge for it ought to be continued at all. It seemed to him that if the Government had it in their power to nominate members of the Board, and to select the Chairman, it was a pity that they did not continue the Chairman in a position where those who knew him could recognize the value of his services. But what he wanted to know was whether it was worth while to continue the Conservancy Board at Harwich at all? If they were brought into liquidation now, their available assets would be about 1*s*. 6*d*. They had had to do with a Railway Company on one side, and with the War Department on the other; and though, between the three Bodies, the town of Harwich had been greatly benefited, the Conservators did not seem to have done anything to justify their existence, and the result was that they owed a considerable amount of money to the Public Exchequer. There were entries of this sort in last year's accounts—Repayment of principal and interest of loan advanced by the Public Works Loan Commissioners, £430; expended on works, £1,000; and other items of expenditure, £550. This year the amount expended on works was £350; and as the total receipts from dues, &c., were only £1,180 altogether, the result was that the deficiency last year was £820, and this year £150. The deficiency last year had to be made good by a Vote in these Estimates, and this year, similarly, £150 had to be paid. It appeared to him to be absurd to continue to keep on the books of the nation this liability of the Harwich Harbour Commissioners to the Public Works Loan Commissioners, which was never met except by the assistance of a Vote in the Estimates. He thought this item of loan should be knocked out of the Estimates altogether, and the balance due from the Harbour authorities to the Public Works Loans Commissioners should be wiped off, just in the same way that a loan to a Scotch Board was wiped off last year.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Member seems to have curious notions of the way in which the public purse should be saved, because his proposition is this—that the repayment, principal and interest, of loan, amounting to £430 per annum, should be dispensed with, and that in return we should gain an annual charge on the Votes of £150.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Yes; but last year it was £800.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes; owing to an expenditure upon exceptional works. The result of such an arrangement would be a distinct loss to the public Revenue. But the whole question depends upon the peculiar circumstances of the case. Harwich is one of those harbours which is supported, to a considerable extent, out of the public money, because it is a harbour of refuge, the cost of which ought not properly to fall entirely upon the locality. The hon. Member says the Conservancy Board is useless; but I do not see that at all. They have managed the affairs they had to deal with with very considerable skill. Before the harbour was made they raised from dues an annual income of £1,500. So far as that is concerned, probably the amount received balances the expenditure, so far as the local harbour goes. But over and above that, we have an expenditure for a national work—for the harbour as a harbour of refuge. At the present time the charge is very small, and it has been considerably reduced of late years.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not know anything of the circumstances of the case which had been referred to by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Round). He quite agreed with him that politics should not alone be a consideration for public service; but he would inquire into the circumstances, for he thought there must be some explanation forthcoming.

Mr. ROUND said, he had not meant to suggest that politics alone had been considered. As to what had been said by the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) about the Harwich Harbour Board, he thought that hon. Member was labouring under some misapprehension. To his (Mr. Round's) knowledge, the harbour was being silted up years ago, when the Board was established. It was a most important harbour of refuge for vessels on the East Coast; and if the Harbour Board had not been established, and the work they had done carried out, the harbour would have been silted up, and there would be no Harwich Harbour at all now. The expenditure referred to, as having taken place last year, had been incurred over special works which were very much needed, and which had been very properly carried out. The results had been most beneficial.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked how it was that the estimated receipts at Holyhead were now only £2,600, as against £2,770 last year, while those at Dover showed an increase?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The estimated receipts at Holyhead show a decrease, because, under a recent decision of one of the Law Courts, ships have to be re-measured for tonnage; and they will pay smaller dues in future than they have done in the past. I suppose the increase at Dover arises from the regular increase of traffic.

Vote *agreed to.*

(15.) £81,088, to complete the sum for Rates on Government Property.

(16.) £5,000, to complete the sum for the Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

(17.) £130,208, to complete the sum for Public Buildings (Ireland).

Mr. R. H. PAGET wished to know whether the House was to be furnished with any Report as to the Munster Model Farm, referred to on page 51 of the Estimate? A considerable sum was put down for the annual expenditure on that farm, and he thought a Report ought to be furnished to the House to show the way in which the money was distributed, because he did not see why such an expenditure should be provided out of the public purse for farming in Ireland, while there was no similar expenditure in England. He hoped the time would arrive when the State would possess a regular Agricultural Department, and when they might have a right to an agricultural model farm here in England as well as in Ireland.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he was afraid he could not give the hon. Gentleman any information on the subject; but he would inquire, and, on Report or privately, he would give him such information as was to be obtained.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the hon. Gentleman could give any information as to the item for fishery piers? He wished to know whether the money, which was now to be voted, would actually be expended on the piers for which Parliament was asked to vote the money, because he believed there had not been a single year in which the money voted by Parliament for those piers had actually been spent upon them. Year after year the money which Parliament had voted for the benefit of the starving population on the West Coast of Ireland was paid back into the Exchequer. Some time ago there was a special Vote passed for the purpose of establishing fishery piers and harbours on the West Coast of Ireland, and they were assured that every effort would be made by the Government to push on works of such great utility at a time when a large portion of the population was in a starving condition. The employment was of the first importance to those unfortunate people; but, as a matter of fact, the works were never pushed forward as they ought to have been, and many of them were still in almost the earliest stage of commencement when the period of distress passed by. The Board of Works did not appear to have made any efforts to call upon the contractors, who were months in arrear with their work, to do their duty; and those contractors, who should have given employment to the starving people, were allowed to go scot free. There was not one instance in which any forfeiture was exacted, and the benefit which Parliament intended to bestow on the district was, of course, all the time entirely lost to the people. He wished to ask the hon. Gentleman what was the present condition of the piers set forth on page 53, and whether they would be completed this year?

Mr. COURTNEY said, it was impossible for him to say. The hon. Gentleman himself must be aware that work of this kind was liable to be interrupted. There had been no case made out for forfeiture in connection with these works, and, therefore, no forfeiture could be enforced.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR was very much obliged for the answer which the hon. Gentleman had given him; but he could not say that he had gathered any information from it. Possibly that was because the hon. Gentleman had not any to impart. As to the forfeitures which were incurred or not incurred by the contractors, he would remind the hon. Gentleman that, in many instances, the contractors had either incurred forfeiture, or that the contracts on which the works were let out were of such a nature that it would not have mattered if they had gone on for several years without the contractors doing what they had undertaken to do. Would the hon. Gentleman lay on the Table of the House copies of the contracts under which these different works were undertaken, in order that the House might know the exact position of things? If the hon. Gentleman would do that, he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would be very glad, as it would be very useful in future cases of this kind.

Mr. COURTNEY said, it was obviously impossible to do this where there were large contracts. If the hon. Gentleman knew of any special work which was being neglected, and would bring it under his notice, he would have the contract examined, and would see how the matter stood.

Mr. HEALY wished to know whether it was true, as had been recently stated in the newspapers, that the Government were going to erect some new buildings, either in the Phœnix Park or in the Curragh of Kildare, for the purposes of the new Irish police? Was that the case or not, and, if it was the case, on what year would the work be charged—this year or next? He wished also to ask in what place was the scheme of the Government with regard to the Irish potato experiments to be carried out? Was it to be in Glasnevin, or where, and what had so far been done in the matter?

Mr. COURTNEY was afraid he could give no information in reply to the last question. It was intended to make an increase in the Constabulary Force in Ireland, and for that purpose he believed there would be some huts erected in the Curragh of Kildare. The Estimates would be laid before the House in due course.

Mr. HEALY: What is the estimated amount of the Vote?

Mr. COURTNEY: It is not yet settled. It is not included in these Votes at all.

Vote *agreed to.*

(18.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £6,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Expenses preparatory to and of the erection of the Museum of Science and Art in Dublin, and of additions to the School of Art in Dublin."

Mr. HEALY said, the Lord Mayor of Dublin had requested him to ask a question as to this Vote. These questions were usually answered by the Vice President of the Committee of Council; and he would ask that right hon. Gentleman whether he could give any information as to the scheme which had been so often pressed upon him?

Mr. MUNDELLA was not aware that he had any information to give on the point.

Mr. HEALY: As to the creation of a Science and Art Museum in Dublin?

Dr. LYONS asked what was the state of preparation, and what kind of buildings would be erected? He believed the plans were obtained by a system of limited competition.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, the matter was now entirely out of the hands of the Science and Art Department, and in those of the Board of Works. This was their Vote.

Mr. COURTNEY said, there was a general competition, out of which five competitors had been selected to work out their plans, and a final decision had not yet been come to.

Dr. LYONS said, it was very well to know that the final decision had not yet been arrived at, as there was much feeling in Dublin on this subject, and a strong desire existed to see erected a building of suitable proportions as the centre of a great National Museum for Ireland; and, so far as he knew, neither the Members for the City of Dublin nor any persons of public position had been consulted on the subject. He trusted that ample opportunities for inspection of the plans would be afforded before the work was finally decided on.

Mr. R. H. PAGET wished to know whether the sum of £3,500 had already been expended? That seemed to be so from the figures given on page 61.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the plan adopted in England was this—an Estimate, say of £100,000, was made for certain work. Then there was a revised Estimate made, which would go up to £150,000, or even £250,000. The money required was always voted—indeed, in many cases, a great deal more. In Ireland, however, the plan was reversed, for the original Estimates were cut down. The House voted a considerable sum; but the money was not expended, a large portion was paid back into the Exchequer to be voted and re-voted year after year, and none of the piers and harbours of Ireland were properly attended to. He would move that the Chairman should report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. The reason he did so was that the next Vote was one of very considerable importance to Ireland at this moment. The Vote related to the Shannon Navigation, and he was afraid the hon. Member who represented the Board of Works in that House was not at present in complete possession of the facts of the case. He doubted whether the hon. Gentleman was aware that there were very serious floods on account of the recent heavy rains.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Mr. COURTNEY said, he could not consent to report Progress upon this Vote, because the next Vote might be of a controversial character. He would like to get through the Votes in Class I.; at all events, let them see what they had to say about the Shannon Navigation.

Mr. HEALY said, he would suggest that his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) should withdraw his Motion if the Government would postpone the Vote for the Shannon Navigation It would be well to finish the Estimates of this class, with the exception of the one relating to the Shannon Navigation.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not see there was any necessity to postpone the Vote. Of course, if a case was made out which would justify a postponement, he would consent; but at present he could not consent to a postponement.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(19.) £7,512, to complete the sum for the Shannon Navigation.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, this was a debateable matter upon which he felt a good deal of interest. He received so many notifications of the amount of land under water that, in the earlier portion of the year, he ventured to address a question to the Government in regard to it. He was told everything was going on satisfactorily, that the works were nearly completed, and they would prove of a most admirable character. At Whitsuntide he went over the works at Meelick, and, although he did not pretend to be any authority on engineering, he must say it seemed to him there was a very cardinal mistake made in the whole character of the works. The Shannon in this neighbourhood used to run a course which it did not run now. It was a very devious course—there were a number of islands and a great number of channels. The water was very shallow, and there was, amongst other channels, the Victoria Canal, which carried off almost as much water as the proper course of the river itself. It was found that the bed of the river was altogether insufficient to carry off anything like the flood water which from time to time flowed there. The engineers determined to cut, at the entrance to the Victoria Canal, two outlet channels, one of which was 60 feet wide and the other 100 feet wide. Having made these channels, they made six sluices, and then constructed weirs, which robbed the river of eight feet on each side—in fact, the water-way had been reduced to 108 feet. The consequence was that all the water which ought to be carried off was not carried off. There was another matter deserving attention, and that was the constant inundation of all the low-lying land above Meelick. Some time ago one of the officers of the Government declared there had been no complaints made with regard to flooding in that part of the country, and that, if any flooding did take place, the proper course to take was to make representations to the Board of Works. It was all very well to say this in the House of Commons; but it was exceedingly difficult for the small farmers along the banks of the Shannon to make them heard. Unless the landlords would take the matter in hand, things would stand very little chance of being remedied. Inundations caused by the overflow of the River Brosna were a source of constant danger to all the low-lying lands above Meelick; and he was convinced that unless something was done a very large amount of property must needs be destroyed along the whole of the Shannon between Athlone and Killaloe. He did not know whether the Secretary to the Treasury was able to give the Committee any detailed information either as to the state of the district or as to the steps which the Board of Works had resolved to take in the matter.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, that, so far as he understood this Vote, it was one to complete works already commenced and now in course of construction. Last summer he had an opportunity of going over the Shannon from Killaloe to Athlone, and he was able to see the public works which were being carried out to relieve the flooding of the Shannon. The evidence of some of the best engineers of the day was to the effect that the only way to relieve the flooding of the Shannon was by means of weirs and sluices. The work was being rapidly completed, and he understood from the engineers who accompanied the Commission with which he was connected that the flooding of the Shannon would shortly be a thing of the past. The water-way would be increased, and by opening the sluices the water would be kept at summer level. The sum now asked for was simply to complete the work already in progress.

MR. HEALY said, the first engineers of the world did not seem to be able to stop the floods. It was only on Saturday he received a letter in which the writer complained of the flooding. He confessed he knew little about engineering; but it was all very well for the engineers to tell the people that the floods would stop, when they continued as bad as ever. What the engineers were now doing was like a doctor feeling a man's pulse and telling him he was all right, when, at the same time, the man felt in a thundering bad way. The engineers ought to be able to do so, and public money ought not to be wasted. The flooding still continued; in fact, from the letter he received on Saturday, he learned that for six miles on the Brosna there was now flooding. He would suggest that if the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) was not afraid of being shot, he should endeavour to spare a few days in which to visit the banks of the Shannon, and see the havoc created by the floods.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, the works in connection with the Shannon navigation were not completed, nor were the sluices in operation. The works which he saw in progress last summer would be completed by August or September next; so there could be no results at the present time. The flooding must go on until the sluices were in operation. If the flooding continued next autumn and next summer the matter ought to be brought forward.

MR. COURTNEY said, what had been stated by the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) was quite correct. The works were not yet completed, and it was not considered wise to open one sluice before the rest. It was confidently believed the works would be efficacious.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, what he was particularly concerned in were the works mentioned in the Estimate—namely, those at Meelick. The whole of the drainage of the Shannon was being sacrificed for the bugbear of navigation. The navigation of the Shannon did not pay for the maintenance of the lock-keepers; yet, for the sake of this trumpery interest, the whole of the agricultural and drainage interests in the centre of Ireland were being wickedly sacrificed. At Meelick there was a large weir, called the Meelick Weir, which kept up the water and threw it into the Victoria Canal, which was part of the navigation system. In order to draw off the flood water from a point above Meelick Weir, there had been two channels cut, one 60 feet wide and the other 100 feet. This width of water-way was not maintained, however; but, by the construction of sluices and weirs, it had been decreased to 108 feet, and the flow of water had been greatly slackened. That appeared to him to be the act of a fool. The consequence was that the floods, which might have been abated to a very considerable extent, would still lie over land which otherwise might be expected to yield good crops.

Vote *agreed to.*

(20.) £6,650, to complete the sum for Lighthouses Abroad.

(21.) £17,265, to complete the sum for Diplomatic Buildings.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he would like some explanation of the item of £1,500 for the purchase of furniture, &c. for the State rooms at Lisbon. It seemed a very large sum. In view of recent circumstances, he would also like some explanation of the sum of £450—

> "For rent, maintenance, and repair of Consular Buildings, including £36 for water rate, at Alexandria."

It was possible the sum would have to be increased.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the gentleman who was recently appointed at Lisbon was not likely to remain there more than two years. He complained that the cost of providing furniture for the State rooms would be very heavy; and, under the circumstances of the case, it was thought proper that the rooms should be furnished at the public expense.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked, if £1,500 was a reasonable amount to be voted for State rooms of what, after all, was not a very first-rate appointment?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there was no absolute rule laid down in regard to furnishing. With regard to the Consular buildings at Alexandria, it was impossible to say whether the present Vote would be sufficient.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he knew that certain Embassies were supplied with houses of furniture; but he never yet heard of a Minister having State rooms. There was an allowance for a Minister's house at Madrid; but no furniture was allowed, and no furniture was allowed to any Legation except that of Paris. He was informed that there was one room fitted at Madrid which was converted into a chapel, and it had not been furnished for any other purpose. His recollection of his connection with the Consular Service was that he had to provide his own furniture, and he had never heard any explanation of the State room at Lisbon; and he did not see why, because Sir Charles White remained there for two years, he should have £1,500 above any other Minister. If Sir Charles White had been going to stay there for five years he might have had this £1,500, but not for two years. He hoped the Government would give some more satisfactory account of this matter.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there were a considerable number of Embassies of which the State rooms were furnished by the State, and small allowances were made on account of furniture. When Sir Charles White was appointed, inasmuch as he was not likely to remain at Lisbon long, it was represented that the furnishing of the State rooms would fall heavily upon him. He thought the hon. Member was wrong in regard to the Embassy at Madrid.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked whether the right hon. Gentleman wished to lay it down as a precedent that, when a Minister was appointed to a post, in regard to which it was usual to give an annual allowance for furniture, if he said he was going to stay for two years he could ask for £1,500 for furniture?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE did not wish it to be altogether considered as a precedent. This was regarded as an exceptional case, and no strict rule or principle could be laid down.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

MOTIONS.

DULWICH SCHEME.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

MR. GRANTHAM rose to move a Resolution, the object of which was to prevent the scheme being so altered as to injure Dulwich College in future, and his object could only be attained by sending the scheme back to be revised, and the effect of that he knew would be to destroy the scheme. Personally, he regretted very much the necessity of this step being taken after all that the House had done; but those interested in the College felt that justice had not been done by the scheme, although it was admittedly a great improvement upon previous schemes. There were many difficulties to be overcome; but he did not think they had been overcome as they might have been. He did not think that £4,000 a-year was sufficient for the maintenance of an educational department like that of Dulwich College, bearing in mind that the income of the College was £20,000 a-year. If the building had been smaller, and the education inferior to what it was, £4,000 might have been a sufficient sum; but they must take it as it was. The Governors were much to blame in having spent such a large sum on the buildings; still, there they were, and they would have to be maintained, and the great difficulty would be how to maintain them, and carry on the school out of £4,000 a-year. Without desiring to claim for the College a larger sum than was necessary, in their view, the present Governors were of opinion that a provision of at least £5,000 a-year ought to be made. Most of those, indeed, who had gone carefully into the matter thought that £6,000 would not be excessive. He knew he should be met with the answer that they could not give another £1,000 a-year without depriving some other portions of the scheme of money proposed to be given to them, that was to say, it would be taken from St. Botolph's, or St. Luke's, or St. Saviour's. So far as that was concerned, he could not object to it, because he considered that the sums given to those three parishes were in excess of what they were entitled to receive. The whole question depended upon whether these parishes were entitled to the large sums given to them under the scheme; and upon that question he could not do better than state the opinion of the Endowed School Commissioners on this question, because everything depended on whether these parishes had or had not a right to a large sum taken from the fund, or to be treated in a similar fashion to the parish of Camberwell. The Commissioners said, in a letter dated the 13th February, 1874—

> "The Vestry of St. Luke's base their claims on the assumption that the four parishes have equal beneficial interest in Alleyne's foundation, and that this interest is for each parish one-fourth of the whole. . . . This argument is not supported by the true interpretation of the instruments of foundation, or by the facts of the case. . . . There is, therefore, in our opinion, no ground for an apportionment of Alleyne's endowment into equal fourth parts, one for each of the four parishes. And in this opinion they are confirmed by the circumstance that, although this endowment has been many times the subject of hot debate before the Archbishop of Canterbury as visitor, before the Court of Chancery, before the Charity Commissioners, and before Parliament, no one of these authorities has ever recognized such view. On the contrary, their decisions and action have been entirely inconsistent with it.

On the fullest investigation that he had been enabled to give the matter, he could not help thinking that the northern parishes had already been treated in far too liberal a manner, and this had occurred simply because they had powerful friends among the Governors, who had claimed for them these large amounts; but when they looked to the relative positions of the parishes—to the fact that the population of Camberwell was increasing, whilst that of the northern parishes was decreasing—they would see still more the injustice of the scheme, and that they were simply giving to those who had, and taking away from those who had not. In 1851 the parish of Camberwell had a population of 54,000, and now it had increased to 173,000—nearly four times as much as it was 30 years ago, whereas in all the other parishes the exact converse of this had taken place. In St. Saviour's, in 1851, the population was 35,731, but it had gradually diminished, until it now stood at 15,677. In 1851 the population of St. Botolph's was 12,499, but it was now only 6,107; whilst the population of St. Luke's had remained as near as possible stationary, the population being, in 1881, 54,995, and in 1851, 54,055. That being so, he thought the House would see at once that it was real folly to be increasing the educational endowments of parishes which were already provided with sufficient educational facilities—as was especially the case in St. Saviour's—and where the population had decreased so rapidly, and was very likely to decrease still more; because anyone who knew anything of that part of London knew that it was occupied with warehouses, or premises that would not permit of any increase in the population, certainly of that kind of population that required school accommodation—namely, children. He now passed on to the last objection he had to the scheme, and that was the increase in the fees of the boys who had entered the College since December, 1880, which were fixed at not less than £20, and not more than £30. To show the injustice of the scheme it would only be necessary for him to refer to what had been done in 1857. By an Act of Parliament of that year the fees were fixed at from £8 to 10 a-year, according to age. These fees had gone up gradually to £15 and £18, and now it was proposed to increase them to £20 and £30. He asked why that was proposed? It was because the £4,000 a-year was not sufficient for Dulwich College. It was admitted that that sum was insufficient, and to remedy that difficulty they increased the fees of the boys, instead of taking away from, or not giving so much to, the northern parishes. They were increasing the fees of the boys to increase their gross income. That was not dealing fairly with the parents of the children educated at the College, because it was very well known that the great increase in the income of Dulwich College was derived entirely from the people who had built large and valuable houses on the estate, paying large ground rents for those houses, and having located themselves there for the purpose of looking after the education of their children—in consequence of the exceptional educational advantages that had been held forth to them as lessees on the estate. Now, if these people were to have that education made more expensive by an increase in the fees, it was, to a certain extent, a fraud upon them, because they believed in settling there that they were going to get their children educated for a very moderate sum. He did not mean to say that the education would not be obtained for a moderate sum under the scheme; but the fees were considerably increased, and they now reached a figure which was not anticipated when the houses were erected. Under these circumstances, and in order that the scheme might be reconsidered, he would suggest that it should be disallowed. The matter had been a long time before them, and had been thoroughly threshed out; and if his Motion for disallowing the scheme were carried, a fresh proposal might be made to Parliament another year that would meet with the approbation of all the parties interested.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to disallow the Dulwich Scheme, now lying upon the Table of the House, because, firstly, by Section 5,—

"That the first Co-optative College Governors shall be so many of the non-elective governors in office at the date of this scheme as are willing to accept the office:

"Also, That the said first Co-optative College Governors shall be appointed to office for the term of their respective lives, and their appointment shall take effect from the date of this scheme:

"Secondly, by Section 40,—

"That, Seventhly, They shall pay to the college governors for the purposes of Dulwich College (only) the annual sum of £4,000, to be carried by them to the credit of the Dulwich College Account and to be treated as income:

"Twelfthly, They shall carry to separate accounts the annual sum of £500 for the educational benefit of the parish of Saint Botolph Without Bishopsgate, and the annual sum of £500 for the educational benefit of St. Luke, Middlesex:

"And, Thirdly, by Section 42,—

"To set apart for the purpose of a middle school or middle schools for the parishes of Saint Boltoph Without Bishopsgate and Saint Luke, Middlesex, a capital sum of £50,000:

"By Sections 36 and 79,—

"That all boys who have entered the college since December 1880 may be called upon by the governors for fees not less than £20, nor more than £30, a-year for any boy."—(*Mr. Grantham.*)

Mr. BRYCE said, he was obliged to oppose the Motion of the hon. Gentleman opposite, and, in doing so, he would state shortly his reasons for thinking that it should not be allowed to pass. The hon. Member was sanguine if he thought that by rejecting this scheme they would get a better one next year, which would be generally approved of and assented to. This subject was most difficult and troublesome; it was now 10 years since the Endowed Schools Commissioners had taken up and tried to deal with Dulwich College. At least two schemes had been tried and had become abortive. There was no case in England, except that of Christ's Hospital, which presented so much difficulty and so many conflicting sentiments and interests. If the present scheme were rejected also, he saw no chance of anything being done—it might be years before another was obtained, and for years to come London would lose the benefits of this scheme. There was a general disposition—except on the part of those Gentlemen whom the hon. Member for East Surrey represented—to acquiesce in the present scheme as a compromise. The Governors did not say—and he himself did not think—it was a perfect scheme. The Governors had suggested some changes, though not the changes which the hon. Member desired; but, perceiving that they could not prevail against the opinion of the Charity Commissioners, they felt bound, as practical men, to give way and accept the present scheme rather than throw the whole matter back into uncertainty. The Vestry of St. Luke's originally objected to the scheme; but, finding that they could not have their own way, they agreed to petition in its favour. Even the Representatives on the Dulwich Board of Governors did not object to the scheme. The hon. Member's objection was that too much was given to the northern parishes, and not enough to Dulwich itself. The hon. Member had not told them all that Camberwell got. It got a very large share under the scheme of the benefits of the foundation. It got not only the splendid buildings and large grounds, and the £4,000 per annum, but also a capital sum of £12,000 for the so-called Middle Class School, and an annual sum of £1,000 a-year for the maintenance of that school, besides the prospect—before long, it was hoped—of a large Girls' School and the School of Art. These were very substantial advantages, especially when it was remembered that Camberwell was not one of the parishes that the benefactor appeared by his will to have sought to benefit. He (Mr. Bryce) would call the attention of the House to what the original intention of the founder was. The College was founded by the will of Edward Alleyne, an actor, for the benefit of three parishes—St. Saviour's, St. Luke's, and St. Botolph's—Mr. Alleyne having been born in the last-named, and having a theatre in each of the former. No provision was made for Camberwell, which originally had no right to share in the endowment, and which only came in under an Act of Parliament. Was it right, therefore, for Camberwell now to come forward and to say that it should have a larger share of the endowment, and to grudge what was given to the northern parishes? With regard to fees, the present amount was 21 guineas, and all the difference that was made in the scheme was to enable them to grow up from £20 to £30, if it was thought desirable; but this was left to the discretion of the Governors. He did not imagine that they had any present intention of going up, at any rate, anywhere near that maximum. It must be remembered that the scheme provided no less than £2,000 for scholarships and exhibitions, which would be a very great help and benefit to the poorer residents who had children of promise likely to profit by the advanced education given in the College; whilst most of the parents whose sons now went to Dulwich were people in good position, to whom the education at fees of from £20 to £30 was really a cheap education. On the whole, without saying that the scheme might not have been improved, he thought the best thing was that it should now be passed, and the great foundation be enabled to fill more adequately the important functions it was charged with for the education of the people of London.

CAPTAIN AYLMER, as one not representing the parish of Camberwell in any way, but as one who happened to live in the neighbourhood, considered it a monstrous thing that the fees should be raised so enormously—and having been raised such a short time ago—for the simple purpose of enabling Dulwich College to provide money for building, and other outside purposes. The Commissioners were attempting to make the institution do a great work on a very small sum. Last year the expenditure was £5,844, and now it was proposed to limit the amount to £4,000. It seemed hard to cut down the income of the College for the purpose of benefiting other places.

Mr. Alderman W. M'ARTHUR said, he thought the hon. Member for East Surrey (Mr. Grantham) had brought forward strong and sufficient arguments why the new scheme should not be carried out. In his opinion, the Vestry of Camberwell, which represented some 30,000 ratepayers, had good reason to complain, especially as it had asked for permission to be heard against the scheme, and had been refused. It was quite clear to his mind that the scheme would be very injurious both to the Upper and Lower Schools. Reference had been made to the population of Camberwell. That amounted to 185,000, and if the scheme were carried out, the Lower School, which was intended for those classes which certainly could not afford to pay the high rate of fees, would be very seriously injured. He thought one of the speakers this evening had said that the average amount of the fees was £20. He did not believe that was correct; it was, unless he was mistaken, from £15 to £18; but, however that might be, it was a monstrous thing that power should be given—for there could be no doubt it would be exercised—to increase the fees to £30. The hon. Member had referred to the Endowed School Commissioners and their official letter. Well, it was not at all fair that a population such as that of the three northern parishes should be placed on the same footing as a population so large as that of Camberwell. He believed the population of Camberwell more than doubled that of these three parishes; therefore, he thought it was not at all fair that the scheme should be so applied as to divide the sum amongst the four parishes. He should say that the present scheme would be very injurious to the people of Camberwell, and that it ought not to be carried out.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) had so well stated the case against the Motion of the hon. Member for East Surrey (Mr. Grantham), that very few words were required from him. This much he would say—that it would be a real calamity to education in the districts concerned if the scheme were allowed to drop. The hon. Member for East Surrey had practically moved the rejection of the scheme. Now, it had taken 10 years to arrive at it, as, owing to the great conflict of opinion between the four parishes, much difficulty was experienced in coming to an agreement on vital points. The Endowed School Commissioners had now brought about the nearest agreement yet attained. The scheme had been prepared with the greatest care; and Canon Robertson had pronounced it to be, as far as he could judge, the most equitable scheme that could be passed. The hon. Member for East Surrey contended that Camberwell did not get its share under the scheme; but they had been told the true history of the endowment—that the funds were left to the three northern parishes. It should be remembered that under the original Act, the School having been taken to Camberwell, the four parishes were given an equal interest. Whilst St. Giles's, Camberwell, had 310 scholars in the Upper School alone, St. Saviour's had only five, St. Botolph's two, and St. Luke's 276; so that out of nearly 600 scholars, two out of the three northern parishes had only seven between them. Surely the Commissioners were right in making some allowance to the northern parishes, for although the populations were not so large as that of Camberwell, which was a growing population, as the hon. Member had pointed out, many persons were going there and paying large ground rents and building fine houses, in the hope of educating their children cheaply—it must be remembered that these northern parishes had large populations, and that amongst them they ought to be enabled to provide middle class schools. So it was necessary that the provision which had been made should be made. It was a scheme approximating as nearly as possible to equality; and if they waited until all conflicting views were reconciled, and each parish got what it considered to be its share, they would probably never have a scheme at all. He would ask the hon. Member for East Surrey to remember what a magnificent institution they had at Dulwich; and it was but fair that, even if it cost £2 or £3 a-year more to the richer people, the poorer classes should participate in the endowment and in the £2,000 which was set apart for exhibitions and scholarships. He hoped the House, therefore, would sanction the scheme.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 11; Noes 50: Majority 39.—(Div. List, No. 298.)

PARCEL POST BILL.

On Motion of Mr. FAWCETT, Bill to amend the Post Office Acts with respect to the Conveyance of Parcels, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. FAWCETT and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 254.]

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 25th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Wellesley Bridge (Limerick) * (207); Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) * (208); Common Prayer (Priestly Absolution) * (209).

Referred to Select Committee—Bills of Exchange (183).

Committee—Report—Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns) * (194).

Third Reading—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (148); Copyright (Musical Compositions) * (204); Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment * (192); Vagrancy, *now* Casual Poor * (200), and *passed*.

EGYPT—LETTER OF ARABI PASHA.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, as I see the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, I beg to ask him a Question of which I have given him private Notice. I have no doubt that the noble Earl's attention, and that of your Lordships, has been called to a very singular letter which appeared in yesterday's *Times*, purporting to be addressed by Arabi Pasha to the Prime Minister. From a cursory observation, it will be clear that the letter was drawn up by an English rather than an Egyptian hand. But, at the same time, it would be satisfactory to the House to know, and I am sure the noble Earl will tell us, if he is able to do so, how that letter was addressed, and how it reached the Prime Minister, and, above all, whether that letter formed the whole or only part of a correspondence—that is to say, whether anything else can be laid on the Table?

EARL GRANVILLE: In reply to the Question of the noble Earl, I can only state that that letter is the only communication which the Prime Minister has received from Arabi Pasha. I am not able to say how it reached the Prime Minister; but I can state that the Prime Minister has not answered it.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I wish to ask the noble Earl whether any communications have reached the Prime Minister through any agent of Arabi Pasha in this country, and whether the noble Earl is at liberty to give us any information on the subject?

EARL GRANVILLE: I am at a loss to guess to what the noble Marquess refers, when he speaks of communications by the agent of Arabi Pasha in this country. I can give the noble Marquess no further information; but I may say that no agent of Arabi Pasha has yet been accredited to Her Majesty's Government.

ARMY RESERVE FORCE.

MESSAGE FROM THE QUEEN.

EARL GRANVILLE: I may inform the House that, in order to save time, and to enable the Queen in Council to issue the Proclamation calling out the Reserves, I communicated to your Lordships' House the Message announcing Her Majesty's intention during the Morning Sitting for Judicial Business.

The said Message was as follows:—

VICTORIA R.

The present state of public affairs in Egypt, and the necessity in connection therewith of taking steps for the restoration of order and tranquillity in that country and for the protection of the interests of the Empire, having constituted in the opinion of Her Majesty a case of great emergency within the meaning of the Acts of Parliament in that behalf, Her Majesty deems it proper to provide additional means for Her military service, and therefore in pursuance of those Acts Her Majesty has thought it right to communicate to the House of Lords that Her Majesty is about to cause Her Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty shall think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service.

V.R.

Ordered, that the said message be taken into consideration on *Thursday* next.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE BILL.—(No. 183.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, the matter dealt with in this Bill was one of considerable importance, although the Bill was not a lengthy one. Since the second reading he had received communications from several quarters asking that the Bill might receive very careful consideration at their Lordships' hands, and he thought it was necessary that it should receive that consideration. With that view he would propose that it should be referred to a Select Committee. The attempt to codify the law of England was an experiment; but he ventured to think that it was an experiment which would repay the trouble incurred by noble Lords who gave their services on the Committee. He understood that it was not the first time the Bill had been brought forward, but that it had already been introduced last Session in the House of Commons. During the interval it had been very carefully considered, and great pains had been taken to make it as efficient as possible; still, it was a matter of the greatest importance to the commercial world, and its discussion by a Select Committee of their Lordships would prove of great service. He therefore moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

LORD BRAMWELL wished to observe that he could not say the Bill was urgent, as the law was not altered—only codified. He should not oppose its reference to a Select Committee. At the same time, he thought the promoters of the Bill had some cause for complaint. They had been pressed to extend its operation to Scotland, and, having been induced to consent, were now the victims of their own good nature, for the objections raised against the Bill chiefly came from those persons who had asked that Scotland should be included in it.

Order *discharged.*

Bill *referred* to a Select Committee.

The Committee to be named on *Friday* next.

STREET OBSTRUCTIONS (METROPOLIS).

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in moving—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the gates, bars, and obstructions which are placed across certain streets of the Metropolis, with particulars as to the parishes in which they are respectively situated, the street or other place they obstruct, with the width of such street or place; whether the roadway of such street or place is repaired by the local authorities; whether, if such street or place were opened as a thoroughfare, much traffic would be likely to pass through it, and from what points, with a description of each bar or obstruction, with the authority for its erection and continuance and date of first erection; also what powers such authority confers, and to what extent those powers are now put in force,"

said, he trusted the Government would have no objection to give these Returns. He referred particularly to those obstructions which existed on the Duke of Bedford's property between the Strand and Euston and St. Pancras Stations. A traveller hastening to catch a train, and turned back by the porter and obliged to make a long detour, would learn with surprise that the autocrat at whose instance he was thus delayed was a great Liberal Peer, a supporter and Member of the present Radical Government, which had just deprived, without compensation, the landlords of one portion of the Kingdom of the legitimate rights of property exercised in every portion of the civilized world. It was chiefly in the Bloomsbury district where the greatest amount of obstruction was to be found, for their Lordships knew that the gates and bars there were kept closed during many hours out of the 24 of each day. In modern times the whole of that district had been built upon, and the obstructions were now much felt. The Metropolitan Board of Works and the citizens of London had for a long time past been anxious to get rid of these obstructions, but had not been able to do so. The inhabitants of London were very long-suffering; but their patience was becoming exhausted, and he trusted they might see the unreasonable restrictions upon a large body of traffic soon removed. He understood that a similar Motion was made in the House of Commons four months ago; but the Returns would not be so full and complete as he now wished to obtain.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the gates, bars, and obstructions which are placed across certain streets of the Metropolis, with particulars as to the parishes in which they are respectively situated, the street or other place they obstruct, with the width of such street or place; whether the roadway of such street or place is repaired by the local authorities; whether, if such street or place were opened as a thoroughfare, much traffic would be likely to pass through it, and from what points, with a description of each bar or obstruction, with the authority for its erection and continuance and date of first erection; also what powers such authority confers, and to what extent those powers are now put in force."—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, it was no part of his duty to enter upon a discussion of the subject which the noble Earl had called attention to; but he wished to point out that, owing to the somewhat conflicting interests of the various local authorities in the Metropolis, it would not be practicable to obtain such a Return in the form in which it was moved for. Returns of a very similar character had been asked for on the 6th of March in the House of Commons, and those Returns would shortly be laid before their Lordships. Under these circumstances, the Government had not thought it advisable to incur over again the expense and trouble which would be necessary in preparing fresh Returns in order to furnish information which had already been substantially supplied. He must, therefore, ask the noble Earl not to press his Motion at present, particularly the last part of it.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that if the Vestries objected to furnish that information he had nothing more to say; but his impression was that the Vestries were most anxious to get rid of those obstacles to traffic.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

EAST INDIA (EXPENSES OF MILITARY EXPEDITION TO EGYPT).

RESOLUTION.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, he rose, pursuant to Notice, to move—

"That, Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of Her forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on by such forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions."

In asking their Lordships to assent to that Resolution on behalf of the Government, he believed he was acting strictly in accordance with Constitutional usage and precedent. When the Act for the better government of India passed through Parliament in 1858 it was clearly contemplated that at some time or other the use of Her Majesty's Indian Forces would be required beyond the Frontiers of India. That Act contained the following clause:—

"Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operations carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues."

That clause was proposed very nearly in the terms in which it now stood by the present Prime Minister in the passage of the Act through the House of Commons. It was altered to some extent by Mr. James Wilson, and opposed by Lord Palmerston; but it was carried in substantially the same form in which it now appeared on the Statute Book. But, in passing through the House of Lords, the late Lord Derby added certain words which rendered it necessary that the assent of Parliament should not only be obtained before Her Majesty's Indian Forces might be moved out of India, but before any portion of the Indian Revenues could be applied to defray the charge for those Forces when employed out of India. Various expeditions with which their Lordships were, no doubt, familiar, and in which both English and Indian troops had been employed, had taken place during the last 30 years. There had been the expedition to China, the expedition to Persia, the expedition to Abyssinia, and the expedition to Afghanistan; and on the last two occasions the assent of Parliament was asked before Her Majesty's Indian Forces were employed on such duties. With regard to the Abyssinian Expedition, it was decided upon within the last few days of the Session of Parliament in 1867, and it was practically entered upon without the assent of Parliament; but so jealous were Her Majesty's Ministers of that day as to the Constitutional duty which devolved upon them of asking the assent of Parliament to the employment of Indian troops, that they summoned Parliament in November of that year, when its assent was obtained. As to the expedition to Afghanistan, those who now sat on the Ministerial Benches were opposed to that expedition; but he believed that no objection was taken to the Constitutional course which Her Majesty's Advisers then adopted; and the noble Viscount opposite, then Secretary of State for India (Viscount Cranbrook), and Mr. Stanhope in the other House, asked for and obtained the assent of Parliament to the employment of Her Majesty's Indian Forces outside the Frontiers of India, and also to the Indian Revenues being charged with the expenses of that expedition. There had been another assembling of Her Majesty's Indian Forces subsequently to the Abyssinian and the Afghan expeditions on which he might say a word. The noble Marquess or the noble Viscount opposite might ask why did the present Secretary of State for India, who objected to the despatch of Indian troops to Malta in 1878, now ask the assent of Parliament to the despatch of Indian troops to Egypt? He was authorized to say, on behalf of his noble Friend the Marquess of Hartington, that the exception he then took to the course which Her Majesty's Advisers then followed was based on a strictly Constitutional and legal ground. His noble Friend then objected that in time of peace Indian troops should have been brought to Europe without the assent of Parliament being previously obtained. He ventured to make that explanation, because it might be said that they seemed to have changed their policy in having objected in 1878 to Indian troops being brought to Malta, and in now themselves despatching Indian troops to Egypt. It would be only wasting their Lordships' time were he now to dwell on the paramount necessity and importance, both to India and England, of a safe passage to India through Egypt by the Suez Canal. If that necessity was, as he believed, recognized on all hands, the Government did not think it unreasonable that a small portion of Her Majesty's Indian Forces should be employed in the proposed expedition to Egypt. He believed that by their training and physical qualifications Indian troops would be eminently fitted to act in co-operation with troops sent from this country in such an enterprize. It was originally intended that a force of something like 7,600 men should be despatched from India, with a reserve of about 1,400, to be located at Aden. But within the last few days the number had been somewhat altered, owing to representations which had been made to the India Office by the War Department; and he was not in a position to state what would be the exact number of the proposed contingent; but he thought it would not exceed 6,000 with the small amount of reserve he had mentioned. He believed there would be three regiments of Cavalry. He was also authorized to say that, at a sitting of the Indian Council that day, those provisional arrangements were accepted by the Council and passed without any dissent on their part. He might add one word as to the financial aspect of the matter. As at present arranged, he believed it was intended that the Indian Revenues should defray the ordinary and extraordinary charges for that Indian contingent. With regard to the future financial arrangements, they must depend on the opinion of the Government at home and the views of Parliament. In conclusion, he thought that Her Majesty would rely with confidence on the fidelity, the loyalty, the bravery, and the discipline of the troops who were despatched from this country; and he felt certain that those qualities would be equally shown by that Indian contingent for the employment of which he had now to ask the assent of their Lordships in the terms of the Resolution which he had placed on the Table.

Moved to resolve, "That, Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of Her forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on by such forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions."—(*The Viscount Enfield.*)

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that there could, of course, be no objection to the acceptance of that Resolution by their Lordships. The singular nature of the contest in which they were about to be engaged was one which specially demanded troops who were inured to a climate like that of Egypt. The peculiar circumstances of Egypt, and the fact that the operations were intended for the purpose of securing peace in that country, and a free passage through the Suez Canal for our merchandise and our communications with India, also rendered it fitting that that expedition should be authorized; and, therefore, it seemed not unreasonable that a contingent of Indian troops should be furnished for that service, which concerned India fully as much as it did any part of the Empire. The noble Viscount had told them that at present the question of finance remained open, and he (Viscount Cranbrook) would not, therefore, now enter upon it; but it might become the subject of discussion hereafter. At the same time, he must say that the employment of Indian troops upon this special service, and in connection with this question, was a matter which concerned India as much as any other part of the Empire. The noble Viscount had not informed their Lordships at what time the troops would be prepared to leave India; but it was to be presumed that they had had warning given them long ago, and that they were quite ready to start. He should be glad to know when they would reach their destination, because that was a point of no little importance?

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, he objected to that part of the Motion which proposed that the cost of those troops should be defrayed out of the Indian Revenues. He objected to the Revenues of India being charged with the expenses of a war undertaken in the interests of the Egyptian bondholders. This war was already sufficiently unpopular with a large portion of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, and it would be injudicious to make it more so, by also making them feel the burden of it through taxation.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that he did not know whether the noble Lord intended to move any Amendment or not.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: No.

EARL GRANVILLE: Then he did not think it necessary to answer the observations of the noble Earl; in fact, they had been already answered by what had fallen from the noble Viscount. He, however, wished to say that, whatever might be the merits or demerits of the question, he must entirely deny, and he hoped that their Lordships would agree with him, that they were entering into a contest on behalf of, or in the interests of, the bondholders.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he was very glad to hear that intimation from the noble Earl, because, inasmuch as the word "bondholders" had been mentioned, it might have led to some misunderstanding. He could only say, as he was giving his humble support to the Government, that if it were a question of going to war on behalf of the bondholders he should earnestly resist imposing any burdens, not only upon the Indian, but the English people, solely in their interests.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, in reply to the noble Viscount opposite, that the Government had foreseen that it might be necessary to convey troops from India to Egypt, and that precautions had been taken. Troops were in readiness, and he believed that transports had already been taken up.

Motion *agreed to.*

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE MILITIA — VOLUNTEERS FOR SERVICE ABROAD.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY rose to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, 1. Whether those Militia regiments, or any of them, which have been warned they may be required to remain out for fifty-six days' training, instead of twenty-seven days will be so required; and, if so, to name the regiments to which this will apply; 2. Whether the commanding officers of any Militia regiments have volunteered in the name of their regiments their services for garrisoning foreign stations; 3. Whether this is permissible by the regulations of Her Majesty's Service; 4. If not so permissible, and it should be deemed desirable that such volunteering should take place, whether a circular will be sent to that effect to all Militia regiments at present undergoing their course of training? With regard to the first Question, it would be a great convenience to both officers and men to know whether they would be required to remain out for 56 days. With regard to the other three Questions, he had received communications from various commanding officers of Militia battalions in England and Scotland with reference to the course to be pursued as to volunteering. He had seen in the newspapers that several Militia regiments had volunteered for foreign service. He had considered the subject in March, 1878, when it seemed probable that the services of some of the Militia regiments might be required; and he then came to the conclusion that before a commanding officer of a Militia regiment volunteered its services it was his duty to receive the sanction of every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private in the regiment. Every non-commissioned officer in every Militia battalion in Her Majesty's Service would, of course, be ready at any moment to volunteer, and he had very little doubt but that the men would be equally ready to do so; but he should himself feel great compunction in addressing his own regiment and asking them to volunteer, unless he had previously received the sanction of his officers. It would, in his opinion, be of great advantage to the Service and to the country if his noble Friend would state what were the views of the Secretary of State for War upon the subject.

The Earl of SANDWICH said, he wished to call the attention of the noble Earl to the disadvantage of sending Militia regiments from their head-quarters to drill with small depôt battalions, instead of with large bodies of troops. He complained also that, although military garrisons were maintained for the purpose of obtaining military recruits for the Militia, as a matter of fact, no recruits joined at these places. He held that it was not necessary to maintain such a large staff at these depôts, seeing that they were comparatively useless.

The Earl of MORLEY said, he was not surprised at the Questions put by his noble and gallant Friend, and he would do his best to answer them. With regard to the first Question, the Militia regiments which were now out for their annual training had been warned that they might be required to remain out for 56 instead of the usual period of 28 days. In each case the commanding officers had been consulted, and asked whether the prolongation of training would seriously interfere with harvest operations in their districts. In all cases except one—Berkshire—the reply received had been favourable to an extension of the training; and, consequently, 28 Militia regiments would remain out this year for 56 days. As to the other Questions, no doubt a considerable number of commanding officers of Militia regiments had shown their zeal to serve Her Majesty by offering their regiments for garrisoning foreign stations. The Militia were not embodied, and there was no present intention of embodying them; and therefore, perhaps, the officers were not strictly regular in offering the services of their regiments. If the Militia were embodied, the Secretary of State would select those required for foreign service. Those selected would not necessarily be taken from the list of regiments which had already volunteered for foreign service. However, the numerous offers that had been made showed the zeal and readiness on the part of the Militia officers and men to serve when required. With regard to the observations made by the noble Earl who last addressed the House, he failed to see what connection they had with the Questions that had been put to him; but he believed they had reference to a speech he made some time ago having no connection with the present subject.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, he must protest against the way in which every time a war broke out it was taken as a matter of course that the Militia was to be sent out of the country, contrary to the purpose for which they were originally raised, which was for the protection of this country; and he protested against ignoring the Constitutional question every time it was found convenient to do so merely for the exigencies of the Government, and to hide the fact that the Army was not equal to the services required of it.

The Earl of MORLEY said, he did not think the sending of them out of the country for the defence of our garrisons abroad would be in contradiction of the purposes for which the Militia was raised.

EGYPT—ARRESTS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, By what right under the Law of Nations persons have been arrested by Her Majesty's Forces on board the mail steamer "Khedivieh" at Alexandria, when no war or blockade has been declared? The noble Lord observed that it would be in the recollection of their Lordships that on the 8th of November, 1861, at the commencement of the war between the Northern and Southern portions of the United States, the United States man-of-war *San Jacinto* stopped the British mail steamer *Trent* in the Bahama Canal, and forcibly took out of her Messrs. Mason, Slidell, and two other Americans. On the 30th of November Lord Russell, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Lord Lyons to claim the liberation of those four gentlemen and their delivery to him, with a suitable apology for the aggression which had been committed. On the 6th of January, 1862, Lord Lyons reported that the four Americans taken out of the *Trent* had been delivered over by the United States authorities to the commander of Her Majesty's ship *Rinaldo*. He ventured to remind the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of this event, and of the Correspondence which had ensued, in order to prevent his reply to the Question of which he had given Notice being, from inadvertence, in contradiction to what the Foreign Office had held in 1861 on a similar occasion.

EARL GRANVILLE: In answer to the noble Lord's Question, I have to say that, probably, this person was arrested by the authority of the Khedive, and that I know the matter is now under the cognizance of the Native tribunal appointed by the Khedive.

COMMON PRAYER (PRIESTLY ABSOLUTION) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend certain passages in the Book of Common Prayer relating to priestly absolution—Was *presented* by The Lord ORANMORE and BROWNE; read 1ª. (No. 209.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 25*th July*, 1882.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Ecclesiastical and Mortuary Fees [No. 309].
SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—£2,300,000, FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (Vote of Credit)—R.P.
Resolutions [July 24] *reported.*
WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—INCOME TAX.
PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Ionian Bank *.
PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Artizans' Dwellings * [255].
Second Reading — Government Annuities and Assurance [190].
Considered as amended — *Third Reading* — Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) * [212], and *passed.*
Withdrawn—Imprisonment for Debt * [102]; Banking Laws (Scotland) * [71]; Patents for Inventions * [72]; Distress Amendment * [73].

ARMY RESERVE FORCE.

MESSAGE FROM HER MAJESTY.

Message from Her Majesty *brought up*, and read by Mr. Speaker (all the Members being uncovered), as follows:—

VICTORIA R.,

Army Reserve Force.

The present state of Public Affairs in Egypt, and the necessity in connection therewith of taking steps for the restoration of order and tranquillity in that Country, and for the protection of the interests of the Empire, having constituted in the opinion of Her Majesty a case of great emergency within the meaning of the Acts of Parliament in that behalf, Her Majesty deems it proper to provide additional means for the Military Service; and therefore, in pursuance of these Acts, Her Majesty has thought it right to communicate to the House of Commons that Her Majesty is about to cause Her Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty shall think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service.

V. R.

Ordered, That Her Majesty's Most Gracious Message be taken into consideration To-morrow.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT—ALLEGED FURTHER MASSACRES OF EUROPEANS.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any telegraphic information which would either confirm or, as I hope, qualify the statements as to massacres in the interior of Egypt which have appeared in the newspapers?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We have received no information since yesterday on the subject. Yesterday I stated that we had heard of massacres in the interior of Egypt; but we really did not know how much credit to attach to accounts of Native travellers who came down to Alexandria. I hesitated, therefore, to say anything on the subject, because frequently before statements have been made and repeated here which afterwards have been proved to be inaccurate. I stated a few days ago that we had received information of two Englishmen having been murdered in the interior, and names were given; but one of these Englishmen is now stated not to have been murdered, but to have escaped.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—FALSE CHARGE OF ATTACK UPON SUB-CONSTABLE FINNEY.

Mr. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Sub-Constable Finney, stationed in the iron hut at Derreenavoggy, near Keadne, reported on the night of the 18th of April that he had been fired at by five men on the public road, and that he had returned the fire; whether it did not afterwards appear that this statement was unfounded, and that instead of being attacked, the sub-constable had waylaid and threatened to shoot five persons; whether on the night in question Sub-Constable Finney had not asked a man named Muldoon to take his (Finney's) revolver, and fire a shot at him; whether, subsequently, he did not stop two men, named Patrick Walsh and John Regan, and, without provocation, present his revolver and threaten to shoot them; whether Messrs. Muldoon, Walsh, and Regan, summoned Sub-Constable Finney before the Keadne Petty Sessions; and, whether, a few days before the trial day, the Crown entered charges against Finney; whether it was suddenly discovered, on the day preceding the trial, that Finney was insane; and, why the opinion of the local dispensary doctor was not taken as to alleged insanity of Sub-Constable Finney?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I find that Sub-Constable Finney did make the statement attributed to him in the Question of the hon. Member, and that subsequent inquiry led to the impression that there was no foundation for his statement. The other facts also appear to be correctly stated in the Question; but before the sub-constable's conduct could be inquired into it was found necessary to place him in an asylum as a dangerous lunatic. The question why the opinion of the local dispensary doctor was not taken on the case has been referred to the district for report.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. HENRY O'MAHONY.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Mr. Henry O'Mahony, who is confined in Kilmainham, was, on the 15th instant, offered his liberty on condition that he would proceed to America; whether an intimation was given him that the Alien Clause of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act would be put in force against him in case of his refusal to quit the Country; whether Mr. O'Mahony has lived in Ireland during the last seven years; and, if so, whether the Government have the power to expel him; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to grant Mr. O'Mahony a hearing before the Privy Council, in order to give him an opportunity of defending himself against the charge on which he is detained in prison before taking further action?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is the case that Mr. Henry O'Mahony was, on the 15th instant, offered his liberty on condition of his leaving the country and going to America. It was intimated to him, at the same time, that if he still refused to leave the country His Excellency might feel it his duty to take advice as to whether any action should be taken under the "alien" provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act. Mr. O'Mahony returned to Ireland from America in the beginning of 1881. It is not the intention of the Government to take any further steps in the matter at present.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. DENIS HEALY.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Mr. Denis Healy, of county Clare, who was arrested on a charge of murder on February 5th, and discharged as there was no evidence against him, was re-arrested on the 25th February, under the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, for intimidation, and is still in Enniskillen Gaol; and, whether, as he has an aged father and a sister only to manage his farm, the Lord Lieutenant will reconsider his case?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that Mr. Denis Healy was released on the 21st instant.

BRAZIL—PROVINCE OF MINAS GERAES —SLAVE-HOLDING BY BRITISH SUBJECTS.

MR. M'COAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a Memorandum recently issued by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, showing that some two hundred negroes are now held in slavery in Brazil by the St. John del Rey Mining Company, an English Company working under English Law, and the head office of which is in London; and, whether, if the facts be as stated by the Society, the directors of the Company in question being British subjects, are not liable to criminal prosecution under the Slave Trade Act of 1873?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that in Questions of this kind a reasonable interval should be allowed in order that the facts might be learned. He would give an answer in a week or a fortnight.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in the "Rio News" of June 24th:—

> "There are yet a large number of slaves in the province of Minas Geraes belonging to the extinct 'National Brazilian Land and Mining Association,' commonly known as the 'Cocaes Company,' which are illegally held because the English law forbids slave-holding to British subjects. These slaves, however, are hired out, and their wages are regularly received and administered by the British Court of Chancery. It is altogether likely that a brief note to the British Government on this matter will secure the liberation of these unfortunate captives;"

and, whether the Government will take such action as will put an end to the administration of funds derived from slave labour by the Court of Chancery, and secure the liberation of the slaves illegally held as property by British subjects?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I must refer the hon. Member to the reply recently given by the Attorney General on this subject. Her Majesty's Government have been informed that the St. John del Rey Company have granted freedom to their only remaining slaves. The question of the liability of British subjects in these matters comes within the province of the Treasury.

MR. O'KELLY said, the hon. Baronet had not answered the last part of the Question.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I believe that is a matter which comes within the functions of the Treasury.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THIS HOUSE.

MR. O'SHEA asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether complaints have reached him of defective ventilation and noxious exhalations in and about the House; and, if so, whether he will have the nuisance abated?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE read the following Report from Dr. Percy, who has charge of the ventilation of the House:—

> "During the 17 years I have had charge of the ventilation of the Houses of Parliament complaint has occasionally been made by Members of the House of Commons of unpleasant smells within the House, and in every case it has been found that they were caused by contamination of the air outside, and sometimes at a considerable distance from the House. As the House is supplied with air from the Common Court, the Star Court, and the River front, it is not possible to prevent such smells when the air is impregnated with odorous matter. A short time ago an unpleasant smell in the House was temporarily caused by an exceptionally high wind blowing down smoke into one of the Courts above mentioned from a smoke shaft. The smell of tarry matter, which has occasionally been perceived in the House, was caused by the wood pavement in the Star Court, which, in order to preserve the wood, has been set with asphalte. No sewer gas can by any possibility escape from the drains connected with the House, as the gas is effectually exhausted from that drain by a furnace at the bottom of the Clock Tower, and ascends to the top of the Tower, where it passes into the atmosphere."

The Chairman of Committees (Mr. Lyon Playfair), who had had a long experience of late hours in the House, who was a scientific man, and who said he was peculiarly sensitive to smells, had given it as his opinion that, on the whole, the ventilation of the House during the last few months had been maintained exceptionally well.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

WAR IN EGYPT.—RESOLUTION.

Lord ELCHO said, he had taken upon himself the duty, possibly very rash, of placing on the Notice Paper, no other Notice being there, the following Resolution :—

> "That this House, while ready to vote whatever Supplies may be necessary for the protection of the Khedive and the security of the Suez Canal, is not prepared, having regard to the position of England as a great Mussulman Power, to enter upon a War for the restoration of the authority of the Khedive in Egypt, unless in conjunction with the Forces of the Sultan."

He had had no intention on the previous night of taking part in that debate. He had listened with rapt attention to the Prime Minister as he unfolded the policy of the Government; and it had only occurred to him that morning, in reflecting upon the extreme gravity of the situation, to make the Motion which he was about to make. He was aware of the responsibility incurred by any private Member who ventured in any way to obstruct, or to put himself in opposition to, the policy of Her Majesty's Government. In all great national crises true patriotism required that everybody should support the Government; and he had not the slightest desire, in the few words which he should feel it necessary to say in support of his Resolution, to cast back at the Government any of their previous sayings and acts when in Opposition. It would be easy to make some severe remarks in that way; but he did not think it would be patriotic or a course that ought to be indulged in. It was only because he was deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation that he ventured to put himself forward at all. The situation was, indeed, a grave one; first, with regard to our position in reference to Europe; and, secondly, our position in connection with the general question of Egypt itself. What had they heard from the Prime Minister? They had heard, what they knew well enough before, that his sole object had been to bring about a Concert of Europe, and that, if possible, England should act conjointly in its effort to put a stop to the state of anarchy in Egypt; or that, if England should act alone, she should, at any rate, be acting as the mandatory of the other Powers. They had heard from the Prime Minister that not only had they failed to bring about the Concert of Europe, but that the mandate had not been given to England by Europe conjointly, although he said the Government was satisfied with having what they believed would be the "moral support" of Europe, and they had nothing more than that. Failing to obtain this concerted action, failing to obtain the mandate, and having only the "moral support" of Europe, the House felt justified in questioning the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government. Then, had the Government been more successful with regard to France? Certainly not, so far as the internal affairs of Egypt were concerned; for although, to a certain extent, France had gone along with England in all these transactions, at last she had broken away altogether, and absolutely refused to send a single soldier to intervene for the restoration of order in the East. All France did was to put herself on an equality with—or, rather, on a superiority to—England in the matter of the protection of the Suez Canal. Thus the result of our European Concert appeared to be that the British cat should take the chestnuts out of the fire, the other Powers subsequently determining what ultimate arrangements should be come to. Whether this question was regarded from its present point of view, or with a consideration of possible complications in the future, the House should beware of taking any step in the dark. The Prime Minister had said that the object of the intervention was to save this country of Egypt from military anarchy and from military crime. Were they quite sure that the sympathies of Egyptians as a nation, as a people, and as a religion were not upon the side of Arabi and his Party rather than on the side of the Khedive, whatever he might represent? It was stated in the newspapers that Ragheb Pasha, the Prime Minister of the Khedive, was playing a double game; that he was devoted to Arabi and his Party, and that he had clandestinely issued a Proclamation stating that England had, without the sanction or the knowledge of the Khedive, declared war against the Egyptian people. It was also stated that a Holy War had been proclaimed in every village and in every mosque in Egypt. This was a serious circumstance, especially when coupled with the information received to the effect that prayers were offered up for Arabi in the mosques of Calcutta, and that the Chief of the Mahomedan religion in Mecca had offered an asylum to Arabi if he should be obliged to quit Egypt. There was a prospect, therefore, of a war between the Crescent and the Cross. He quite admitted the obligation cast on the country for the protection of the Khedive and this security of the Suez Canal, and for these objects he was individually prepared to vote any amount of money and to send any number of men that might be required; but he believed that British responsibility ended there. But as regarded the restoration of order in Egypt and the rule of the Khedive, if the Sovereign of that country (the Sultan) did not think it necessary to do so, he could not see why England should go and do what he should properly do himself. If we had a Turkish force by our side, the Sultan being the legitimate Head of the Mahomedan religion, he should be prepared to go on, because the Sultan would then, as it were, be endorsing our action; but without that he was not prepared to enter into this war, and therefore he made this Motion. He fully felt the responsibility he incurred in doing so; but he was not prepared to undertake, either with a light heart or a grave heart, such a war as the country was now invited to enter upon.

MR. SPEAKER: Does any hon. Member second the Motion?

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he desired to do so.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, while ready to vote whatever Supplies may be necessary for the protection of the Khedive and the security of the Suez Canal, is not prepared, having regard to the position of England as a great Mussulman Power, to enter upon a War for the restoration of the authority of the Khedive in Egypt, unless in conjunction with the Forces of the Sultan,"—(*Lord Elcho,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. GLADSTONE: The proceeding taken by my noble Friend places the House in a peculiar position. The situation, as he says, is one of very great gravity; and, under these circumstances, he invites the House to bind our hands by a Motion of which even the terms are not before us. They are before us as moved; but they are not before us for the purpose of full comprehension and reflection.

LORD ELCHO: I am quite ready to withdraw the Motion now, and bring it on at any time.

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, with regard to that, I must leave it to the judgment of my noble Friend himself. I only point out the difficulty in which we are placed by the fact that such a proposal has been made. My difficulty in acceding to his courteous suggestion, that it should be brought on at another time, lies in this—that it would seem to imply on my part that I thought that at some other time it would be a proper subject for the House to entertain. Now, Sir, I wish to state briefly that I cannot conceive any early phase of this question in which it would be admissible for the House to entertain a proposal of that nature. The proposal is not to abstain from intervention in Egyptian matters. By no means. We are to undertake the defence of the Suez Canal—that is to say, we are to deal with what is symptomatic, while we leave the source and seat of the mischief untouched; that we are also to maintain the personal security of the Khedive, which abolishes all distinctions of principle in this matter, because that implies the carrying forward of warlike measures in Egypt, and leave behind nothing but the question of degree. Then, thirdly, we are to announce that we are ready to make war in Egypt, provided the Sultan, as the Sovereign of the country, will join us. Well, Sir, it would be most unwise, in my opinion, to make a declaration of that kind. Be it remembered that what we are now doing is, excepting as regards the City of Alexandria, making preparations for warlike measures, which it may, and probably will be, necessary to take. But it is impossible for anyone to say at the present moment what may be the exact position we shall occupy before these warlike measures, which the Vote of Credit is to support, can become practical measures. But reference has been made to the Conference at Constantinople. It may yet result, for all that we know, in more substantive support than perhaps the noble Lord supposes. We are not entitled in any manner to say that the Sovereign of the country—namely, the Sultan, has refused to send his troops to Egypt. I shall be nearer the mark if I were to say that he has asserted, in principle, his readiness to send troops to Egypt. I am not in a position to say that no European Power, other than England, will take part in military measures in Egypt. We are in a condition to say that France will take part up to a certain point. Now, Sir, under those circumstances, I think my noble Friend will see that it is impossible that the House could discuss the question at large upon a proposal of this kind, which ties and shuts us up in the midst of a number of contingencies which may take shape in a short time, but which have not yet taken shape—a Motion which shuts us up to a certain limited proposition, having, as far as I can see, no clear basis of principle to dwell upon, and having no other practical effect than that of greatly hampering and narrowing our liberty of choice, and which will prejudice our means of action. Under these circumstances, I need not say that it is impossible for me to accede to the proposition. We had better be permitted, after negativing that Motion, to go into Committee of Supply.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (VOTE OF CREDIT).

[FIRST NIGHT.]

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

COLONEL STANLEY: I do not often venture to place myself before the House, and I trust that on this occasion I shall be allowed to say a few words upon the question now under discussion. In the first place, I may say that I join with those who, both in this House and in "another place," deprecate opposition on the part of persons who are in the slightest degree responsible to the country for their position in this House to warlike measures which may be necessary for the Government to undertake; and I would rather propose, at the present time, to address myself to certain practical points. I think, therefore, I shall be excused if for a moment I turn aside, in order to make reference to one or two statements which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister made last night, and which I do not think it possible for us altogether to pass by without remark. But though I join in deprecating opposition to the proposals of the Government as far as they have led to Executive measures, I hope that, taking into consideration the circumstances of the case, the time of the year, the difficulty, almost forced on us, of having at a short notice to wade through a vast mass of Papers of great importance recently presented to us, we may be allowed, at least, to reserve to ourselves a certain liberty of appreciation as to whether the previous conduct of the Government has been exactly such as we, on the other side, could have approved. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman last night pointed out the gravity of the present state of affairs. Now, the gravity of the present state of affairs is, I venture to say, at least equalled by the gravity of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. What is the position at which we have arrived? The peace of the East, which it has been the object, not only of English, but of all European diplomacy, to preserve intact during a long series of years, has at last been disturbed. War has begun; the lives and the property of British subjects, and of other Europeans, have been sacrificed, and this is a position which we have to confront hardly with an ally, although we are told that we have an ally up to a certain point. I do not want to follow the right hon. Gentleman into the question as to whether the Government were committed to the existing state of affairs by the policy of their Predecessors. I think the Committee will understand the argument of the right hon. Gentleman to be that, by the establishment of the Control in Egypt, this country was necessarily committed to such interference in the ordinary affairs of that country as inevitably led to the results which have now come to pass. It is only right to point out, on the part of the late Government, that at least for four years after 1876 that policy of Control, according to the admission of the right hon. Gentleman himself, has greatly benefited Egypt, and her condition was yet such as neither to endanger the peace of that country nor the peace of Europe itself. Whether the Controllers at a later period acted politically, rather than with reference to their specific duty, is a question which, for my own part, I will pass by, and will leave it to be dealt with by others better qualified than myself to speak upon the subject. But this I would reiterate, without fear of contradiction—that up to the time the late Government left Office, there was nothing in the slightest degree approaching to the present position, and there was nothing to show that the system of Control would in any way have led to these results. I do not wish to enter more fully into that subject; but I would rather address myself to a question of practical utility. I would venture to ask the Committee, as regards the contention of the Government, to examine their preparations, and, as far as possible, to inquire to what point those preparations are directed. Now, Sir, with regard to the preparations of the Government, I do not think it right to enter into that system of cross-examination which has been for some time frequent in this House as to the particular object for which troops have been sent out, nor the objects with which they were placed there; but, after what was said last night, I should be neglecting my duty if I did not put one or two interrogatories to the Government. It has undoubtedly been difficult to obtain information; and there can be no doubt that, in some respects, information has been withheld. There was a statement which I confess, casually made as it was, filled me and some others with considerable alarm. I mean when the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was asked for certain details of the Vote of Credit, and when he pointed out that the amount taken for the pay of the Forces was comparatively small. When the right hon. Gentleman was asked on what basis he had arrived at his calculation his answer was most unsatisfactory. We all know that a Vote of Credit is inevitably, from its very nature, obliged to be vague in its terms; but I have always understood that there is to be an approximation to the service demanded in the allotment of the Vote within the limits for which it is asked. Well, the Secretary of State for War was asked why he had taken a sum so low as £100,000—the Vote for Men—because it must be remembered he proposed to add 10,000 men to the Army; and naturally there are those who, placing these two separate figures together, have arrived at the conclusion, either that the number of men was not such as Her Majesty's Government think they are required to take, or else that the time for which they are required must be extremely limited in its duration. In reply to these objections the right hon. Gentleman said that the calculations had been made on the basis of the employment of the Force for three months. Now, that seems to me, if I may venture to say so, a repetition of the course which was taken before the Crimean War; and there is another point which confirms my impression, in regard to which I may, perhaps, have to say a word presently in connection with the temporary appointment of the Staff. It seems to us that the Government have in their own minds estimated that this is an expedition that is merely to go out; that it would probably not be there more than a fortnight, or perhaps it might remain a month or two in the country, and, therefore, that a three months' Vote would be amply sufficient. But when warlike stores, provisions, forage, and so forth, are taken into account, the sum appears to us to be of such a nature that the amount of the Vote must almost have been already spent in the preparations of Her Majesty's Government, and hence we are driven to the conclusion that the Government must either have under-estimated the cost of the preparations, or this is not a Vote of Credit intended to meet the whole of the emergency, but simply to carry the Government on, and to last for a sufficient time until affairs develop themselves and a further appeal to Parliament can be made for an additional Vote. If this is to be the first of a series of Votes, if Parliament, on reassembling in the month of October, is to be again confronted with this, or even a larger Vote, then I can understand why Her Majesty's Government take this small Vote of Credit only. But we must bear in mind that the financial question is not the only question that has to be considered in this matter. There are other eyes upon the Government besides those of their own countrymen; and there are those who recollect that the Vote at the time of the Crimean War was only taken, in the first instance, for the despatch of troops to Malta and back again. [Mr. GLADSTONE: There was no such Vote.] I understand the correction of the right hon. Gentleman that no such Vote in point of form was taken; but it will be in the recollection of the Committee that it was argued that beyond preliminary preparations no actual necessity existed for taking a Vote. I am quite content to be in the recollection of the Committee in regard to the matter. I venture to say that those who are fully competent to judge, and who know our preparations, and know how far those preparations must necessitate cost, will probably have great doubts in their minds whether, after all, this Vote is more than a tentative Vote, meant to meet a temporary emergency. I am not for a moment desiring to impute to the Government that they are asking the country for one thing and meaning another all the time; but, on the contrary, I urge that if this country and the House mean to support the Government in Executive measures, then they should insist upon the preparations being declared. I will not comment on the nature or the constitution of the force that the Government intends to prepare; but perhaps I should be something more than human if I resisted the temptation to congratulate the Secretary of State for War on the fact that his persuasive art has enabled the Home Secretary to forego his frequently-expressed objections to the use of the Island of Cyprus. For my own part, I have never varied in the slightest degree my opinion as to the value of that Island, and I am glad to find that the Home Secretary is about to discover the difference between an armed place and a *place d'armes*. If he has not, I would leave the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to enlighten him still further. I do not wish to use language which may seem to taunt the Government with having reconsidered their position. I would rather congratulate them on the patriotism which has led them to surrender their private opinions, and to prefer, at last, the doctrine of common sense to consistency. I trust it may now be shown that we were not so short-sighted, or so utterly blind, or so foolish as some right hon. Gentlemen tried to persuade themselves we were in 1878. I do not mean to say that these particular complications could then have been foreseen; but this is perfectly certain—that the possession of the Island of Cyprus was intended then, and I trust still will be intended, to safeguard our road to the East. Now, Sir, I come to perhaps the most serious question of all. What are we to understand is the object to which these military preparations are to be addressed? The right hon. Gentleman last night seemed to me to point out an exceedingly grave and difficult prospect for the Government, for the country, and even for Europe at large. What did the right hon. Gentleman say? He told us, I am bound to say, little enough. Perhaps that was natural, and I do not press for information if Her Majesty's Government think it is desirable to withhold it. He gave us very little information indeed as to the precise points at which the expedition was to be addressed, and the steps it may be necessary to take. I am not in the least degree quarrelling with the course the right hon. Gentleman has taken in the matter; but, unfortunately, the right hon. Gentleman used one sentence which the Committee could not have listened to without the greatest alarm. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "We do not feel able to be satisfied that we should have fully discharged our duty without endeavouring to bring to bear adequate means of converting the present interior state of Egypt from anarchy and conflict to a state of peace and order."

The right hon. Gentleman used other words which I cannot at this moment trace; but his meaning was that the interior anarchy was the disease itself, of which all the other matters were only the symptoms, MR. **GLADSTONE**: What I said was, that the Suez Canal was only a symptom of the disease. The disease itself was to be found in the interior of Egypt.

COLONEL **STANLEY**: Quite so. The right hon. Gentleman does not dispute my point, that the interior anarchy was the cause both of the bombardment of Alexandria and the present preparations, if they be only intended for safeguarding the Canal. It is the interior anarchy which is the disease itself, and all other matters are only the symptoms. The right hon. Gentleman, as the Committee knows, has tried to grapple successfully with many great tasks; but I should think it is, perhaps, one of the largest and one of the widest assumptions ever made by any Minister that, as regards the internal anarchy of Egypt, the preparations made by the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues at the War Office, based only on three months' calculations, are sufficient to remove this internal anarchy. I am not an alarmist. I would not willingly use one word in this House which could be interpreted as one of alarm, or as more than the most necessary caution; but it does seem to me, and to others also, that it is an exceedingly serious state of affairs. I care not whether it be owing to the misrepresentations of Arabi, or to the preaching of religious fanaticism, or any other cause; but it appears to me that precisely as we move further on, the legitimate system of the country seems to increase its resistance against us. Now, as regards the physical difficulties which will have to be encountered, I do not suppose anyone in this House, certainly no one of culture, would admit that an English force could be baffled by them. But there is a more serious question of the highest importance behind. At what cost—not merely of money and men, both valuable enough in their places—but at what cost are these forces to be crushed? Are they to be crushed by that which even in its appearance is taking the form of a religious war? Are the Government careful that, while repressing disorder, while endeavouring to repress a state of anarchy, they are taking all possible steps in their power to show that this is not in the slightest degree a crusade, and to prove that England, as a great Mahomedan Power, recognizes the rights of a Mahomedan as fully as of a Christian subject, and she is careful to separate the forces of anarchy from those of religious zeal and fanaticism. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman cheers that sentiment. It almost follows, then, that that consideration must have been present in the minds of Her Majesty's Government. But something more definite than the statement of the right hon. Gentleman last night is required. I trust it is not only on the assurance given by the right hon. Gentleman last night, but on the strength of something much stronger, that Turkey is to be told to regard the right hon. Gentleman as, after all, her best friend. Well, Sir, I said that the previous Government had not experienced, or, at any rate, had not found the same necessity, for a state of war as that to which it would appear the present Government have arrived; but it must be remembered that the Government of the year 1879, when there was a personal dislike entertained to the then Ruler of Egypt, and difficulties arose, confronted those difficulties, which involved nothing else than a change in the Rulership. But it must be borne in mind that the late Government were not insensible to the Suzerainty of the country; and it was not by their own unassisted efforts, nor by calling the other European Powers into Council, nor by ignoring the Sultan, that the deposition of Ismail Pasha was accomplished, and the appointment of his successor achieved. Though Turkey may have signified so far her assent, in a qualified form, to the right hon. Gentleman's proposals, it must be remembered that conflicting advice has been constantly given, and that at an early period the Sultan, when anxious to send troops to Egypt for the restoration of order, was told, according to one of the Papers presented to us, that Her Majesty's Government did not at all wish to commit themselves to the approval of such a precipitate step, and that the language of Lord Dufferin to that effect was fully approved by Her Majesty's Government at home. At another moment the Sultan was sounded as to his willingness to interfere. One can easily make an allowance for a Sovereign who, I may say—without any wish to offend—has not in the past had any great reason to reckon the right hon. Gentleman among his cordial friends. No doubt, he would look upon such advice with some amount of reasonable suspicion, and hence he would urge on the Government to do all in its power to prevent a Jehad, or a Holy War of any sort, by endeavouring to show that, holding apart from anything which, rightly or wrongly, could be taken for a Crusade, England would treat both Christians and Mahomedans with an equal justice. England, as a great Mahomedan as well as a Christian Power, would, no doubt, endeavour to separate the force of anarchy from the force which might be collected for the purpose of carrying out misplaced religious zeal. There are one or two points of detail which, as the Secretary of State for War is not present, may be postponed. They are minor matters, and other opportunities will arise for asking questions about them. I merely want to say one word in regard to a question which I know has vexed the minds of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who have spoken to me on the subject. It may seem to be a small point; but it is larger than its immediate dimensions seem to show. It is this—that on the appointment made to the chief command, than whom, I venture to say, no better person could have been selected than my friend Lieutenant General Sir Garnet Wolseley, the Government have left the Home appointments vacant, and have not taken steps, as far as I can learn, to fill up those appointments except by devolution upon others. That, above all things, has produced the impression that the whole character of the expedition is such as to indicate that it has only to go out to strike a blow and to return in time, perhaps, for the Autumn Session. I am quite aware that the German system, which we are so apt to quote, recognizes the same principle, to a certain extent, which the right hon. Gentleman has adopted. It recognizes that a permanently-appointed commander should go to the field, and that there should be others at home employed at the desk, but not in the field. That is precisely the case here, because the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief, between them, as the two great officers, will have to divide between them the duties of the two great offices which are left unfilled. It is a small point, but it is one which is of importance, not only in regard to itself, but in regard to what appears to be the hand-to-mouth policy pursued in this matter. It all comes to the same thing. Are the Government at this moment fully conscious of the gravity of the task they have before them? It may be that what we heard last night was only a rhetorical phrase, that we should be content with restoring order in Alexandria, and that we did not intend in the slightest degree to meddle with the question of order or disorder in the interior of the country. We may find ourselves committed only to safeguarding the ruins of Alexandria, and assisting France in protecting the Suez Canal. I do not quarrel with that decision if it be the decision of the Government. They are the only persons who can know. It is no secret that all the negotiations which have been going on have not yet been presented to Parliament, and the Government are the only persons who can possibly tell us what is going on at this moment. But if the words of the Prime Minister are good for anything at all—and the words of the right hon. Gentleman, on so grave an occasion, cannot be passed by as if they had no special weight—then I venture to say that the preparations made by the Government are wholly inadequate to their task, and I hope before this debate is concluded we may have full explanations from Her Majesty's Ministers on that point. I ask the pardon of the Committee for having intervened on this question. It is a grave matter, not, of course, only in a military point of view, but grave, possibly, beyond all recognition in the consequences that may ensue. If the Government is determined to go straight forward with single-heartedness to preserve British interests, and to keep British interests well before them, while by no means oblivious to those of other Powers, then they would find this country united almost to a man behind them, and they would be able to go forward with a confidence and strength to which they scarcely themselves lay claim. But if, on the other hand, a sudden move forward is to be followed by a course of hesitancy; if, the moment they had taken a forward step, Her Majesty's Government were to look around them to see which of their Allies, if they had any, were prepared to follow them, then I venture to say that the country, as well as your political opponents, and Europe itself, would not be slow in perceiving your weakness and the gravity of the situation, and your difficulties would be, by your own hands, increased tenfold. For this reason, feeling strongly upon the matter, I have asked the Committee to listen to me for a few moments. I earnestly entreat the Government to bear in mind that this is a question on which not only the Committee, but the country, feels strongly. Those who read the papers cannot but see what a strong feeling of relief there is whenever the Government take decided action. If Her Majesty's Government will take strong and decided action, the whole country, whether friends or opponents of the Government, will be ready to sustain them. I only hope that the Government, in the steps they are about to take, have fully calculated the cost—I do not mean the material cost—but that they have fully looked in the face the objects to which they intend to address themselves, and that both their preparations and the objects they have in view will commend themselves to the universal approval and support of the country.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he thought the right hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just sat down was a very great authority upon War Estimates, and he did not wonder that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was rather afraid that the Government had asked for less money than would be required for the purposes they had in hand, because they would all remember that when right hon. Gentlemen opposite took in hand the invasion of Afghanistan, they told the House that about £3,000,000 was wanted for that purpose, and in the end, he believed, the expedition cost them nearly £20,000,000. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was glad to have an opportunity of making a few remarks upon this Vote. He did not wish to appear there as member of what was called "the Peace-at-any-price Party." He did not know that there was any such Party in the country. They might just as well say that hon. Members who supported any particular war were "War-at-any-price people;" but they did not say anything of the kind. What they said was that there might be those who advocated certain wars because they were for the benefit of the country, and they added that they were opposed to certain wars which were proposed because they thought they were injurious to the country. If anybody could tell them that any particular war was right, and convinced their reason that such a war was right, then all of them would be quite willing to support such a war. There was a great deal of talk about British interests. He supposed they were all for British interests; but it had been said by one of our statesmen that, after all, the greatest British interest was peace. He and his Friends did not go upon abstract grounds; they took their stand upon the Blue Books and the evidence before them, and on that evidence they said they did not see any reason for what was now going on. That was the way in which the question of the Crimean War was argued, a quarter of a century ago, by Mr. Cobden and by the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright). They were called the "Peace-at-any-price men;" but if the Committee would look back to the speeches those Gentlemen then made, they would find that, over and over again, they denied that they opposed war on those grounds. On the contrary, they said they took their stand on the Blue Books, and because they knew from the evidence before them that the war going on was an unjust and an unrighteous war. He was glad that his right hon. Friend the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who was not present in his place at that moment, had not abjured the principle which, with all his eloquence, he had advanced in those days, but had shown that he regarded the present war as an unjust and immoral war. It was necessary for them to look back in order to see how they had got into this trouble, and it seemed to him that it was necessary to go back for about 20 years. About 20 years ago Egypt began the very bad plan of borrowing money, and so proficient in the course of 20 years did the country become in the art of borrowing that it incurred a National Debt of £115,000,000. He thought a more rapid growth of National Debt was never known in any country. And now let them see what was the state of things in 1876, when Sir Stephen Cave went out to inquire into this Debt. What was it that Sir Stephen Cave said? He told the people of this country that for the present amount of indebtedness there was absolutely nothing to show but the Suez Canal, which had cost about £14,000,000 or £16,000,000 out of the whole sum. The rest had been absorbed in the payment of interest and in a Sinking Fund. About that time we lent officials to re-organize the financial administration of the country, but the re-organization did not seem to have been very beneficial to Egypt; because the next thing, as appeared from the Parliamentary Papers, was a Report from the Consul General, dated July 30th, 1877, that the Revenues of Egypt might be greatly increased, without imposing further sacrifices upon the already over-taxed Natives of the country, by putting an end to the abuse which existed, and compelling the Europeans to contribute fairly to the taxation of the country. Not only did they not contribute, but there was a great deal of smuggling carried on by Europeans in Egypt. The country was full of contraband goods, openly smuggled under the very eyes of the authorities. So much for the great benefits we had bestowed upon the country. In the year 1879 it was reported to our own officers that out of a Revenue of £9,500,000 £4,473,000 was taken by the bondholders, leaving, after payment of the interest on the Suez Canal and other matters, only £1,700,000 for the necessary expenses of the country. The Prime Minister spoke of the blessings of civilization to be brought to these people; but the fact was that the Egyptians under this grand Control paid ten times as much taxation as our Indian subjects did, and the Consul General, on the 12th of July, 1877, said—

> "The money required was fully paid up yesterday; but I fear that those results may have been achieved at the expense of ruinous sacrifices of the peasantry by forced sales of growing crops and by collecting the taxes in advance. All this must be ruin in some shape or other for a country already crushed by taxation. Meanwhile, I fear the European Administration may be unconsciously sanctioning the utter ruin of the peasant creators of the wealth of the country, for which I hold that Europeans are incurring a serious responsibility."

In February, 1879, a Decree was promulgated by the Cabinet, headed by the European Ministers, whereby—

> "Large numbers of fellahs hitherto exempt from enforced labour became liable to do work, but might purchase exemption by payment of a sum of money."

He thought all those things went to show that the people of Egypt had serious grounds of complaint against the way in which we controlled them. Now, he would quote another authority—namely, Gordon Pasha, who, in January, 1882, said—

> "It is reiterated over and over again that Egypt is prosperous and contented. I do not think it is altered at all, except in improving its finances for the benefit of the bondholders. The prisons are as full of unfortunates as ever they were; the local tribunals are as corrupt."

Then, again, in April, 1879, our Consul General wrote of an interview between the Khedive and Cherif Pasha—

> "The Khedive took me aside and spoke very seriously about the very great discontent which existed in the country, and the serious consequences which might be likely to ensue. Cherif Pasha, when appealed to, stated that there was no doubt whatever as to the evidence of great discontent among all classes of the population."

Those statements, he thought, were very important when they were told about the Control being so beneficial. Then, on the 7th of April, 1879, Cherif Pasha said—

> "It would have been impossible for the Khedive to have put himself in opposition to the will of the nation, which had been so positively expressed. His Highness had, in fact, no choice but to follow the course of action he has adopted in order to allay the discontent, which would have led to disastrous consequences."

Then, to show how the Natives regarded our control, on April 12th, 1879, 150 Ulemas and Sheiks of villages subscribed an oath which closed by declaring—

> "I rejoice at the Europeans having been dismissed from the Administration."

He next came to the great question of to-day. Arabi Pasha set himself against all this sort of thing, and raised up a party who followed him. Whether it was a large or a small party he would not say; but Arabi had raised up a certain party who were opposed to the Europeans, and he had the Notables with him. At all events, they looked upon his action with approval, and there was no doubt he had the Army with him. That was the head and front of his offending. Anybody who heard the Prime Minister last night would have noticed the great stress he laid on the fact of the Army being with Arabi Pasha. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was not very fond of Armies, but they were not always wrong. At times they had been the friends of freedom, and he believed

Arabi had the Army with him. Even if Arabi was wrong in having the Army with him, still it was admitted on all hands that there was a National Army. People were apt to say—"Oh! yes; there is a National Army, but Arabi is not the head of it." There must always be a scapegoat, and the proper thing was to run down Arabi, and make him out one of the greatest scoundrels that ever appeared. That was just like what occurred during the China War. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), in his history, described how the Chinese Question arose, and showed that it was clearly proved that we were in the wrong, and how, on a division in this House, by a considerable majority, Lord Palmerston was turned out. Lord Palmerston issued a Manifesto to the country, and the country, being ignorant of the facts and arguments produced in the House, said the British flag had been insulted. That was a capital election cry, and so it was a capital thing now to run down Arabi Pasha and make him out a villain. Whether he was or was not a villain, he had the Army with him, and what were we fighting for? The Prime Minister, a fortnight ago, said we were not at war, and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) now did not know if there had been any declaration of war; but he understood we were at war in order to restore the *status quo ante*. The *status quo ante* was the grinding down of the people of Egypt to obtain money for the bondholders of this country—nothing more nor less than an effort to pay the interest on the bondholders' money. The *status quo ante* was a control over the finances of the country, which he maintained belonged to the people themselves; and for the Liberals, of all people, to engage in war to prevent people managing their own affairs was simply disgusting. What spirit, he wondered, would submit to such a proceeding. Could we be surprised at the Egyptians rising against us, and the National feeling being excited against us? What did Lord Granville say about setting up one Government against another? In a despatch, dated the 21st of November, 1881, he said—

> "It cannot be too clearly understood that England desires no partizan Ministry in Egypt. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, a partizan Government founded on the support of a Foreign Power, or upon the personal influence of a Foreign Diplomatic Agent, is neither calculated to be of service to the country which it administers, nor of that in whose interest it is supposed to be maintained. It can only tend to alienate the population from their true allegiance to their Sovereign, and to give rise to counter intrigues which are detrimental to the influence of the State."

He did not think that there was ever a more conclusive sentence written than that, and he was astonished that the Government should now be sending troops to keep up a partizan Ministry. Now, he would assume that all these representations about oppression of the people were false. He would assume that the Government and their Controller were Heaven-born Administrators, and could govern the people of Egypt better than anybody else. Still, that would not justify their action. There was such a thing as independence, and liberty, and patriotism. He remembered when the Boers revolted against a power we sought to impose on them, the Government wrote beautiful despatches as to giving them good government, and in one of those despatches it was said—

> "No doubt these are priceless privileges, but they are not liberty."

It was liberty the Egyptian people wanted; they believed it was better to manage their own affairs ill than to have foreigners managing them well. That was what was generally called patriotism, and he could not understand why it was not to be regarded as a virtue in the case of these poor Egyptians. We had now begun to promote what we called law and order in Egypt, and how had we begun it? By a bombardment which the Prime Minister described as the application of moral law. He did not think that was a good description of it; he should much rather have called it what the Prime Minister called lawless military violence in Egypt. The Prime Minister said the bombardment was an act of self-defence. What business had we there? Could anybody prove what right we had to send our Fleet into Egyptian waters to overawe the people and set up one party against another? Until that was proved he could see no force in the argument of self-defence. He would allude to one thing which took place in the debate, because the Prime Minister would remember that after he had said it was an act of self-defence, he said—

"I have, however, given a justification of the act (self-defence); but there is an important consequence. . . . . Does my hon. Friend bear in mind the massacre which occurred in Alexandria a few weeks ago? Does he bear in mind that that massacre remains, down to the present moment, wholly unexamined and unavenged? Does he estimate the effect which a massacre of that kind—unavenged and unexamined—subjected to a pretended examination only, which was a mockery and a delusion and a snare—would have had upon the security, not only of all Englishmen and all British subjects, but of all European people throughout the whole East?"

Why did he quote that? Because the other day (July 11th, 1882), before the Prime Minister made that remark, Lord Granville wrote to Lord Dufferin as to the Alexandria riots—

"Her Majesty's Government have abstained for the present from making any formal demands; but they have announced their intention to demand full reparation and satisfaction for the outrages committed on the Queen's officers, and upon British subjects."

As far as he could see, about 10 men supported the Ministry in their conduct, and their argument seemed to be that the Tories had begun this matter, and they must go on with it. He always thought that the present Government had been put into power to alter the Tory policy, and now the argument was that they must go on in the same way as the Tories began. But there was a noble instance of the Government taking a very different tone. He alluded to Afghanistan. In that case the Government found a complication of evils; but instead of going on and making things worse they withdrew from Afghanistan, and this House and the country supported them. He remembered that when a deputation of gentlemen went to the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India and told him a great deal about the policy of cowardice, and so forth, and of leaving Candahar, he asked them what right we had to be there? Many a good speech had the noble Lord made, but he never made a better speech than that. What right had we in Afghanistan; what right, human or Divine, had we to take the management of affairs in a country that did not want us? Then there was the case of the Transvaal. The Ministry, under the guidance of the Prime Minister, took the noble and honourable course of admitting that they were wrong, and withdrew from the evil policy. He could not see why a principle that applied to Afghanistan should not apply to Egypt. But now what were the Government doing? They were raising up a tremendous conflagration all over the Eastern world. In the newspapers of to-day he saw how from all parts of Egypt people were flocking to Arabi's camp, and there was to be a great religious war. Even now we might withdraw from the evil course we were entering upon. There was no such cowardice as being afraid to say we were wrong. If we were wrong, let us admit it, and leave the Egyptian people to manage their own affairs. That would be a nobler and a braver act than the battering down of forts with our guns. There was, however, another argument that was very much used by hon. Members. They said they must trust the Government because it was such an excellent Government. He would not say anything against the Government; but many of the greatest crimes in history had been committed by the best men. A curious view was taken in the country of the Government. He would read a short account of what took place at a General Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Association, presided over by Mr. G. Dixon. On the motion of Mr. Kendrick, seconded by Mr. Holliday, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"That this meeting regrets the National loss occasioned by the retirement of Mr. Bright from the Cabinet; but, knowing that his resignation has been caused by the same conscientious devotion to the cause of peace which has marked the whole of his career, assures him of the unabated confidence and affection of the constituency which he has served so long and so faithfully."

On the motion of Mr. R. W. Dale, another resolution was passed expressing—

"Deep sympathy with Her Majesty's Government in the difficulties and complications, which are largely the result of the engagements entered into by their Predecessors in Office;"

and declaring that the meeting—

"Entirely approved of the earnest efforts of the Government to secure a solution of the questions by means of the European Concert, and had the strongest confidence in its determination to protect the interests of England, while at the same time pursuing a policy directed to secure the peace of Europe, and the permanent welfare and self-government of Egypt."

That was one of the most delightful resolutions he ever heard. It reminded him of a good book he once read, called *Making the Best of Both Worlds.* It was holding with the non-interventionists and hunting with the "Jingoes;" shouting peace with the Ex-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and glory and gunpowder with the President of the Board of Trade. Although he would not say a word against the Government, yet in what they were doing they were exactly following in the footsteps of the Government they turned out, only, perhaps, in a worse way, because the late Government never bombarded a town as this Government had done. He was told that was taking a dangerous line—a very dangerous line. Well, he would read the following letter written on July 17, 1882, by a Liberal Member—who was a very excellent fellow, one of the best fellows in the world:—

> "No man is less aggressive than I am—no man more of a non-interventionist in the Egyptian policy. I have given my warm support to the Government. I have from the first said to my friends that the defence of our fellow-subjects in Egypt, their wives and children and property, was an act of painful necessity. I deeply deplore Mr. Bright's resignation; but I honour his motives, and warmly respect his most earnest wish to avoid blood-shedding. Even if our Government have made a mistake—and I, for one, think they have not—I am not going to withdraw my humble confidence from the best Government this country has seen. I have worked too hard to make, in my humble way, such a Government possible, that I am not going to bring back into power the Salisburys, the Lowthers, and such like."

That letter was a type and illustration of the feeling of the country at the present moment. The country did think sometimes, and when it did it was horrified at what was going on; but it said if it voted against the present Ministry back would come "the Salisburys and Lowthers"—and that was the real safeguard of the Liberal Administration. No doubt; but what was his answer to that? If these crimes against humanity were to be committed; if this unjust policy, this dangerous policy, was to be pursued, he would ten times rather it was carried out by his political opponents than by his political friends. Let those who had always avowed this policy have credit for it, but do not let the Liberal Party be disgraced by such a course. He had such an opinion of the Government that he hoped they would yet consider their action and look into this matter. It would be a very sad incident in the noble career of the Prime Minister if he now consented to carry out the policy of carrying fire and sword into Egypt for the sake of usurers who had lent money to that country. That was the real reason of the war. People might say it was not, but they could not bring evidence against that view. The evidence of the Blue Books said it was so. He knew the Prime Minister could carry out that policy; he justly had great influence, and would be supported; and it might be his desire to prove himself as great a Minister of War as he had been a Minister of Peace. He would have no insuperable difficulty, for we had plenty of troops; and he had a majority in the House which, no doubt, would support him, and in any case he was assured of the support of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The Press was with him, and would shriek with exultation at every case of butchery; but he would say to the right hon. Gentleman that the end was not yet—

"There's a still small voice that speaks within
Above earth's clamour and glory's din."

That small voice would speak both to the Government and to the nation upon undertaking so unwise, so impolitic, so ignoble, and unjust a policy as that which the Prime Minister had brought forward.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: My hon. and generally facetious Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson)—if I may so call him—in the remarks which he has just addressed to the Committee, made use of some expressions which I cannot but deeply regret and deplore. He hopes the Government "will at last look into this matter," and he speaks as though the matter were not one which had been occupying the most anxious and most painful attention and the undivided energies of the whole Government for a considerable period. I can assure my hon. Friend that the responsibility of the Government, weighty as it must be in such times as these in which we live, has been considerably increased by the present complication, to which no Member of the Government concerned could refrain from giving his utmost care. My hon. Friend said, towards the end of his speech, that the effect of the present policy was "to carry fire and sword into the country of Egypt for the sake of usurers." Those are terrible words, and I cannot but think that my hon. Friend, in using them, meets with the sympathy of but a very small portion indeed of the Members of this House. I do not doubt that my hon. Friend is persuaded in his own mind that although he has, as he must know himself, the sympathy of but a few Members of this House in the use of those words, he has the confidence outside this House of larger numbers. But I, on the other hand, however, cannot but persuade myself that there must be in this country a very general belief that not only the present Government, but that any Government of this country, would by far rather abandon the position which they hold and retire into private life, than for one moment be parties to a war of the kind which the hon. Baronet describes. Before I come to the remainder of my hon. Friend's remarks I should like to make some allusion to the very careful and measured and well-reasoned speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley). In that speech, and towards its close, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman told the Committee that he was alarmed at the news that the Government were making preparations to cope with general anarchy in Egypt. It is the opinion of Her Majesty's Advisers that the present anarchy in Egypt is caused by the pressure of military tyranny, and is not what may be called national anarchy, and that there is good reason to believe that calm in Egypt would follow the liberation of the country from military tyranny. Egypt is an easily governed country, and we are confirmed in that belief, a belief which is founded upon history, by the fact that the body of Notables is as fairly representative of the general feeling of the country as any body that is likely to be got together in a Mahomedan country could well be, and has shown itself to be composed of reasonable men. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman also asked whether we were quite sure that we were not entering upon a religious war. I can assure the right hon. and gallant Gentleman and the House that the Government are fully persuaded that the Khedive, at the present time, has the support of the most reasonable and sensible part of the Mahomedan population, and of the majority of the leading Mahomedan authorities whose names have been known in the past. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman made a most valuable suggestion, and one which I think ought to be well weighed by all who are concerned in this matter upon the spot—and that is, that the most careful means should be taken to inform those who guide Mahomedan opinion that we are not engaging in any general attack upon Mahomedans, that we have no quarrel with the Mahomedan world, which is represented by so enormous a population in Her Majesty's Dominions. My hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) asked whether we were going to manage the affairs of a country which does not want us? He said that we ought to leave the Egyptian people to manage their own affairs. I think I could not better conclude the remarks I have made in answer to the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire, than by assuring both sides of the House that it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government, after relieving Egypt from military tyranny, to leave the people to manage their own affairs. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire dealt also with the military side of the case, and that, of course, is a matter upon which I am not competent to speak; but, so far as it touches the political aspect of the question, I may make one reference to his remarks on the point. He said it would be a great mistake for us to suppose that a three months' Vote would be sufficient, and he feared repeated applications of this sort would have to be made to the House. But what the Committee have to consider is whether we should be justified in taking more or less than that for which we ask at this time. We have to deal with facts as they are before us, and we have reason to suppose that a three months' Vote is a sufficient Vote for the necessities of the case as they appear to us at the present moment, and nothing more than that can be asked of any Administration. We should be culpable if we were to ask for a three months' Vote, having distinctly in view the probability of further operations being required; but it is the opinion of the highest military authorities that a three months' Vote is sufficient to deal with the case as it stands. An hon. Member said that we were going into Egypt alone, and the Leader of the Opposition used the same phrase last night. "You are about to go alone," said the right hon. Gentleman. Now, it is not yet certain that we shall go into Egypt alone; and although I can say no more upon the subject, it must be remembered that this is one which cannot be regarded as concluded. Her Majesty's Government were bound to submit a Vote of Credit to the House as soon as they saw the absolute necessity for such expenditure, whether they went to Egypt alone or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition yesterday, after making use of that phrase, spoke of the attitude of the other Powers towards our action in Egyptian affairs; and he asked what evidence we could give of the moral support of the other Powers which had been named by the Prime Minister? The right hon. Gentleman asked that question in such a way as to seem to imply some doubt on the point. I can only assure the right hon. Gentleman that words which have been used by the Secretary of State (Lord Granville) have been used by him after carefully weighing the words, and having the fullest grounds for his statement. The words used by the Secretary of State on this subject were these—

> "We have the good-will, the good wishes, and, I may almost add, the moral support of the other Powers;"

and the phrase "moral support" was a phrase which had been used to him on behalf of a great Power. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition asked, immediately after that portion of his speech, whether, in going on with this war, with the doubtful support, as he thought, of the other Powers, we were not endangering the European Concert? We should have been in a very different position at the present time—in an adverse sense—from that which we now occupy, had we not consulted the European Concert on this subject. We are in a very different position, even should we be obliged to act alone —we are in a very different position, and in a far more favourable position, than we should have been had we not consulted the other Powers, had we not exhausted every other means of action, and so proceeded, as we are justified in assuming, with the moral support of Europe.

The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) repeated an argument which was used yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition, an argument in answer to the Prime Minister's remarks in his speech of yesterday with regard to the Anglo-French Control. My hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) followed the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire to-day, and on this point read some resolutions which have been passed at Birmingham, laying particular stress upon the passage—"Difficulties which are largely the result of engagements entered into by their Predecessors." The contention of the Leader of the Opposition yesterday was that the intervention of the late Government in Egypt had been only financial and not political. I shall have to tax the patience of the Committee for a few minutes while I go step by step through the action of the late Government in the establishment of the Control. The Control was first established by what was known as the Goschen-Joubert Decree. I am glad I speak in the hearing of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), who will correct me if I am wrong. There were originally to be two Controllers, one for receipts, the other for accounts and public debts. The Controller General of Accounts was, as his title implied, to supervise, check, and audit the accounts and payments of the Treasury; but the duty of the Controller General of Receipts was to watch over the receipt of all kinds of State Revenue in Egypt. His was the more important post, and I think it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon at the time that the one post should be more important than the other. The yearly Budget was to be prepared in consultation with the Controllers, and they, in concert with the Minister of Finance, were to watch over the due execution of its provisions. In the first instance they had only a consulting voice. Of the two Controllers, one was an Englishman and the other a Frenchman. Mr. Romaine, the English Controller, was appointed by the Khedive. The French Controller General was designated by his own Government. There was this difference in the functions of the two Controllers, that the functions of the English Controller were much more considerable than those of his colleague. As I have said, the English Controller was appointed by the Khedive, and the French Controller, with less important functions, was designated by the Government of France. In 1879, a very considerable change took place, because while Lord Derby had always refused to appoint a Controller, in 1879, Her Majesty's then Government themselves nominated a Controller General, and Mr. Baring was appointed Controller General of Receipts and Expenditure under the Decree of 1876—that is to say, that the Control remained what it had been hitherto; but the English Controller was appointed by Her Majesty's then Government for the first time. The English Controller still continued to have the superior functions of the two. The Decree of November, 1879, was the one to which the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition has alluded, and that was the result of an understanding between England and France, under which the functions of the Controllers were materially modified. The distinction between the two Controllers was then abrogated, and the Controllers became equal, the English Controller losing the superiority of functions. The two Controllers then divided between themselves the Public Services over which they exercised supervision; they received in financial matters the widest power of investigation over all branches of the Public Service. Ministers and public officials were to give them all information or documents that they, or their Agents, might require; they had rank and a seat in the Council of Ministers, and took part in the deliberations of the Council; they were not to be dismissed without the consent of their Governments; they appointed and dismissed the officers of their own Departments. The Decree of 1879 displaced the Decree of 1876; and our contention, which, in my mind, is absolutely justified by the facts, is, that the difference between the two systems of Control is that the Control of 1876 had a merely administrative character, and that the Control of 1879 brought the Controller General in relation with all the political Departments of State. The hon. Member for Carlisle spoke of the Control in another portion of his speech. He described the terrible financial situation of Egypt in 1876 and in 1877, and he led the House to suppose that that terrible financial situation existed immediately before the military outbreak. It is our belief, confirmed, I think, by the whole of the Papers before the House, that this situation had been changed; that that terrible situation had been changed as though by the wave of an enchanter's wand, and all the evil side of it had disappeared, or was disappearing fast, at the time when military violence first appeared. My hon. Friend said the exactions on the people had been made more stringent in 1879. That is simply not the case. He also stated that under the English and French Ministers those who followed the first institution of the Control, and who went before the Control in its later form, a very large number of Natives were made liable to forced labour. The Report to the Government on that subject at the time was that the Decree did not in the least extend the institution of forced labour, but was for the purpose of checking the abuses which had crept into the system. We believe the documents prove to the House that one of the effects of the Control has been to enormously limit, and will be to extinguish forced labour. If I may resume what I have said on the subject of the Control, it is the contention of the Government that the Control, instead of being financial under the late Government, became political. It gradually became political in the highest degree, and it is impossible to leave out of the consideration of this subject the fact that the late Government were the most active parties in the deposition of the late Khedive, and that by interfering, through the Porte it is true, but still interfering themselves to change the occupant of the Throne of Egypt, they did most absolutely and distinctly interfere in the external and political affairs of Egypt. The then English Government were looked upon as being the active parties in those transactions, for they were the persons applied to by other Powers to obtain a share in the Control. Italy, Austria, and Germany applied in 1879 to obtain a share in the Control. It seems to me that the interference by England and France under the late Government in 1879 in the affairs of Egypt was complete. In a speech which I made to my constituents at the time, I said that they had virtually taken the Government of Egypt into their own hands. But whatever might have been the political danger of the Control, it brought about an enormous improvement in the material development of Egypt; it brought about the abolition of vexatious taxation, the establishment of a just basis for the land tax, and an extraordinary increase of material prosperity.

We have now to look to what was the situation when Her Majesty's present Advisers first had to deal with the affairs of Egypt. In 1881 they pointed out that the policy of the Government towards Egypt had no other aim than the prosperity of the country, and the full enjoyment of that liberty which it had obtained under successive Firmans of the Sultan. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle quoted from a despatch words in which Lord Granville stated that it could not be too well understood that England desired no partizan Ministry in Egypt. Those are the opinions of Her Majesty's Government now. I wish to make that statement in the clearest terms. The hon. Baronet has asked whether we are sending troops to Egypt—in fact, he has asserted that we are doing it to support a partizan Ministry. We are doing nothing of the kind. So completely is the reverse of that statement true, that we have actually recognized within the last few days the Ministry in which Arabi Pasha was formerly the Minister of War, they having recommended the Khedive to issue a Proclamation by which Arabi Pasha is declared a rebel. We are now in actual relation with that Ministry, which certainly cannot be called a partizan Ministry of our creation. Having made that statement with regard to the position of things in the year 1881, I may point out that the Government have repeatedly within the last few days, and in a despatch dated the 11th of July—laid before Parliament on Saturday last — repeated the very arguments in almost the very words which were used in our former despatches on this subject. There has been no change of policy on the part of the Government on that point. In 1881 there arose a considerable ferment or political movement in Egypt. The movement was political at first, but afterwards became connected with, and damaged by, its connection with a movement which was purely military. Her Majesty's Government had no objection whatever to the birth and growth of the National movement until it became military. On the contrary, we distinctly, on several occasions, expressed our preference for such a state of things in Egypt. We believe that this country had not only nothing to fear, but all to gain from such a movement. We believe that it is better for the interests of this country, as well as for the interests of Egypt, that Egypt should be governed by liberal institutions rather than by a despotic rule. The growth of free institutions in Egypt has a tendency to prevent a future return of arbitrary rule, and it is for the interests of this country that Egypt should not at any time be ruled by a purely despotic Ruler. When we have despotic rule in a country in which we have an enormous stake, we are placed at the mercy of a single man, who may be our friend, but who may be our enemy. We believe that this country would gain by the introduction into Egypt of something like Representative Institutions, which form a guarantee against anarchy on the one hand, and against a return to arbitrary rule on the other. In January of the present year, Her Majesty's Government repeated their declaration as regards the past; but this military ferment in Egypt, of which I speak, having considerably grown, we then stated that it was impossible for the Government to be indifferent to events which might plunge Egypt into anarchy, and destroy the results of the efforts made to improve the condition of that country. The power of the Military Party considerably and rapidly increased, and it then became the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it was possible that force would have to be used to suppress the Military Party, and relieve Egypt from its tyranny, and Her Majesty's Government then expressed that opinion to the other Powers that if recourse to force was necessary to avoid anarchy in Egypt, the safest force to employ would be a Turkish Force, subject to proper conditions, as to the length of time it should be employed, and the like. When, a little later, the French Government came round to this view, which at first they had opposed, the French Government proposed to send an Anglo-French Squadron to Alexandria. The English Government expressed a wish that all the Powers should be invited to have their flags represented there, and that fact alone showed that we tried to secure the concert of the Powers. The Government have, as I have just said, over and over again announced, and they have received the support of the whole of the European Powers in announcing, that it is impossible to tolerate the continuance of anarchy in Egypt. The dominance of a purely military faction at Cairo must place our communications with India and the East in permanent jeopardy—that is, we cannot permanently, although we might temporarily, protect the Suez Canal by a force employed on the Suez Canal alone. With regard to the suggestion which has been made that it might have been possible to patch up a peace with the Military Party in Egypt, I must state that, as regards the leader of that party—Arabi Pasha—even the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle did not attempt to defend him. There is no doubt, I fear, that that leader was guilty of complicity in the preparations for the attack on the Europeans in Alexandria on the 11th of June. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle thinks it doubtful whether Arabi Pasha had the people of Egypt with him. The hon. Baronet says it is certain he has the Army with him, and tells us that armies are often the friends of freedom. [Sir WILFRID LAWSON: I said sometimes.] I took the words down, but I accept my hon. Friend's correction, and will give him the benefit of the doubt. My hon. Friend said, therefore, that armies sometimes are the friends of freedom. That is a curious sentiment for my hon. Friend, who does not much like armies, to express. I will not discuss the matter as one of history, or go through all the instances in which armies have proved themselves either the friends or the enemies of freedom. I will, however, say that this particular Army is not a friend of freedom. It is, undoubtedly, the fact that the Egyptian Army during its reign, this military tyranny which it has established in Egypt, has been steadily opposed by those representatives of Egyptian national sentiment, whose opinion my hon. Friend very properly desires we should conciliate.

I have spoken of the position of the Suez Canal, and of the bearing upon it of the Military Government in Cairo, as one reason which leads us to turn our attention to the form of government existing in Cairo, and to object to military tyranny there. Our position seems to arise from necessity, from Treaty right, and from duty—from necessity, because Egypt forms our highway to India and to the East generally; from Treaty-right, because under the Treaty of 1840 for the pacification of the Levant, and the subsequent Firmans and Treaties, we have peculiar rights with regard to Egypt, rights which have always been respected by the Powers; from duty, because it is incumbent upon us to see that the influence in Egypt which our necessities and Treaties give us is used for the benefit of the Egyptian people, and that the reforms introduced for the benefit of the oppressed population are not overturned, and the old state of corruption revived. As regards the Suez Canal, England has a double interest; it has a predominant commercial interest, because 82 per cent of the trade passing through the Canal is British trade, and it has a predominant political interest caused by the fact that the Canal is the principal highway to India, Ceylon, the Straits, and British Burmah, where 250,000,000 people live under our rule; and also to China, where we have vast interests and 84 per cent of the external trade of that still more enormous Empire. It is also one of the roads to our Colonial Empire in Australia and New Zealand. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, in a speech which he made outside the walls of this House, attacked me personally for "having asked the working men of England to abandon their principles for the sake of a little better trade." It was in this House that I made the speech to which the hon. Baronet alludes, and I never put forward trade as a ground for intervention; but, having been told publicly that the working men of England were indifferent to the position of their fellow-countrymen in the East, I said I could not desire to see British trade driven away from all parts of the world; and, speaking as the Under Secretary of State, superintending the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office, and speaking as a man whose duty it was to know more than most people about the ramifications of British external trade, I went on to speak of the importance which I must attach in that respect to our position in Egypt. It has been pointed out by one of the Members for Manchester (Mr. Slagg), in a letter which he has written to the newspapers, that the English have not forced themselves upon Egypt; that they have not forced themselves or their trade upon Egypt, as might be said in the case of China and Japan. The influx of foreigners was fostered by the Egyptian Government, and the result of English immigration to Egypt, and the introduction of English capital into Egypt, has been an enormous advance in the wealth and civilization of the Egyptian people. It is not of material prosperity alone that I speak, though that has enormously increased. Egypt sells us of cotton alone to the value of £6,000,000 every year. Very little of that cotton was grown a few years ago, and all that may be said to be a pure increase in the wealth of Egypt. Intervention, however, is not to be defended on trade grounds, but on the grounds of necessity, Treaty right, and duty, which I put forward just now. We have not taken any isolated step in the direction of intervention in Egypt up to the present time. We have acted steadily with the other European Powers; but, if we should be forced to go forward alone, we shall not doso until we have exhausted every means of inducing other Powers to accompany us. From the point of view of necessity, besides our interest in the Canal, it is impossible to permanently acquiesce in any arrangement in Egypt, especially after the massacre at Alexandria on the 11th of June, which would destroy, not only the influence and credit of this country, but of all Europe in the East. Every English Minister must, of course, maintain that England is bound to guard her connection with India from interruption; but it is our desire to be most careful in the steps we take to avoid crushing anything like Egyptian national feeling in favour of Egyptian nationality. There is, undoubtedly, in Egypt a natural desire to see as many Egyptians as possible holding office, and there is a certain amount of real national feeling. That sentiment we might and should conciliate. To suppose, as my hon. Friend (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), in a speech he delivered ten days ago, seemed to suppose, that Arabi Pasha is the Representative of that national feeling, is a very different thing. Arabi Pasha, over and over again, has been repudiated by the authorized exponents of Egyptian national feeling. On the 20th of May, for instance, the Chamber of Notables expressly refused, at the peril of their lives, to support a declaration of confidence in the military leader. The so-called Ultimatum of the English and French Agents, which very much exercised the mind of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle at the time, was, as is stated on the face of it, drawn up by Sultan Pasha himself, the President of the Chamber of Notables, and it will be remembered that the document insisted upon the withdrawal from Egypt of Arabi Pasha. Arabi Pasha appears to be the ordinary military adventurer of the East, supported not by a nation, but by an army, and an army which he has to bribe by unjustifiable promotion and increased pay, an army whose actions compromise both the liberty and the welfare of the Egyptian people. On the other hand, the Notables have displayed both patriotism and independence, and it is one of our objects to liberate those Notables from military tyranny. Those Notables, I believe, are by so large a majority on the side of the Khedive against Arabi, that the numbers in their Body are represented by the figures of 65 to 9; the determination which they took to oppose Arabi, by all the means in their power, was a determination in which only 9 out of 74 Members refused to concur. We do not wish to impose on Egypt institutions of our own choice; but, as my hon. Friend suggests, rather to leave the choice of Egypt free. We believe that this military *pronunciamento* has not the support of the agricultural population, which forms the mass of the Egyptian people; and it is our desire that not only should existing institutions in Egypt be respected, but that no obstacles should be placed by us in the way of a prudent development of those institutions. Guarantees ought, of course, to exist for the security of Europeans living in Egypt, and for the due observance of international engagements; but we do not desire to interfere beyond the strict necessities of the case in the internal administration of the country, or to prevent the government of Egypt by Egyptians. The awakening of national life in Egypt last winter was met with sympathy on the part of this country, and it is the honourable duty of this country to be true to the principles of free institutions which are our glory. It is a very different thing to sympathize with the desperate adventurer who, during his possession of power, used that power to promote officers in ridiculously undue proportion; to enormously raise their pay at the expense of their fellow-countrymen; to allow of the robbery of the public purse by his personal military supporters, and to arbitrarily imprison, exile, or degrade all those who showed the slightest independence of character. Was it possible for Europe to look on quietly while Arabi should depose and assassinate the Khedive, and set up a despotic military Government, regardless of the interests of the Egyptian people, and bent only upon securing for the military leaders the largest possible amount of plunder in the shortest possible time, and that in a country which is the greatest highway of the civilized world? The responsibility of the Powers who, by the Treaty of 1840, set up the present Government in Egypt, and the still higher and more peculiar responsibility of this country under the later Firmans, make it impossible that we should not see that if it is ever legitimate to use what may be called international police power it is necessary in this case.

In his speech outside this House on Tuesday last the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle spoke as if non-intervention was a necessary part of the Liberal creed. The absolute doctrine of non-intervention, under all circumstances and at all times, has never been a portion of the Liberal creed, and has never been a portion of the Radical creed. There are Radicals as extreme as any Radicals in this country, and even as extreme as my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle, who are sound, even in his view, on all English questions, but who have never supported the doctrine of non-intervention under all circumstances. However that may be, it is undoubtedly the case that many of those men hold that intervention under the present circumstances was absolutely justifiable. The hon. Member for Carlisle may contend that it was not; but, at all events, he must admit it is a matter to be debated, and not one to be decided upon abstract general principles.

The only other statement which I wish to make to the Committee as regards my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle is, that after the bombardment of Alexandria my hon. Friend spoke of that bombardment as having been unjustifiable in the highest degree. I am not sure whether he used the word "crime" in regard to it. That is a statement which demands some answer at my hands. On a former occasion I stated to the House, step by step, the whole progress of events upon the question of the armament of Alexandria. I gave the House a full account of all that had occurred, in order to show how long suffering we had been with regard to the conduct of the Egyptian Military Party towards our Fleet, how earthworks and guns had been mounted directly bearing on that Fleet, and how that had been done against the express orders both of the Sultan and the Khedive. It must be remembered that our Fleet was not there as an isolated act of ours; but it was sent there with the approval of the whole of Europe, and sent there in conjunction with the Fleet of France. England and France had been acknowledged by the whole of the other Powers to have a predominant position with regard to Egypt, and our Fleet was sent to Alexandria for the security of our subjects; and also that it should have a moral effect in support of the Government of the Khedive. That Fleet being there for legitimate purposes, surely it was necessary we should protect it, and not allow it to be driven with ignominy from that place. We had no right to expose our men to daily increasing danger, and I cannot see that there is anything of the nature of a crime, or, indeed, anything contrary to the Radical principles as held by my hon. Friend himself, in striking hard in order to save English ships and men. There are some who believe power should never be used anywhere in a cause however right; but, at all events, in this case the steps taken were absolutely in the nature of self-defence. The Porte, as well as the Egyptian authorities, was thoroughly warned of what would happen, yet after those warnings—after the most distinct statement of the Khedive to the Military Chiefs and the Governor of Alexandria—guns were mounted outside the range of our guns, mounted upon the sea-front and batteries which did not command the harbour or its approaches. We told the Admiral to take no notice of this, and immediately fresh guns were mounted directly bearing on the Fleet itself. It is clear what was intended. My hon. Friend talks about half-armed batteries. It must be remembered that the guns were very heavy and extremely numerous, and were worked by efficient gunners. The armaments of the forts were of a very formidable kind. Many of the guns were capable of piercing the plates of all the ships with two exceptions; and all could pierce the plates of Her Majesty's ship *Invincible.* It cannot be said, then, that those guns, worked by a large garrison of men who, undoubtedly, showed personal bravery, could be considered mere toy armaments, as my hon. Friend appears to think they were. Hon. Members opposite have told us that after the bombardment we ought to have cut off Arabi's retreat; we are told we ought to have been prepared to have landed a force. It is our belief that we could not, under the then political circumstances, have landed a force, and that we could not have had on board our ships at sea a sufficient force to land with any military safety. Diplomatically and politically speaking, it is one thing to perform naval operations in self-defence, and it is another thing to undertake isolated action in the face of promises given to Europe. We are asked why we are prepared to take isolated action now. It must be remembered we are looking forward to what will be done in the next week or two. We are bound, at the moment it becomes clear to the Government that they may or will probably have to take isolated action, or action in which they will have to play a leading part, to come before the House of Commons and ask for a Vote of Credit, which will enable them to meet the situation. I am sorry to detain the Committee; but I have had to deal with objections of two classes, and objections coming from both sides of the House on very different grounds. If I have, perhaps, laid most stress on the speech addressed to the House by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, and upon the sentiments he has expressed outside these walls, it is because I deeply sympathize with him in his general views, and I am, therefore, personally more bound, when I entirely differ with him, to state my grounds for the disagreement.

SIR JOHN HAY said, the Committee would, perhaps, grant him their indulgence when he said that he had had a professional acquaintance with the affairs of the Levant for the last 40 years. He was employed in the Levant during the Syrian operations, and as Flag Captain in the Mediterranean during the matters connected with Egypt after the Crimean War; and, having the confidence of the officer commanding-in-chief, he had access to all the information on the subject then under consideration—in fact, he had had his attention directed to this matter more than many other Members who were at present Members of the Committee. He desired to say that while he concurred entirely with the late Government with regard to their action in sending the Fleet to Constantinople with the view of staying the proceedings at San Stefano, and in believing that the early and decided action taken by them prevented a collision which now had, unfortunately, occurred through delay, he was entirely of opinion that the Vote which was now about to be given was a Vote which it was necessary to give, in order for the better protection of British life and property in Egypt, and for the protection of the Suez Canal. He was also of opinion that any desire to interfere with the National arrangements in Egypt itself was beyond the scope of the military operations, which appeared at present to be in the contemplation of Her Majesty's Government. Having said these few words in reference to the political aspect of the question, he wished, first of all, to say that he looked upon the bombardment of Alexandria as perfectly justifiable. He believed that the course taken by the British Fleet at Algiers was identical in character, so far as the operations of Admiral Seymour were concerned; but he did not recognize any parallel case in the operations at Navarino. The operations which occurred at Alexandria appeared to them to be right so far as the Naval attack of the forts was concerned; but he was bound to say that, looking to the massacre of the inhabitants which occurred thereafter, it was not creditable to the Government of this country to engage in such operations without having provided the means of preventing the massacre which was the result of the bombardment. In operations of a similar character on the Coast of Syria in 1848, a large force was embarked in the Fleet which bombarded and captured St. Jean d'Acre. It was not to be supposed for a minute that that unfortunate catastrophe had not been duly announced to the Government beforehand by their officials on the spot. In the despatches which were now in the hands of Members the matter was clearly and distinctly set forth. In the first place, he would ask the Committee to allow him to address himself to the arrangements for the Naval attack on Alexandria, as made and prepared by Her Majesty's Government. The first step in that direction was taken in the month of May—on the 12th of May—and then it was arranged that France and England were each to send ships of war of sufficiently light draught of water to be enabled to enter the Harbour of Alexandria. That was set forth in the despatch of Lord Lyons to Lord Granville, received on May 13. He ventured to call the attention of the House at the time to the fact that of all the ships that were being despatched to Alexandria, only two were of the character which was there laid down; and of the additional ships afterwards sent, none were able to enter the Harbour of Alexandria. The whole of them were ships of such considerable draught of water as to be obliged to engage the batteries of Alexandria in motion, which made their fire most uncertain. He had seen a letter from an officer on board the *Sultan*, describing the events which occurred on the 11th of June. The *Sultan* was one of the vessels of large draught which were employed in attacking the batteries of Alexandria from outside. The *Sultan*, *Alexandra*, and the *Superb* were kept in motion; but they would have been much better employed inside, had they been of lighter draught. So unsteady was the *Sultan* that she was struck 30 times, and had two men killed and nine wounded, before she was able, after firing for about two hours, to hit one of the batteries. This showed the risk which those ships incurred. When she had got in a position to hit the battery she was required to fire 11 shots before the gun, which was directed on the *Sultan*, and did her so much injury, and the management of which displayed so much credit upon the Egyptian gunners, was silenced. It was quite evident that, in operations of that kind, where it was necessary that the shell should be directed against batteries and batteries alone, great risk was run of the shells falling where they were not intended to, and that if the operation had been conducted from the smooth water inside the harbour instead of from outside, as was necessary with the means the Admiral had at his disposal, the result would have been more satisfactory to our arms, and, perhaps, less injury would have been inflicted on the city. He therefore wished, as a considerable portion of that Vote was for the Navy, to point out to the Committee that, however successful had been the Admiral, and however gallant had been the officers and men engaged under him in carrying out the operations with the means at their disposal, if the Government had been better advised as to the class of vessels which should be employed in that operation, the action at Alexandria would have been certainly more rapid, and even still more successful. He wished to point out that very clearly, because the despatches originally intended that the French and English Governments should each send ships of war of sufficiently light draught to enable them to go into the Harbour of Alexandria, and that condition was not fulfilled. In May he called the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty to the matter. There were in this country the *Neptune*, the *Orion*, and the *Belleisle*, and at Gibraltar the *Penelope*. The three first-named were purchased by his right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith); but it was not thought desirable by the Government to use them. The *Penelope* was under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and she was despatched to Alexandria; but, as far as the operations of the Admiral were concerned, he was relying upon the assistance of the three French iron-clads. On the 29th of May Sir Beauchamp Seymour telegraphed to the Admiralty—

> "Alexandria is apparently controlled this morning by the Military Party. Earthworks are being built rapidly abreast of Her Majesty's ship *Invincible*. I think an increase of force desirable. There is much panic at Cairo, and some here. I would suggest despatch of Her Majesty's ships *Alexandra*, *Monarch*, and gunboat."

The arrangements with France were stated in a speech of M. de Freycinet, which was given in No. 15 of the Blue Book. M. de Freycinet stated that the French Government were about to proceed to Alexandria conjointly with England, not for armed occupation, but to protect national interests; to testify to the revolutionary movement which had established itself in that country; and to show to the world that France and England were united; but he declined to give any indication of the means of action which might be resorted to, and declared emphatically that French military intervention was not one of them. Soon afterwards, when a collision was likely to take place, on the 3rd of June, Lord Granville telegraphed to Lord Dufferin, stating "batteries being raised on Alexandria. If not stopped may produce collision." Thus, on the 3rd of June, it was contemplated that a collision might occur between the batteries at Alexandria and the English and French ships in proximity and at anchor there. It seemed to him that there should then have been a definite understanding as to how far the British Admiral could rely upon the French ships for support, because at that moment they were in active alliance with him; but in the end he received no assistance from them whatever. In Paper No. 189, Sir Beauchamp Seymour reported the state of affairs at that time at the Port of Alexandria and Cairo, and the steps taken by himself, and by Rear Admiral Conrad, commanding the French Squadron, to check the construction of earthworks by the Egyptian troops. On the 30th of May, Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Rear Admiral Conrad—

> "Requested their respective Consuls to point out to the Governor of Alexandria that the building of batteries bearing on the European quarter of the city, and on the merchant shipping in the harbour, was calculated to produce or prolong an impression on the minds of the European population that they are in danger."

Now, it seemed to him that when Admiral Conrad informed Sir Beauchamp Seymour that French iron-clads might be looked for at the same time as further English ships, Sir Beauchamp Seymour was misled into believing that in the event of any collision occurring he would be able to rely upon the aid of the three French iron-clads. The English Admiral had then three British iron-clads inside the harbour—namely, the *Invincible*, the *Monarch*, and the *Penelope*, the ship last despatched; and there were also three French iron-clads—the *Alma*, the *Lagalliponière*, and the *Thetis*. Unfortunately, the information in the Blue Book was only brought down to a period considerably antecedent to the bombardment; and he (Sir John Hay) had no means of knowing how it was that when the supreme moment arrived, the Allied Force on which Sir Beauchamp Seymour ought to have relied, in consequence of the despatches and telegrams from his own Government, as well as the assurances of his brother Admiral, were not available, and he was left to undertake unaided the duty that had been imposed upon him. It appeared that the day before the collision occurred, and in consequence of the probability of a collision taking place, the French Squadron withdrew from the Harbour of Alexandria, and, in so withdrawing, left Sir Beauchamp Seymour with three iron-clads too few to undertake the duty he had been called upon to perform. If Sir Beauchamp Seymour had had at his command iron-clad ships which could have entered the Harbour of Alexandria, the withdrawal of the French Squadron would not have been of so much consequence. The result of the withdrawal, and the fact that Her Majesty's Government had not sent out ships of light draught which could take the place of the French ships that were necessary for the completeness of the attack, but which had been withdrawn, laid the Naval administration and the management of affairs diplomatically of Her Majesty's Government, open to considerable challenge. It was right to point out that whatever accident might have occurred in the City of Alexandria, owing to the misdirection of the shells fired from the ships when engaging the forts, which was very possible owing to the motion of the sea, and the distance they were from the batteries, might have been averted if the ships of Her Majesty had been of a class necessary for the purpose, and if the three French iron-clad ships could have been replaced by ships of a class and character which ought to have been sent there. In that case this accident would not have occurred. With regard to another point upon which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was good enough to address the Committee last night, the right hon. Gentleman personally alluded to him (Sir John Hay). The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "The question is now raised what ought to have been our conduct, and the answer given by some is that we ought to have sent with the Fleet a sufficient force for the purpose of preventing the conflagration and pillage which occurred. Well, I shall be curious to hear that matter argued out."

Now, in his (Sir John Hay's) opinion, a sufficient force ought to have been sent, and he confidently believed that that was the opinion of the House. Of course, the Rules of debate were such that he could not allude to speeches previously spoken; but Her Majesty's Government had been incessantly directing the Admiral to land a force if necessary, and the Admiral as constantly replied that he had no force to land. With the permission of the Committee, and in support of what he had stated, he would point out those despatches which seemed to him to bear on that point. In the Foreign Office Despatch of the 15th of May, No. 206, Lord Granville stated—

> "I have to state to your Excellency that the following are the instructions which have been sent to the British Admiral in regard to a joint co-operation of the naval forces of the two countries in the present crisis of Egypt:—'Communicate with the British Consul-General on arrival at Alexandria, and in concert with him propose to co-operate with naval forces of France to support Khedive and protect British subjects and Europeans, landing force, if required, for latter object, such force not to leave protection of ship's guns without instructions from home.'"

It must be remembered that the City of Alexandria at that moment contained, as they were informed, something like 12,000 men; while the force at the disposal of Admiral Seymour—and he presumed the French Admiral would have about the same force—was not more than 300 men. On the 16th of June, Lord Lyons, telegraphing to Earl Granville (Despatch No. 202), said—

> "In spite of the information sent home by Sir Beauchamp Seymour,"—

to which he (Sir John Hay) would immediately allude—

> "in execution of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's telegram of last evening, I wrote this morning to M. de Freycinet to inform him that the measures which Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour has authority to take include the landing of men for the protection of British subjects in case of imminent danger to their lives; and I added that Her Majesty's Government feel sure that the French Admiral would concert measures with his English colleague for such an emergency. M. de Freycinet writes, in reply, that he has hastened to communicate my letter to the Minister of Marine, with a request to him to send orders in conformity with it by telegraph to the French Admiral."

Now, he would venture to say that the gallant Admiral, the present Minister of Marine in France, would never do anything so foolish. He mentioned these facts to show that Her Majesty's Government were so ill-informed as to the force at their Admiral's disposal that they were constantly enjoining him to land men, and in doing so they were enjoining him to do that which it would be unwise to do, and that which he had not the power of attempting to do. Turning to the despatch of Consul Cookson (No. 133), dated May 30, Mr. Cookson said—

> "The small squadron actually in port could only silence the fire of the Egyptian forts, and when these forts are disabled then would commence a period of great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of soldiers exasperated by defeat, while the English Admiral could not risk his men ashore, as his whole available force for shore operations does not exceed 300 men, although the squadron was sent here to safeguard European life and property. Every day's delay increases the dangerous temper of the soldiery and their growing defiance of discipline."

That telegram was sent in answer to a communication from Sir Beauchamp Seymour to Consul Cookson.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Are those Consul Cookson's own words?

Sir JOHN HAY said, it was hard to say, after what they had heard yesterday, whether what was published in the Blue Books were Consul Cookson's own words or not. These words appeared in the Blue Book under the heading of a despatch from Mr. Cookson to Lord Granville. He had only read an extract, but he would now give the whole letter—

> "Alexandria, May 30.—I have been requested to telegraph to your Lordship the following, signed by all the principle British merchants:—British residents in Alexandria call upon Her Majesty's Government to provide efficient means for the protection of their lives. During 24 hours, from the 26th to the 27th instant, the town was in continual danger of being stormed by the soldiery, who, as we believe, actually had cartridges served out, in response to their demand, to be used against Europeans. The crisis is only suspended, but all elements of danger which existed yesterday remain to-day. There is every reason to fear the recurrence of perils which will come, as before, without warning, and against which Europeans are absolutely defenceless. They have not even the means of flight, as, in order to reach the ships in the harbour, they would have to run the gauntlet through the streets. The small squadron actually in port could only silence the fire of the Egyptians forts, and when these forts are disabled then would commence a period of great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of soldiers exasperated by defeat, while the English Admiral could not risk his men ashore, as his whole available force for shore operations does not exceed 300 men, although the squadron was sent here to safeguard

European life and property. Every day's delay increases the dangerous temper of the soldiery and their growing defiance of discipline."

In Inclosure 2, in No. 64, dated May 30th, there was a letter from Consul Cookson to Sir Edward Malet, in which Mr. Cookson stated—

> "In continuation of my despatch of the 28th instant, I have the honour to report that on that morning I called upon Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour and conferred with him as to the best means of protecting British subjects in case of an attack on Europeans. He repeated that he had already told me that he was not prepared to land any force, but that he would protect the embarkation of women and children and others who might seek refuge on board ships in the harbour."

This was only an extract; but he would read the whole of the letter if the Secretary to the Admiralty wished it. Further on Mr. Cookson said—

> "This morning I received a note from Sir Beauchamp Seymour, requesting me in the most friendly way to call the attention of the Governor to the erection which had been going on since yesterday of an earthwork battery near Ras-el-Tin, bearing directly upon the European quarter of the town and the merchant ships in the harbour. I immediately saw His Excellency the Governor, who told me that he had already spoken on this subject to the Colonels, and had told them that if the work was not discontinued he would make a representation to the Minister of War that he thought it was likely to create an impression that Europeans were in danger. This afternoon His Excellency told Mr. Huri, whom I sent to inquire what had been done on the subject, that the Colonels had replied to him that they were only repairing the works, but that he was not satisfied, and had written to Arabi Pasha on the subject. The work is still going on."

Further on, on the 12th of June, in a despatch signed by Sir Beauchamp Seymour, contained in Inclosure 280, page 109, there was this passage—

> "Neither the French Admiral nor myself have any idea of landing men, nor do we intend making any hostile movement."

That was after the Admiralty had desired Sir Beauchamp Seymour to do all in his power to protect the embarkation at all risks. Of course, as far as the boats of the Squadron were concerned, that would be done; but the Committee must remember that whereas, in olden times, a line-of-battle ship of the first class had some 1,200 men on board, and could land 500 or 600, the number of men on board an iron-clad was so much reduced that it was impossible to do this, and it was right to say that the Admiral would not have been able to have landed more than about 100 men from each ship. He thought he had now completed his case that Her Majesty's Government had been mislead into the belief that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had sufficient men at his disposal for landing an adequate force to protect life and property at Alexandria. The Admiral himself repeatedly, in direct communication with the Admiralty and others, repudiated any such power or ability. It, therefore, seemed unfair to allow it to go forth to the country, as it had gone forth, that a great part of the destruction of life and property resulting from the bombardment was due to the British Admiral not having made preparations for landing men for the purpose of protecting life and property, when he had no power whatever of doing so. Her Majesty's Government seemed to think that the Admiral had that power; but if they had put the question to any person who possessed naval experience, they would have been assured that he had no such naval power at all. The Naval authorities had denied it, and it was only in that House and "elsewhere" that any information was given to the contrary. He felt it his duty, as a naval officer, to say that he had satisfied himself it was entirely beyond the power of the Admiral to land men for that purpose, and that the Admiral had done his duty as an officer of Her Majesty, with a full desire to carry out the arduous operations intrusted to him to a successful conclusion. But he ventured to say that, looking through the various despatches which had been placed upon the Table, the preparation of a force to be landed on the occasion of the bombardment was a measure which was absolutely necessary at the hands of Her Majesty's Government. How was it that this terrible disaster to civilization had occurred? How was it that this great city had been pillaged and plundered on account of an attack upon its external fortifications? The Prime Minister, referring to the unhappy scenes in Alexandria, said that the burning of a city by persons deserting it was an operation which had never before been contemplated in civilized history. But surely, if the right hon. Gentleman would go back to the burning of Moscow, he would see that that was a very similar case. In that instance, the Russians thought it right to destroy the city in order to prevent those who were about to occupy it from obtaining the benefit that was to be derived from its occupation. In this case, the warnings of Her Majesty's diplomatic agents—Sir Edward Malet, Consul Cookson, Major Tulloch, and others—were entirely in unison and were disregarded, although they all said—"If you bombard the forts the city will be given up to pillage and rapine." The forts were bombarded, and the city was given up to pillage and rapine; and now the Government said they were not to blame for the catastrophe. The Prime Minister said that 10,000 troops could have prevented it. Then, why were not those 10,000 troops there? The Prime Minister said that it would not have been wise diplomatically for us to have sent ships of war to Alexandria ready to undertake the operation of landing 10,000 men when it was not certain that the forts would fire on us, and when it was not certain that we should have to fire on the forts and disarm them. But a second question arose. If the arming of the forts was continued, then in a certain eventuality the Admiral was to prevent Arabi Pasha from going on with the armament, and from the time the Egyptians commenced to arm the forts down to the massacre of the 11th of June, Her Majesty's Government had plenty of time to send 10,000 men, or any other number of men, in order to protect life and property in Alexandria. He was aware that he was going to touch upon tender ground, and, perhaps, some of the Committee might be of opinion that what he was about to say might savour of Party feeling. He knew that his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Derbyshire (Admiral Egerton) did not agree with him as to the advantage of Cyprus, although, as far as he had already gone, his hon. and gallant Friend, as a distinguished naval officer, did agree with him as to the nature of the operations. But what he now wished to say was this. If these 10,000 men had been at Cyprus, where Her Majesty's Government had a perfect right to place them, they would have been upon an island close to Alexandria and within reach of telegraph operations. If they had been ready with transports at Limasol on the day of the bombardment, they could have been at Alexandria at night ready to protect British life and property in the city. It was asked how they could land them when they were about to attack the forts? His reply was that they could have landed them very readily. They were about to attack the forts of the city, and the garrison, however strong it might be, would have to be withdrawn from the city in order to man the batteries. There were four miles of batteries up to the inner harbour, and three miles of batteries further on. In point of fact, the line of batteries extended from 8 to 12 miles, and that great line of fortifications would require that the whole of the garrison should be taken out of the City of Alexandria and employed upon the forts. The city might have been occupied by 10,000 Englishmen when the Egyptian garrison was withdrawn from the town, and while the ships were engaged in attacking the batteries, steps could have been taken to insure the preservation of life and property when the batteries were destroyed. He was satisfied that no naval or military man in the House would deny what he now asserted. On the very day after the engagement, and in order that the crews of our ships might be enabled without difficulty to land and spike the guns of one of the forts, the Admiral made a feint by sending three ships down beyond the new harbour. Within sight of the Fleet the garrison were withdrawn from Fort Pharos to the new pier, and marched laboriously round the new harbour. The Squadron then steamed leisurely back, and the forts being empty, our seamen and marines were able to land and spike the guns. That being so, it was quite certain that an English force of 10,000 men could have occupied the City of Alexandria during the bombardment, without any fear of a collision with the Egyptian troops, who had been withdrawn from the town for the purpose of manning the batteries. If an operation of that kind had been undertaken by Her Majesty's Government, the naval operations, which had deservedly obtained great credit, would been further supported, and the disgraceful scenes of pillage and murder, which resulted from a want of *prévoyance* on the part of the Government, would have been prevented. He thanked the Committee for having permitted him to allude to these points. It did seem to him that when they had a Vote of Credit for £1,300,000 demanded for the Navy, some portion of the discussion might usefully be devoted to Naval matters. He gave the greatest credit to the gallant Admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, for the operations he had carried out with the means at his disposal; but he ventured to repeat that if a force of 10,000 men had been ready at Cyprus, or in transports ready to land and occupy the city, that even after the withdrawal—which on all hands was to be regretted—of the three French ironclads from the place it was understood they were to take on that day—in spite of what had fallen from the Prime Minister, many hundreds of lives would have been saved in Alexandria, and many thousands of pounds' worth of property.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, he would not attempt to follow his right hon. and gallant Friend through the questions he had touched upon, because it seemed to him that the debate would turn, not so much upon questions of detail in regard to the landing of troops or the manner in which the ships were handled, as upon great principles of National policy. They were asked to spend a very large amount of money in carrying out the views of Her Majesty's Government in effecting their policy. The objects to which his right hon. and gallant Friend had alluded were matters of detail well worth inquiring into by his right hon. and gallant Friend as a highly efficient and gallant officer. For his part, he (Sir Joseph Pease) had never heard a doubt raised as to the ability of England to cope with the physical difficulties of landing such a force as might be wanted; but what he doubted from beginning to end was, whether we were pursuing a policy in regard to Egypt—he would not say this Government or the last Government, but both Governments combined—which commended itself to our moral sense. There was an interesting passage of arms the other day between his right hon. Friend the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) and the Prime Minister, as to the propriety of our action in this particular circumstance. He had been brought up in the same school of morals and religious thought as his right hon. Friend the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and his views of morals were very much in accordance with those of his right hon. Friend, although, perhaps, they did not always entirely coincide. It seemed to him that the real matter before them was not the mere question of dates of landing troops, but whether they were right in pursuing this particular line of policy towards Egypt. In spite of the admirable speech which had been made by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he thought there was a very grave line to be drawn between the policy of intervention and of non-intervention. They had a terrible picture before them—a picture which they must view gravely on whatever side of the House they sat. Our Squadron had bombarded the forts of Alexandria, and within a few hours afterwards—with a scoundrelism hardly ever known previously in the history of the civilized world—the Egyptian soldiers under Arabi destroyed the city they ought to have protected, and gave it over to pillage and rapine. In all human probability the slaughter had been much larger than we had any idea of. The rough troops who had followed Arabi were troops of such a character that, when once let loose, they would be reckless with regard to human life. He wanted to know where all this was to end? He quite believed we should take Egypt; but it seemed to him that the late Government, in commencing these difficulties, and Her Majesty's Government in carrying on the same policy, had hardly considered the question where it was to land them. He doubted whether in the lifetime of any one of them they would see the end of it. In all human probability, before many months elapsed England would be found protecting Egypt, and he doubted whether, in their lifetime, the obligation would ever be got rid of in its entirety. Such a position was one of extreme difficulty and delicacy, and one which was likely to bring this country into conflict with some of the other Powers of Europe. Our troops were now upon the point of leaving this country, and they had, in all probability, as far as any of them could foresee, a long occupation of Egypt before them. A heavy burden would be imposed on the taxpayer at home, and new obligations incurred in Egypt. In 1879—and he would not go any further back than that—there were supposed to be three objects which we had in Egypt. One was the security and maintenance of the Suez Canal; the second, our material interest in Egypt itself, in common with the rest of Europe; and, thirdly, the interests of the Egyptian bondholders in this country. He thought that the importance of the Suez Canal to England had been much overrated. It was well known that four-fifths of the traffic was carried by the ships of this country, and, therefore, the revenue was assured; but he had always been opposed to the investment of the money of the country in the Suez Canal. Egypt was certainly not the country he should select for the investment of our money. Although the Anglo-French Control had been of essential use to Egypt, yet, by leading to the employment of large numbers of foreigners, and to reductions in the Army, great discontent and dissatisfaction had been caused by it among the Native population by the employment of a large staff of Europeans. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), when speaking on the subject originally, had been careful in his comments upon the Mission of the two Commissioners, in stating that they were not acknowledged as Ambassadors, although they held a *quasi*-official position. They were simply recommended by England and France to assist the Egyptian Government in their financial arrangements. He believed that the appointment of the Board of Control had been of essential use to Egypt—not merely to the Government of Egypt, but to the people of that country; but, as he had pointed out, it filled the Government of Egypt with European appointments. A formidable Return was laid upon the Table a few months ago, showing that salaries of no less an amount than £373,000 were drawn annually by European officials connected with that Government. He believed that the jealousy produced among the Native population by the appointment of these European officers was still further increased by the fact that they were exempted from the ordinary taxation of the country. They were not taxed to the same degree or extent as the Natives were. In addition, this Financial Control gradually produced great uneasiness and dissatisfaction in the Army. The expenditure in the Army was about the first thing the Government of the day, under the Board of Control, ventured to deal with. As the discontent in the Army increased Arabi Bey came to the front, being an officer with considerable force of character, and he at once opposed the arrangements of the Board of Control. His demand for additional payment for his men was resisted by the Board of Control, and he at once attacked the Board, and then it was, in order to keep the Board to the fore, that the English and French Governments began their policy of further intervention. England and France, on the 21st of May, demanded that Arabi Bey and some other officers should be sent away. The Government saw the danger, and asked for ships. Towards the end of May English and French ships began to arrive for carrying out the Convention which had been made between England and France. The object of sending out ships of war belonging to this country and France to Alexandria was to support the demand of the Controllers of Finance that Arabi and his principal officers should be sent away from the country. The English ships were sent down. On the 21st of May they began to arrive; on the 29th it was said they were in danger from the fortifications; and, after that date, our policy had been described as one of self-defence. On the 4th of June Arabi Bey declined practically to alter the position of affairs, and on the 11th of July we bombarded the forts. There was one point which had never been explained—namely, the statement contained in *The Times* and *Standard* that, on the morning of the bombardment, an offer was made to disarm the forts. He believed that that had not been corroborated at present by any Government despatch; but he thought it was one of the statements made by the journals he had mentioned which required contradiction. There were only three points in which this country was interested—namely, the safety of the Suez Canal, the safety of our money, and the protection of our bondholders. The Suez Canal had never been more in danger than at this moment, the protection of the bondholders had never been more jeopardized, and the financial condition of Egypt within the last 15 or 20 years had never been worse than it had been within the last three months. In regard to the investment of our money in the Suez Canal, it seemed as if the time would arrive when the future prosperity of England would be secured without the employment of a channel which entailed a heavy penalty upon us for the attempts we made to establish peace and order in Egypt. It was very likely that from 1876 to 1879 Egypt might have drifted into a state of bankruptcy; but he did not know that that fact would have altered or seriously affected the interests of this country in any way. It could not have affected the country in regard to the navigation of the Suez Canal. In all probability that navigation would have been better protected if Egypt had been in a state of bankruptcy; and the interests we had in that undertaking, and our investment in it, would not have been affected. So long as the Suez Canal remained open four-fifths of the revenue came from our own commerce, and the revenue collected from the Canal had been sufficient to pay the interest upon the debt. All that our policy had done had been to occasion further bloodshed in Egypt, and to compel the Government to call upon the taxpayers for a large sum of money, with the probability of a much larger sum being required hereafter. He thought the policy of intervention, as compared with the policy of non-intervention, was entirely fallacious, and both this country and Egypt would have been better and happier if we had left the Financial Control of Egypt alone. It was said that we were obliged now to face the circumstances which had occurred. He contended that they were altogether appalling. The question was one which it was very difficult and very sad to contemplate. We found Egypt in a state of commercial beggary, and we should leave it little better. All our exertions during the last 10 or 15 years would not have improved its financial condition; and so far as the bankruptcy of Egypt was concerned, it could not have been worse at the time his right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) first began to take an interest in those financial affairs than it would be at the end of a war. Upon the whole, he had arrived at this view of the case. He felt that he was surrounded probably by the men who, either on that or the other side of the House, would have the guidance of the affairs of this great country in future days. If one thing struck him more prominently than another, it was that those who undertook to meddle with the financial affairs, and to exercise control over the financial affairs of other countries, ought to consider what was likely to be the result of their interference. The result of our interference in the financial difficulties of Egypt ought to have been foreseen from the beginning. For his own part, at this moment, he so entirely abhorred the policy of intervention in foreign affairs, that he was unable to give his vote for the money now asked for from the Committee. At the same time he did not see how, after the statement which had been made by the Government, he could oppose the Vote.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, he had one question to ask, and that was, whether the policy which established the Control was seriously impeached by the Government? The Prime Minister had entered something in the nature of a *caveat* against the Control established in 1879, and the language of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that day, although guarded, was somewhat to the same effect as the language of the Prime Minister. But it was a *caveat* which made the position of the Government very much worse, because it tended to show that when they took Office they had the question of the Board of Control under their consideration, and that they decided to continue it. If it were otherwise, they had had more than two years to reverse the policy of the late Government, as they had done in the case of Afghanistan and the Transvaal; and if they disapproved the action of the late Government, they were bound to take the same course of reversing it. They preferred, however, to abide by the language they held on the 4th of November, 1881. They then said—

> "The spread of education, the abolition of vexatious taxation, the establishment of the land tax on a regular and equitable basis, the diminution of forced labour, have all received our advocacy and support, and have been accomplished through the action of the English and French Controllers General;"

and on several occasions—notably on July 11—Lord Granville thus spoke of the Control at the time the Government took Office—

> "It was undoubtedly working well for the material prosperity of the country, and promised to do so for the future."

In his humble judgment the Committee had to consider, not if the Control was a good concern, but whether the policy of Her Majesty's Government, since 1881, when they wrote that despatch—which was supposed to be considered the Charter of their Egyptian policy—had been one that was consistent with the policy enunciated in that despatch. It was something more than a mere bondholders' arrangement, and was *ben trovato*, at least as a policy. The objects were stated to be the prosperity of the country, and its full enjoyment of that liberty which it had obtained under successive Firmans of the Sultan, concluding with the Firman of 1879. What means did Her Majesty's Government take to carry out that policy? Outside Egypt itself there were two Powers specially interested in the affairs of Egypt—namely, France and Turkey—besides England, and he would examine briefly what were the specific lines of policy pursued by France and Turkey in the series of events which led to the bombardment. His complaint was that we handed ourselves over, bound hand and foot, to France, and snubbed and mistrusted the Porte. We paid too much deference to France, and did not sufficiently consult the interests of Turkey, or our own interests, beyond continuing our relations with France on good terms. He found, on going through the Correspondence, that throughout France had seemed to hang upon our hands like a dead weight, and whenever Her Majesty's Government entertained an idea which was a reasonable one the French Government persuaded and checked them from carrying it into execution. What return did we meet with from France? On the 12th of September, 1881, the British Government suggested that a Turkish General might be sent from Constantinople to Egypt in order to support and advise the Khedive; but in deference to France we did not insist upon this suggestion being carried out. On the 30th of January, Her Majesty's Government expressed a hope that France would agree with us that under certain conditions armed intervention in Egypt would be the best solution of the difficulty. France, however, declined to join with us. On the 22nd of March we proposed to send financial experts to Egypt to assist the English and French Consuls General; but this proposal was likewise refused by the French Government. He might say, *en passant*, that the Financial Control in Egypt could not have been considered objectionable, because, so late as March 22, Her Majesty's Government made this proposal for still further intervention in the financial affairs of that country. Again, on the 24th of April, Her Majesty's Government suggested the sending of a Turkish General to Egypt to assist in the financial arrangements, with the concurrence of an English and a French General, the concurrence of both of whom was to be necessary in restoring and maintaining order. But there, again, France declined to act with us. On the 13th of May we suggested that other Powers should be invited to co-operate in a Naval demonstration at Alexandria proposed by the French Government themselves; but again the French Government rejected and refused to accept the suggestion. On the 18th of May we made a singular request to the French Government, because we asked if they saw any objection to our "speaking openly" to the Porte on the subject of possible Turkish intervention in Egypt? The French Government replied that they saw the greatest possible objection to "speaking openly." On the 24th of May we proposed to address a request to other Powers to join in an appeal to the Sultan to hold troops in readiness for despatch to Egypt; but France again rejected our proposal. Finally, the French Government, after suggesting a Naval demonstration before Alexandria, declined as a matter of history to allow the French ships to join us in the bombardment. It would thus be seen that we had been in close conjunction and almost in absolute dependence upon France since September, 1881, and he could not find that the French Government had any sufficient justification for refusing our applications. We had never refused a request that was made to us by that Government except their proposal in September to establish a joint Anglo-French Military Control in Egypt, and their suggestion that we should formally declare that under no circumstances whatever would we tolerate Turkish military intervention in Egypt. In every matter we gave way, with the unfortunate result which had come to pass. He wished to say a few words now as to our dealings with Turkey. He would say, at once, that he could not have supported the Motion which was proposed at the beginning of the Sitting by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), because he was very far from being willing to pledge himself unconditionally, or even with the conditions which had been suggested, to absolute co-operation with the Porte. He thought we ought to depend as little as possible upon one Power or another. But what did the Prime Minister say yesterday in speaking of our conduct towards Turkey? Having declared that the intervention of the Porte would be absolutely necessary, Her Majesty's Government proposed afterwards to provide that the Porte should have no voice or control as to the mode in which the military intervention was to be exercised. In this they afforded a great contrast to the deference they had always displayed towards France. On the 14th of September, 1881, when the disturbances first arose, we cautioned the Porte to use calm and dispassionate language, and not to think of sending troops to Egypt without our assent. The Porte took our advice. Then, in October, we sent iron-clads to Alexandria, against the strongest remonstrance of the Porte. We addressed a Dual Note to the Khedive, in defiance of the protest of the Porte, and without consulting the Sultan. In December Lord Dufferin reported that the Sultan was much irritated at the course taken by England and France in sending the Dual Note, and yet, at our advice, he abandoned the intention of sending troops to Egypt. On the 15th of May we made a Naval demonstration at Alexandria, in defiance of the protest of the Porte; and, at the same time, we cautioned the Porte not to take independent action. The Porte thereupon abandoned its design of ordering its Mediterranean Fleet to Alexandria. On the 28th of May the Sultan used language described by the French Ambassador at Constantinople to be most satisfactory with respect to the Khedive's Constitutional position. On June 2 the Porte acceded to the Khedive's request to send Turkish Commissioners to Egypt, and Her Majesty's Government expressed great satisfaction thereat. On the 3rd of June the Porte were told that the Conference would be held at Constantinople, and their protest that the announcement thereof would weaken the hands of Dervish Pasha was disregarded, notwithstanding the fact that most of the Powers supported this view. On the 5th of June the Porte, continuing to act with good faith, telegraphed peremptory orders to Alexandria to stop the construction of forts, and, at all events, temporarily those orders were obeyed. On the 11th of June the Sultan told Lord Dufferin that, strongly as he objected to the Conference, if it became necessary, he would not unconditionally refuse to join it; and, on the 14th of June, Lord Dufferin reported the Sultan as saying that, in the last resort, he would send troops to Egypt. It was true that, on the 19th of June, the Porte said that the time for conciliatory measures was not exhausted, and they would not then agree to send troops. At that time the German and Austrian agents at Cairo shared the opinion that the time for pacific measures had not passed. They deprecated the use of force, and, therefore, it was a little hard that we should strongly object to the Porte taking a different view to ourselves, supported, as they were, by other Powers of Europe. On the 23rd of June the Khedive told Sir Auckland Colvin that, in his opinion, Arabi was losing strength; and this he (Mr. Northcote) thought somewhat justified the Porte's belief that military measures might be dispensed with. If the Committee would allow him, he would attempt to sum up impartially the Porte's position in the matter. It must be remembered that on the commencement of affairs—on the 13th of December, 1881—Sir Edward Malet told the Sultan that he was consulted a good deal by Her Majesty's Government, and he was of opinion that, if interventien was necessary, it would naturally fall to the Sultan to intervene. If the Sultan ever entertained that idea it was speedily dispelled, because the French Government said they would not allow the question of Turkish military intervention to be raised. France induced us to deprecate a Turkish military intervention, and it must be remembered that the language of France had been consistently anti-Turkish throughout. We had, in pursuance of our policy of acting with the most perfect co-operation with France, entirely refused the various propositions which the Porte had made from time to time to negotiate separately with us on Egyptian questions. The

Porte showed no such hostility to England as to justify the severe language which was only too often applied to it by public men in this country. He would like to remind the Committee that, when the first Commissioners were sent by the Porte to Alexandria, we protested at the instance of France, and we not only protested, but actually sent iron-clads as a menace against those Commissioners, and we forced the Porte, under the pressure of those iron-clads, to withdraw the Commissioners from Alexandria. What was our own Agent's opinion of the work the Commissioners were doing? Sir Edward Malet said they were, in his judgment, doing good work, and their presence was desirable; but our reply was, "Send them away." The Government had consistently—it might be justifiably—refused to allow them independent action—in fact, the position of the Porte was summed up, not unfairly, in the protest of the Pashas when they said—

> "That the Sultan's rights of Sovereignty should not be attacked;" but "all intervention, all interference, in the affairs of an Ottoman Province were forbidden."

It must be remembered that as matters progressed in Egypt, the Porte had every fair reason to believe they were gradually losing ground in the estimation of the Mussulmen in Egypt. But there were other diplomatic sweetmeats, because, on the 19th of May, they found Lord Dufferin indicated to the Sultan, in a confidential conversation, that if he did not mind what he was about he might very probably lose Egypt. That was an alarming statement to make, and he (Mr. Northcote) did not wonder that the Sultan was not very much disposed to pick the chestnuts out of the fire in favour of the Power whose Representative used such language. On the 17th of June, when we had stopped the intervention of the Porte, Lord Granville told the Turkish Ambassador that we intended to hold the Turks responsible for the outrages at Alexandria. He must point out that the other Powers of Europe had all through been much less hard on the Porte than ourselves. On the 24th of May, for instance, they found Prince Bismarck admitting that the Porte should be allowed a voice in the settlement of Egyptian affairs. Austria objected most strongly to go into the Conference unless Turkey consented to join it; and both Austria and Germany and other Powers refused, in the first instance, to allow the Conference to be summoned elsewhere than at Constantinople, because they said the consent of the Porte was necessary. He did not advocate a complete reversal of the policy of Her Majesty's Government; but he thought a little more consideration should be shown for Ottoman feeling. The action of France in abandoning us at Alexandria, after hindering and hampering us throughout the negotiations, set our hands entirely free to deal with the Egyptian Question simply and solely in our own interest. We ought to settle matters without any special reference or consideration for French interests; let us secure our own, and let France look out for herself. They were told by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), and by others, that the whole of these troubles were due to the establishment, by the Conservatives, of the Control. He protested against such an assertion. If Her Majesty's Government could not foresee on the 30th of May, when they were warned by their own Agent at Cairo that there would be a massacre on the 11th of June, it was wholly impossible that the late Government could in 1879 foresee that in 1882 a Liberal Government would be bombarding Alexandria. He failed to see why the Conservative Party should accept responsibility for what had happened.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, since the admirable speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Committee had listened to a speech from the hon. Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) until, towards the termination of the speech, he had great difficulty in ascertaining what the opinion of the hon. Baronet was. The hon. Baronet, however, had left the Committee in no doubt upon one point, and that a point of enormous importance, for he had said he did not think the Suez Canal was of quite so much value to England as had been made out. It must be remembered that the late Foreign Secretary of France, M. St. Hilaire, took upon himself on one occasion to contrast the position of France and England in Egypt, and, dealing with the position of France in

Egypt, he was obliged, in the first place, to have recourse to the historical events of the last century; and the only matter of importance to the French Foreign Secretary was that there was a large French population in Egypt requiring protection. When he spoke of England, M. St. Hilaire said—

> "She it is who furnishes nearly all the custom of the Suez Canal, since her vessels of all sorts which pass through it compose nearly four-fifths of the total traffic. Moreover, the Canal, which joins the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, is henceforth for Great Britain the indispensable route which places her in communication with that incomparable Colony of 250,000,000 subjects which she possesses in India."

The hon. Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) followed in the footsteps of others, and depreciated the importance of the Suez Canal; but he (Mr. Arnold) held that the Canal, which abbreviated the journey from England to Bombay by 4,000 miles, would never cease to be of importance to the trade of this country. He did not see any reason why the Canal should not be so deepened and widened as to admit of the transit of even larger vessels than were now able to pass through it. Of the import trade of Egypt with the world, amounting to £7,000,000, one-half was received from Great Britain; while of the export trade, amounting to £13,500,000, no less than three-fourths were received in this country. Practically, for us, Egypt was part of the sea; and therefore our interests in Egypt must be regarded in that light. He did not mean to make much of the interest of this country in Egypt against the proposition of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). He wanted rather to consider what was the duty of this country in reference to interference; and upon that point he would ask the permission of the Committee to dwell for a moment or two, because he had the honour to represent a part of that vast population which accepted and endorsed, as he did, the principles and the policy of Mr. Cobden in their entirety, and which believed, as he (Mr. Arnold) did, that the greatest interest of this country was the interest of peace, and which also believed that non-intervention in the affairs of a foreign State ought to be the paramount policy of this country. He had been, as long as he could remember, a respectful student of the speeches of his right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), and the pride of himself (Mr. Arnold) and the hon. Gentlemen who sat near him, at seeing the right hon. Gentleman sitting in their part of the House, was so great that they were sometimes tempted to forget the pain which they naturally experienced when they thought of the cause that had brought him amongst them. He had been also as attentive to the writings of Mr. Cobden, and he found an important and essential difference between the opinions of these two great men upon the very important subject of intervention. Many years ago a greatly respected Member of that House—a member of the Society of Friends—gave him a volume which had great weight in the Society of Friends—*Dymond's Essays*—and which was always recommended by the Birmingham School as one expounding the true policy with regard to war. He did not say Mr. Cobden was imbued with the high morality which inspired *Dymond's Essays*, because he accepted a view of national defence in a far wider sense than it was accepted by that Society—that Society of Friends which, illustrious as it was by the high ideal of morality that it upheld before mankind, had become still more illustrious by the fact that it had given the world such benefactors of humanity as William Penn, Edmund Sturge, and, the greatest of all, John Bright. What was the line of our policy in Egypt with regard to non-intervention? Even among civilized people, he respectfully submitted to the Committee, there was a limit to non-intervention which, to be a legitimate principle, must be a principle accepted by all Governments, or forced upon all Governments. For that purpose, that was to say, to force non-intervention upon Governments, the ships of this country were sent to Dulcigno; and when Prince Bismarck, with regard to the liberation of Thessaly and Epirus, suggested to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) the forcible repression of Turkey by a blockade of the Dardanelles, even that strong proposition was not rejected in principle by Her Majesty's Government. It had been laid down by high authority that intervention to enforce non-intervention was always rightful and moral, though it might not be always prudent. Though it might be a mistake to force freedom upon a people who did not desire to have it, and who did not value it, it could not be right to insist that freedom should be withheld from the people, and that they should be subject to foreign coercion. That was the principle which directed the sending of our ships into Egyptian waters a few weeks ago. But there was this wide distinction to be borne in mind in regard to the principle of non-intervention, that there could not be an observance of that principle between civilized and semi-barbaric States. The rules of international morality implied, so it seemed to him, that they should be accorded on both sides. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had said there had been in Egypt a violation of International Law. He (Mr. Arnold) asserted there could be no violation of International Law where one of the parties were a semi-barbaric people, who did not accept the rules which composed International Law. He was not specially concerned against Arabi Pasha because he was a rebel; he would never fire a shot, or send a ship, to subdue the revolted subjects of any Power, and to retain on the Throne of any country any particular Monarch. The state of Egypt appeared to him to be simply one of piracy, and the Law of Nations could not be violated in dealing with people who did not comprehend and accept the Law of Nations. But then came the question, what was the position of such people under the moral law? He submitted that, inasmuch as the rule of International Law did not apply between civilized and barbaric peoples, it must be well known that our relations with such people were these—that the rules of the moral law applied to such people just as the law of morality applied between man and man. That was the guide for our conduct in Egypt. He deprecated most strongly any action on the part of Her Majesty's Government which did not tend to the progress of Egypt towards that time when she would have a greater measure of independence and self-government over her people. But that seemed to him to be not only the signal merit of the speech of the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of the speech of the Prime Minister yesterday but it seemed the merit which ran throughout the Government policy. After many years' reading of State Papers, he declared he never read anything which appeared more absolutely virtuous than the last four paragraphs of Lord Granville's despatch to Lord Dufferin, dated the 11th of this month, and he thought the Government were entitled to say, as they did in Lord Granville's despatch, that this country had—

> "No interests or objects in regard to Egypt which are inconsistent with those of Europe in general, nor any interest which are inconsistent with those of the Egyptian people."

That was true. The matter was so important that it, at all events, deserved a moment's investigation. Upon the evidence, it was true, for there was not a trace or a suspicion in the policy of the Government of any aggressive action, or of any desire to intervene in Egypt for purposes of selfish aggrandisement or revenge. Throughout the policy of the Government they appeared to him to have displayed a most loyal deference to the Powers of Europe, and they had prevented the single and uncontrolled action of the Porte. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) asked again and again, in a thunderous tone, why we did not allow the Egyptians to be independent? He would tell the hon. Baronet what would have happened. The Egyptian people were not comparable in physical force and endurance to the levies of the Porte, and but for the action of England, in conjunction with other Powers, Egypt would by this time have been prostrate under the foot of an Army of the Sultan, and the position of the Egyptian people would have been as wretched as that of the people of the Valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Sultan could not unsheath his sword against Arabi Pasha in company with Christians. But had England not been there His Majesty would have fought against Arabi just as his ancestor fought against Mehemet Ali, and Halim Pasha, the willing tool of the Porte, would have reigned in Egypt, Tewfik Pasha would have been dethroned, and the tool of the Sultan would have been elevated in his place. Notwithstanding action of a more than dubious character on his part, the Powers had urged the Sultan to relieve the world of the dangers of anarchy in Egypt, taking, at the same time, due security against any prolonged occupation in Egypt. When the Porte failed, as it had failed, to take any steps for the better order and government of the country, it would in time become the duty of Her Majesty's Government to consider gravely whether some, at all events, if not the whole, of the expenses of this campaign should not be charged upon that large tribute of £681,000 which the Sultan drew from Egypt every year upon the condition of maintaining order and good government in that country? The Prime Minister did not make sufficient admission that the Sultan had never been an independent Sovereign in Egypt. The strongest of all acts against the Sovereignty of the Sultan was, in his (Mr. Arnold's) judgment, taken by Lord Salisbury in 1879. At that time the present Khedive had just acceded to the Throne, and he was ordered to attend at Constantinople to do homage and to receive the Firman of Investiture. Lord Salisbury did not hesitate to advise a refusal, and he telegraphed to Cairo in these terms—

> "His Highness had better await a more tranquil moment for fulfilling this duty towards," not his Sovereign, but "his Suzerain."

Explanation was given to the Sultan that this supreme disregard was made in deference to the will of England and France. The next important act against the Sultan's Sovereignty was performed by the present Government last October, when the Sultan's Commissioners were hustled out of Egypt; and, lastly, when the Sultan proposed to send a ship of war to join the Anglo-French Squadron, he was graciously assured that the flag of his Sovereignty would meet with a "favourable reception." It was ridiculous to talk in high terms of the Sovereignty of the Sultan in Egypt, and he had made these observations in order that in future they might be under no delusion on that head. The fact was, the Sovereignty of Egypt had been for many years in commission, and that, Egypt being essentially a Maritime country, the strongest of the Commissioners had been, and should be, the Power which was the first Maritime Power in the world—that Power which held all its Possessions, including India, by this great title. England and France had, with the absolute approval of the Powers, prevented the establishment of the absolute Sovereignty of the Sultan upon the Nile. Now, in regard to the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria by the Fleet, it must be borne in mind what was the meaning of the naval supremacy of this country, concerning which, he begged the Committee to remember, Mr. Cobden wrote to Lord John Russell in 1860 the following words:—

> "I would, if necessary, spend £100,000,000 sterling to maintain an irresistible superiority over France at sea."

That was the patriotic observation of Mr. Cobden. The sending of our Fleet to Alexandria was simply an act of duty. When our subjects had been killed and outraged, when the civilized people of every sort and clime had been ruthlessly turned out of Egypt, and when the question came to be whether our vessels should withdraw from the Harbour of Alexandria, he should have been one of the first in that House to condemn the Government had they ordered the withdrawal of the Fleet. He did not know that he had seen all the despatches from the British Admiral; but those he had seen he admired greatly, because they were straightforward and free from the truculent language of conquest which the British Admirals had used in past times. But he had this remark to make about the bombardment, that from the despatches it appeared the British Admiral committed a serious error if he did not inform Her Majesty's Government that he could not destroy the forts which were threatening his ships without throwing shells into and over the town, as had been alleged. If the allegation was true that the shells of the British Fleet fell into and over the town in great number, he could not quite excuse Admiral Seymour for not informing the Government in his despatches that he could not undertake the destruction of the forts without bringing on the town all the horrors of bombardment. Such information should have been clear in the despatches. Lastly, he came to the relations of the Government in regard to Egypt with the other Powers of Europe, and he confessed that during the last 12 months he had often felt some irritation at what appeared to him to be the extreme deference which the Foreign Office of this country was disposed to pay to the Government of France. Reviewing the Papers as a whole, it was impossible to deny that while maintaining that preponderance of England and France which had always been acknowledged by the Powers, the Government of this country had displayed, in circumstances to which the assent of Europe was scarcely applicable, a strong regard for international engagements, and a deference to the Concert of Europe which could not be without a beneficial influence upon the future of this undertaking, whatever that might be. He valued most deeply a full and friendly alliance with the great people of France; but he confessed he should have regarded, and he should regard, a joint expedition to Egypt with some anxiety and alarm. He should regard a joint expedition with anxiety and alarm, because the history of joint expeditions had not been the history of success; it had always been a history of divided purposes and counsels, and they were always likely to lead to very unsatisfactory results. To France and the world the Prime Minister gave yesterday, in the name of this great country, the most solemn assurance that the people of this country in going to Egypt had no selfish design, that England sought no aggression or aggrandisement. That solemn assurance, he felt confident, would be maintained. We were not making war for an idea, and he should give his heartiest support to all the efforts of Her Majesty's Government to bring about a speedy termination of the present state of things in Egypt.

Colonel ALEXANDER assumed that the great majority of the Committee would cheerfully give Her Majesty's Government the sum which they asked for to carry on the war in Egypt. The wonder was not that the sum asked for was so large, but that it was so small. The Government ought not, so to speak, to make three bites at one cherry, because they would have to come again, and that very soon, for an additional sum of money to enable them to carry on this war to a successful conclusion. They ought now to have asked for £6,000,000 instead of £2,300,000. Perhaps they did not ask for £6,000,000 because they were afraid of being called "Jingoes" by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). He (Colonel Alexander) would rather be called "a real Jingo" than "a Brummagem Jingo." The difference between a real Jingo and a Brummagem Jingo was this—that whereas a real Jingo, by asking for £6,000,000 and by bringing Indian troops to Malta, succeeded in averting war, a Brummagem Jingo closed the stable door after the horse was stolen, and then asked for a little more than a third of that sum. Yesterday evening the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Mintster spoke of the cruel and wanton crimes, of the barbarous and brutal conduct pursued by Arabi Pasha and his troops. The Government had never been alive to the magnitude of the crisis, had never appreciated the dangers to which the unfortunate European population had been exposed. The deplorable vacillation of the Government reminded him of nothing so much as of the conduct of Pharoah, who, not even under the plagues inflicted on his land, could be aroused from his apathy by his servants, who said despairingly, "Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?" He (Colonel Alexander) believed that none of the 10 plagues of old inflicted greater suffering upon the unfortunate population of Alexandria than had the disastrous policy of Her Majesty's present Advisers. If Egypt was not yet destroyed, it was, indeed, on the high road to destruction. Its commerce was paralyzed, its cities had been bombarded and burned, its population murdered and mutilated. If anyone wished to realize the horror of the situation, let them read the correspondence in *The Times* of to-day. The Prime Minister excused himself for not landing troops on three grounds. The first ground was that he had no force adequate for the occasion; the second was that the landing of a force would have been an act of disloyalty to what the right hon. Gentleman called the European Concert; and the third was that it was not possible for Her Majesty's Government to have foreseen the brutal way in which Arabi Pasha and his Army would act. The Blue Book just presented to the House afforded ample proof of the warning given to the Government as to the probability of a massacre. They had it in evidence that some considerable time before the massacre the Swedish Consul proposed a plan of defence which, unfortunately, was not acted upon. The Committee remembered that a Memorial was presented from merchants at Alexandria to Lord Granville, asking that the Government would take steps for a more efficient protection of their lives. After the massacre there appeared a letter in *The Times*, stating that the father of one of the victims had for some time seen the insecurity of the position of the Europeans in Alexandria, and had directed his son to come home. It was all very well, as the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said, to be loyal to the European Concert; but it was more important that we should be loyal to our own flesh and blood. If England was not loyal to the Native population of Alexandria, how could they expect the loyalty of the Natives in return? The Prime Minister pointed out yesterday that the European Concert existed in the Conference which was now sitting at Constantinople; but the Blue Book to which he (Colonel Alexander) had just referred showed clearly that it was with considerable reluctance that some of the Powers entered the Conference — they thought very lightly of the Conference. They found the Austrian Chancellor expressing anxiety on the 2nd of June as to the events which might occur before the Conference assembled; and the Italian Government expressed great reluctance to enter the Conference — they thought a Conference would be a dilatory mode of proceeding. Although the Conference was considered by the Italian and Austrian Governments to be too dilatory a mode of proceeding, Lord Granville thought there was yet time to put off the Conference for a few days, in order that it might be seen what would come of the Turkish Mission sent to Alexandria. The action of Lord Granville in that respect was a complete and absolute waste of time; for what was the result of the Turkish Mission? It was that the Khedive was absolutely insulted, and Dervish Pasha acknowledged he was totally unable to protect the European residents in Alexandria. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) asked the other day what had become of the European Concert? He thought he could tell the hon. Baronet. It had gone where the Bulgarian atrocities, and all the other rubbish and "shoddy" manufactures of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had gone. The last time they heard of the European Concert was, as the hon. Baronet, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs reminded them, two years ago, at Dulcigno, when a few ships sailed up and down like "painted ships on a painted ocean." Even the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself must now confess we had entered upon a very serious war, and that if we were to bring this war to a successful conclusion, we must rely upon our own resources, and not upon any European Concert which, in his (Colonel Alexander's) opinion, was an absolute and complete myth.

MR. M'COAN said, he hoped he was not lacking in respect to the hon. Gentlemen who had already addressed the Committee, when he ventured to say that, with two exceptions, most of the speeches delivered had been rather of an academical than practical interest. The speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was an admirable and exhaustive review of the diplomatic aspect of the question, and, to his mind, if he had any sympathy with the hon. Baronet's view, it would have been a very powerful and very convincing statement of fact. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) had made a practical contribution to the debate. The issue before the Committee was something like this. Had we interests in Egypt which justified our military intervention in the affairs of that country, and was the Government justified in asking for this Vote of Credit? As regarded our interest in Egypt, he did not think there would be much difference of opinion, and in venturing to maintain this statement, he must go over well-trodden ground. The Suez Canal was of paramount and national importance to England; indeed, it was a common thing to say that it formed the gate and the key to India. So long, therefore, as we held the Empire of India, we must, of necessity, dominate the Suez Canal. As the Committee had been told by the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 82 per cent, or four-fifths, of the trade of the Suez Canal was carried in British vessels; and, besides that, we had a proprietary interest in the Canal, the market value of which was something like £9,000,000 sterling—an investment, the justice and policy and wisdom of which had been abundantly proved by events. We had a political interest, we had a great and paramount commercial interest, and we had a share interest in the Canal. Next in importance, we had more than three-fourths of the whole foreign trade of Egypt in our hands. The Committee had heard that the foreign trade of Egypt exceeded £13,000,000 sterling a-year.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day*.

QUESTION.

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE—ACTION OF THE PORTE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Before the Sitting is suspended, I wish to put a Question to the Under Secretary of State—namely, Whether there is any truth in a report which has come by telegraph this evening, to the effect that Turkey has consented to send troops to Egypt?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Turkish Government have not accepted the Identic Note of the Conference, but have stated that they consider the essence of that Note to be a proposal to send troops, and that they accept that proposal. It is entirely open to the Porte in to-morrow's Conference to discuss the conditions.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (VOTE OF CREDIT).

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Question again proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. M'COAN said, when the discussion was adjourned he was endeavouring to recall the attention of hon. Members from Blue Books and marine gunnery to the subject before the Committee. He had asked the question whether our interests in, and our obligations with regard to, Egypt warranted and justified the proposed military action of the Government? And he ventured then to say that an impartial and honest review of the actual facts and circumstances of the situation would compel an answer to that query in the affirmative. He again asked the Committee what were our interests in connection with Egypt? Though these, of course, had been more or less stated in detail by every speaker who had addressed the Committee, he still felt it necessary to re-state them. They were—first, the Suez Canal; secondly, our trade with Egypt; and, thirdly, the subordinate, but still important, interest of the bondholders to whom Egypt was indebted. Now, as regarded the Canal, he could, of course, say nothing new on that subject. Its vital importance to England had been recognized by every hon. Member who had taken part in the discussion; and, indeed, so vital was it, and so inseparably was it bound up with our interests in our Indian Empire, that if we had in Egypt no other interest, that alone would justify the Government for having taken military action. As he had observed, our interest in the Canal was not merely one of enormous political weight, but there was also the minor, but still considerable interest, of the proprietary shares in that Canal. That interest was now of the market value of about £9,000,000; and upon that point he ventured to express his approval of the original purchase of the shares, which only cost the country £4,000,000 four years ago. He thought that the increased value of our stake in the Canal was one which called for the acknowledgment of every thorough-going Liberal in the House; and he, for one, felt grateful to the late Conservative Chief for the action taken by him in this matter. But, besides our ownership of these shares, there was the additional fact that four-fifths of the whole traffic passing through the Canal was British—a fact which, in itself, constituted an interest of the very highest importance. There was also our trade with Egypt, which represented £13,000,000 sterling a-year; and he was quite sure that if it were possible to conceive that trade to be annihilated, there would be a loud cry raised from Manchester and other places interested in the Egyptian trade. He thought the importance of that question alone would entitle the Government to the vote of every commercial Radical below the Gangway on the other side of the House. Then there was the interest of the bondholders. Now, it seemed to be the fashion with many hon. Members in that House, and with many persons out of it, to speak of that interest with much less respect than he thought fairly belonged to it. The bondholders were far too commonly regarded as being no better than Irish "gombeen men"—as usurers who exacted exorbitant interest from the Government of Egypt from year to year. But there was absolutely no justification—so far as nine-tenths of the present holders of these bonds were concerned—for such an opinion. He had himself owned Egyptian Stock, and during the greater part of the past 20 years had been much interested in Egyptian finance. In the fewest possible words, he would, therefore, tell the Committee what was the foundation of the claim which the bondholders might fairly prefer, and for which they might justly ask Government support. Exclusive of the Daira Debts, the Egyptian National Debt proper consisted of five loans. The first of these was negotiated in 1862, towards the end of the Reign of Said Pasha, and amounted to £3,292,800, of which sum the Egyptian Government received only £2,500,000. The next, which took place in 1864, early in the Reign of Ismail Pasha, was for £5,704,000, of which the Government received only £4,864,063. The third loan, that of 1868, was for £3,000,000 nominal. This was secured upon the railways, which even then constituted a perfect guarantee; and it was actually repaid in cash in six yearly instalments of £500,000 each. But, although this loan was so amply secured and so speedily repaid, only £2,640,000 was paid into the Cairo Treasury, so that in six years the Egyptian Government by this transaction lost £360,000 over and above the interest. Now, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) would probably address the Committee with the great authority that attached to anything which he might say on the subject, it would be right for him (Mr. M'Coan) to mention that the firm of which the right hon. Gentleman was then a member were the contractors for all three of these loans. The right hon. Gentleman would, no doubt, be able to explain to the Committee how the large margins shown by the figures he had just stated were disposed of—how much of the loans went to Cairo, and how much remained in London. The right hon. Gentleman might or might not find it convenient to state this; but, at all events, he would have a personal knowledge with regard to some £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 of the Debt incurred up to the time indicated. Then there was the large loan of 1868, amounting to £11,890,000, of which amount the Egyptian Treasury received only £7,193,334. In other words, nearly £2,750,000 sterling remained in the hands of somebody. He now came to the loan of 1873, which was of the nominal amount of £32,000,000; but of this the Egyptian Treasury received £20,740,077 only, and of that sum £9,000,000 consisted of bonds of the Floating Debt of the Government at that time, which were bought up by the contractors at rates as low as 63 per cent, and paid into the Egyptian Treasury as cash at 93 per cent, a circumstance which, Mr. Cave subsequently remarked, "materially enhanced the profit accruing to the negotiators of the loan." For these reasons, he said that whenever Egyptian finance was spoken of, it was only just that the whole blame should not be thrown upon the late Khedive. A full share of it belonged to those who had helped him to incur these huge debts. The figures he had quoted showed that out of a total of £55,870,000, the Egyptian Government received only £35,000,000 in cash. Of these £35,000,000, it had, so long ago as the year 1875, repaid, in interest and sinking fund, £29,570,994; but, notwithstanding, in that year it still remained indebted in the sum of £46,734,000. If the present bondholders stood in the shoes of the original contractors for these loans, the moral strength of their claim to consideration would be much less than it was. But there were probably now no original holders of the bonds. These had passed into the hands of persons who had, from time to time, bought them long ago at their full market price; and persons who had so bought, and who received but a moderate rate of interest on their purchases, stood in a very different position from that of the "gombeen man" to whom they were far too commonly likened. They had a substantial claim, which the Government were, in fairness, bound to recognize and support. From the condition of things which he had described, the state of Egyptian finance became rapidly more and more embarrassed, and in 1875 the Cairo Government still owed to its foreign creditors nearly £47,000,000, and as it could not pay the high interest accruing thereon a state of bankruptcy was imminent. In the following year Mr. Cave was sent out to investigate the state of affairs, and afterwards made the valuable Report with which hon. Members were familiar. Later on the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) went out as Delegate of the English, and M. Joubert as Delegate of the French, bondholders. The materials for a careful and exact judgment on the situation had already been provided by Mr. Cave's investigation; and Messrs. Goschen and Joubert proceeded to devise some scheme which should relieve, not the Egyptian Government, but its creditors. He happened to be at Cairo at the time, and could speak from personal recollection of what occurred. He was bound to say that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon had lent himself very readily indeed to the suggestions of M. Joubert; and the result was a settlement much in favour of the French as against the English bondholders, which imposed conditions on the Egyptian Treasury that he ventured to say at the time would, in the result, prove to be perfectly unworkable. However, owing to the joint pressure put by those Gentlemen upon the Khedive, the scheme was adopted and put into execution. The best feature in it was the creation of what was known as the Control. This consisted of two English and French gentlemen named by their respective Governments, and who, with the consent of the Khedive, exercised a most extensive administrative control over the affairs of Egypt. They were, in fact, appointed over the head of the Khedive, who was himself a most able administrator. But, although he submitted to this supersession, he did not like it, as also did not the large body of dismissed Native *employés*, whose posts were given to Europeans. The scheme was borne with till 1879, when, its working having become intolerable, it was put an end to, under circumstances which resulted in the deposition of the Khedive himself. It was, however, soon after revived on a different basis by his successor. The new Controllers were not invested with any actual administrative power; but they had the right of supervising the whole fiscal system of the country, and of reporting thereon to the Khedive and their own Governments. With the deposition of the previous Control the European *employés*, who had been imported into the Egyptian Service, had been dismissed; but one of the first steps of the revived Duumvirate was to re-import these gentlemen, and to add largely to their number. In fact, a very army of European *employés* was re-organized at a cost of £300,000 a-year to the Egyptian Government. Against this, Native feeling again gradually revolted. The dismissed officials found voice, and complaint became general amongst all classes. In this way, and to this extent, grew up what had been miscalled a National Party. The Turkish and Circassian officials found voice, and they extended their influence amongst their fellows until the little wave of discontent that he had spoken of widened out over the whole country. Still, it must in justice be admitted that, notwithstanding the angry feeling thus provoked, the Control reformed many abuses, and conferred great benefits on the country. The further history of what was falsely called the "National movement" in Egypt had been told by several speakers, especially by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but he ventured to add, with whatever might be the weight attached to the opinion of one who had known the country for many years, that the movement of Arabi Bey had not behind it a shred of National feeling in any sense in which that term could be rightly employed. It was simply and purely a military revolt—a revolt began and promoted in the interests of the class to which it brought promotion and higher pay; and Arabi Pasha had, therefore, no sort of claim on our sympathy as the exponent of National feeling in Egypt. But, besides our interests, which were in themselves quite sufficient to justify the action of Her Majesty's Government, there was another consideration which went to the same conclusion, and that was our Treaty obligations. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen behind him cried "Oh, oh!" at the idea of reviving our obligations; but they seemed to have forgotten that under the Treaty of 1841 we entered into a positive engagement to maintain and uphold through all time the settlement of Egyptian affairs that was then arranged. That Treaty was still in force, and the five Powers who were parties to it then were bound by it now. Unless we were to abrogate Treaties and all the moral and political obligations which they entailed, he maintained that those arising under that particular Treaty were substantial, real, and strong at the present moment. Then, not only were we direct parties to that Treaty, but we had also been parties quite as directly to every one of the Organic Firmans since issued by the Porte to the Governors of Egypt. By the settlement of 1841 the Porte virtually acknowledged the semi-independence of Egypt. The successive Firmans, to which he had referred, slightly modified some of the details of that settlement; but, whatever modifications took place, we and the four other Powers were parties to the whole. Therefore, he said, by that Treaty and by those successive Firmans there was imposed upon this country an obligation from which in honour we could not recede. If that were so—and he ventured to challenge contradiction upon any of the facts to which he had alluded—he thought they had a mass of justification which amply warranted the action of the Government; and he, for one, was "Jingo" enough to regret that the Government had not recognized the force of those obligations upon itself without any reference whatever to the Concert of Europe. He believed that the Government had made out a strong case for action, and he ventured to hope that it would be carried to its only logical, consistent, and safe conclusion in the establishment not of a self-aggrandizing control over Egypt, but of an efficient Protectorate, under the cover of which the best interests of the country itself might be further promoted, and the liberties and welfare of its people be permanently secured.

MR. RICHARD: I am quite aware that there are Gentlemen in this House who listen with some degree of prejudice to whatever I may say on any subject involving questions of peace and war. They are pleased to assume that I belong to what is called the "Peace-at-any-price Party." I do not know exactly what that phrase means. If, in its application to myself, it means that I love peace and hate war too much, I own that the charge lies very lightly on my conscience. But, in truth, it is only an opprobrious nick-name, invented by political partizans wherewith to smite their adversaries when no more convenient or effective weapon is at hand. I do not know whether the House is aware of the origin of this foolish phrase. My hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has traced its genesis. He says that, so far as he knows, it was first used by Friedrich von Gentz, the celebrated German political writer, and one of the Secretaries of the Congress of Vienna, who, in 1815, applied it contemptuously to Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington a few months before the Battle of Waterloo. It has been applied with the same want of discrimination ever since, by a certain class of persons, to all who are not prepared to run to the same excess of riot with themselves in enterprizes of violence and blood. No doubt there is a body of persons, not very numerous in this country, who, from profound religious convictions, hold views about war that are not generally accepted. I am not ashamed to acknowledge that I am one of them. But I have never obtruded those views on this House, because I feel that this is not an Assembly before which it is safe to hazard an appeal to any high or ideal Christian principle. We can be very zealous, even almost ferocious, Christians in this House on occasion, especially when it concerns the outward and ceremonious acknowledgment of Christianity. But no one would be safe from ridicule here who would attempt to bring our national policy, and especially our foreign policy, to the test of a severe Christian morality. There is another class which may be regarded as the antipodes of the "Peace-at-any-price Party"—namely, the "War-at-any-cost Party," who are always ready to inflame public opinion to the fighting point, but who are careful to keep far away from the privations, the hardships, and the horrors which war entails. They indulge in what the Americans call "high-falutin" declamation about national dignity and glory and the honour of the British Flag. But when these are brought into peril by their own counsels, they preferred sending forth poor fellows, whom they hired at 1*s.* 4*d.* a-day, to bear the brunt of the conflict while they stayed at home wrapped in luxury and ease. And yet these are the men who crow over us, who vaunt themselves as the only true patriots, and as the advocates of a spirited and heroic policy. Spirited and heroic! I call it cowardly and contemptible. I am fortified in this view by the authority of a great and distinguished politician. A Minister was defending the Government to which he belonged against the charge of not being sufficiently prompt to enter into war, and in doing so said—

> "There is nothing easier than to be brave with other people's blood, and to be generous with other people's money. If Her Majesty's Government had, in the course of a war, to sacrifice all their own fortunes and then to go into the field and be shot, he would say it was a brave and generous action for them to undertake such a war. But as long as the two duties fell, the one exclusively and the other mainly upon other people, he disputed the application of these two adjectives, brave and generous, to the act of a Government which plunged a nation into war."

These were the words of the Marquess of Salisbury. These words, which were applied to a Government, would apply also to Parliament. Sometimes I have thought that I would move in this House a Resolution to the effect that when a majority voted in favour of war, those who had so voted should be at once incorporated into a regiment, and sent to the front to receive the first fire of the enemy. If that were the law I would answer for it that there would be fewer wars. I have given Notice of a Motion, which I am afraid I shall not have the opportunity to move, to the effect that the recent deplorable events in Egypt are the natural result of the policy of intervention in the internal affairs of that country initiated by the late Government, and unhappily adopted and perpetuated by the present Government. It may be said that I am going back to the region of ancient history. But so far is this from being the case that it is little more than three years since we were officially and irrevocably committed to what is called the system of the Control. Yesterday there was a passage at arms between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition on this subject. The right hon. Gentleman charged the Prime Minister with having attacked his Predecessors as regards their Egyptian policy. But the charge seemed to me entirely unfounded. I thought the Prime Minister treated them with remarkable leniency, probably because he felt he had practically condoned their policy by adopting it. In tracing the history of this intervention in Egypt, I have been struck with the manner in which our statesmen seem to have been dragged into it, as by some mysterious influence against their own better judgment. Everybody knows how it originated. In 1875 the late Khedive, Ismail Pasha, applied to the British Government for two persons acquainted with accounts and book-keeping to help him in the administration of his finances, which had fallen into a confused and tangled condition. How this confusion and entanglement arose is a long story upon which I cannot now enter. It is a dreary and discreditable story—discreditable to all concerned. But I may say, in a sentence, that the unfortunate Khedive, having learnt the fatal secret of raising loans in the Money Markets of Europe, fell into the hands of speculators and usurers, who fooled him to the top of his bent, and plundered him and his country in the most merciless fashion. Mr. Stephen Cave, to whose Mission I shall presently refer, in the able Report he presented on Egyptian Finance, shows that the entire proceeds of loans nominally aggregated to upwards of £68,000,000 only amounted to £45,500,000. The minimum rate of interest charged on the revenues of the country in respect to these loans was from 12 to 13½ per cent, and the maximum 26½ per cent. No wonder that the finances had got into a confused condition. But when the Khedive made the application to which I have referred, I believe nothing was further from his mind than any idea of a foreign official to control his finances. All he wanted evidently was a couple of clever clerks to act, as he said, "under the direction and orders of his own Minister of Finance." But the Government, instead of acceding to or refusing his request, did something quite other than what he had asked. They sent Mr. Stephen Cave out to make a thorough inquisition into the finances of Egypt. I believe no more competent person could have been found for such a task, if it had to be undertaken, and he did his work in an able and honourable manner. But, in sending him, Lord Derby evidently had some foreboding that they might be entering on a perilous path; therefore, in the instructions he gave to Mr. Cave, he earnestly impressed upon that Gentleman—

> "To be careful not to commit the Government to any course of proceeding, by advice or otherwise, which might be taken to imply a desire to exercise any undue influence on the internal affairs of Egypt."

That was surely a wise precaution. But, unhappily, it was departed from afterwards. Then followed the Mission of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) and M. Joubert, and they, for the first time, recommended the appointment of Controllers. The very name showed that the suggestion was a French one; but I believe that Lord Derby still refused to appoint a Controller in the name, and with the authority of the British Government. But in November of that year an Anglo-French Control was decreed by the Khedive, and in December Lord Derby again refused to appoint, but allowed an Englishman to accept the appointment of Controller. Lord Salisbury, who meanwhile had succeeded Lord Derby at the Foreign Office, went further and agreed to the appointment of an Englishman, Mr. Rivers Wilson, as a Member of the Cabinet of Egypt. But the Government were still careful to declare in very emphatic language that they disclaimed all responsibility for his appointment. This came out very clearly in a debate which took place in this House in March, 1879, on a Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), who is entitled to the credit of having early foreseen and persistently proclaimed the danger of this meddling in Egyptian finance. On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, made a speech marked by the sound judgment and sober sense which usually characterize his speeches, in which he laid down the principle on which the Government acted when Oriental nations applied to them for help as respects their finances. He said—

> "In cases in which any Government with which they were on friendly terms had applied to them to recommend the persons who were trustworthy, they had felt that those Governments were making an application which was perfectly natural and which might be complied with, but they had always been particularly cautious and reserved. They had, as a rule, said—'We will not undertake any such responsibility; but what we will do is to give you a list of gentlemen whose names occur to us. . . . . . We will place this list in your hands, and offer any facilities for you to make inquiries, and if you like to make any bargain with those gentlemen, do so by all means.' But they had abstained from entering upon any direct responsibility. . . . . The single instance of an exception to the rule being made was that of Mr. Rivers Wilson. With respect to him they had done what they had not done in any other case. They had given him leave for two years to undertake his office. It was not correct, however, to say that they recommended him. His services were sought for by the Egyptian Government, and they were granted by us, but not tendered by us. He made that distinction because he thought it was important. . . . . When Mr. Wilson went out, he went as the Minister to the Khedive, who had the right to dismiss him from his post whenever he thought fit."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxliv. 850-851.]

Well, Mr. Rivers Wilson thus went out on his own account and on his own responsibility, and he was made Finance Minister in the Khedive's Cabinet. But no sooner was this done than the French Government became jealous, and demanded to have a French Minister in the Egyptian Cabinet. This was conceded, and M. de Blignières was appointed, so that we had the extraordinary spectacle of two foreigners sitting as Cabinet Ministers in the Government of Egypt. This did not last long, as it was not likely it should. I will not inquire how these gentlemen fulfilled their duties; but one thing is certain—that their administration led to universal discontent among the people, so that the Khedive was obliged to dismiss his foreign Ministers. Mark what happened then. Although Mr. Rivers Wilson was not appointed, was not even recommended by the British Government, although the right hon. Gentleman had declared that the Khedive had absolute right to dismiss him from his post whenever he thought fit, yet his dismissal was made the occasion of a violent quarrel with him on the part of our Foreign Office. He was told by Lord Salisbury that—

> "The precipitate and causeless dismissal of the two Ministers constituted a grave and apparently intentional discourtesy to friendly Powers,"

and that if he did not reinstate them—

> "He deliberately renounced all pretensions to the friendship of England and France."

Now, here was a complete change of front. Hitherto, Mr. Rivers Wilson was regarded as merely a private British citizen, who made a bargain with the Khedive to serve him as his Minister for certain considerations, the Government disclaiming loudly all responsibility for his appointment. Yet, when the Khedive, driven by the force of a hostile public opinion, and in the exercise of his rights as a Sovereign, dispensed with his services, that is treated as a violent affront to the British Government; and Lord Salisbury not only lectured him in the style I have cited, but threatened him with deposition unless he obeyed his orders to reinstate the dismissed Ministers. The Khedive refused to obey, and he was deposed. Then the present Khedive was placed on the Throne. I do not wish to say anything disrespectful of that Potentate; but it is impossible not to feel that when he succeeded to power he was the mere creature of England and France. He had, therefore, to do whatever these Powers wished. Then began the new form of the Control, no longer as a private arrangement, but as a matter of elaborate Treaty engagements, which, for the first time, committed the English nation to the obligations and responsibilities it involved. I have here before me, but I will not inflict it upon the Committee, the text of the Decree by which the Khedive constituted the Control. The very title of this instrument is most significant—*The Articles of the Decree of the Khedive, under which the Administration of Egypt is now carried on.* This recognizes the fact that the whole Administration of Egypt was to be carried on by the Control, and so it virtually was. I should have thought that no man of ordinary sagacity could have read these articles without feeling that they contained the germ of certain difficulty and discord. And what infinitely aggravated the mischief was the fact that it was a Joint Control. We had entered into partnership with another nation who had different aims and divergent interests. No one attaches more value than I do to a cordial good understanding between England and France. But I am very much of the opinion of my lamented Friend, Mr. Cobden, as to relations with other States, which was "Friendship with all, alliance with none." This was the state of things when the present Government came into Office. I heartily wish that they had refused to accept this part of the sinister inheritance bequeathed to them by their Predecessors. It is scarcely possible to believe, looking at the composition of the present Cabinet, that they could have approved of it. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister read yesterday an extract from a speech, in which he had expressed strong disapproval of a scheme mooted in 1876 for meddling with Egyptian finance, far slighter than that which was afterwards embodied in the Control. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman hardly did sufficient credit to his own vigilance and prophetic sagacity by the extracts which he read from that speech. I venture to quote two or three other sentences from the same speech—

> "I hope it will not be thought that I am premature in calling attention to the very slight and at the same time appalling outline of the scheme which it is proposed to substitute for the scheme of the Khedive. I shall be glad if any explanation is given which will remove the difficulties and apprehensions which we may feel in connection with it. Let me say that while I can understand the motives connected with recent transactions which have led Her Majesty's Government to feel that it may be a matter of importance, for reasons connected with their own conduct and proceedings, to bolster up Egypt, I think that in the whole of that matter they are treading upon tender ground. This is a question on which the public mind is extremely sensitive, and unless they are very cautious in the proceedings they adopt they may bring serious consequences upon Parliament and on themselves." — [3 *Hansard*, ccxxvii. 1424.]

And they have brought serious consequences on Parliament and on themselves. And my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs never concealed his dislike of the Control. Speaking to his constituents, in 1879, he said that—

> "Lord Salisbury had virtually taken the Government of Egypt into our hands and those of the French Republic, and had reversed the cardinal principles of our Egyptian policy."

What was the condition of things in Egypt under the Control? It has been said, and I dare say truly, that there was a great increase of material prosperity. That is one side of the question; but there is another side which verifies the language of my hon. Friend, that we had virtually taken the Government of Egypt into the hands of England and France. The Revenue of Egypt is £9,000,000 or £10,000,000. About one-half of this is sent out of the country to pay the foreign bondholders, which is as if £40,000,000 of our Revenues were sent out of the country, while nearly all places of trust and power and emolument in Egyptian administration are monopolized by Europeans. Let me show how rapid has been the growth of this under the Control. At the beginning of the year 1879 only 744 Europeans were in the pay of the Government of Egypt; and these, it must be remembered, already filled all the offices both in the Courts, Railways, Telegraphs, Port Trusts, &c., where foreigners were naturally required, or had been employed under the Consular Convention of 1870. But at the close of 1879, 208 had been added to that number, with salaries aggregating £60,000 a-year. In 1880, 250 more were appointed, with emoluments of £62,000 a-year; and again, in 1881, a further batch of 122 Europeans was introduced drawing £26,016 a-year. The total number actually receiving pay in March, 1882, was 1,325; and the total pay was £373,000 a-year, which is about one-twelfth part of the entire available Revenue of the country, to which must be added that there are between 60,000 and 100,000 Europeans in Egypt who live nearly tax free. Then there arose the National Party. And is it any wonder that a National Party should rise? It was time it should rise, and the Egyptians would have showed themselves utterly devoid of dignity and self-respect if they had not revolted against such a state of things. I believe there is a real National Party in Egypt. Of course, all the European office-holders do all in their power to deny or discredit that Party. It is most unfortunate that, in circumstances where accurate and impartial information is most necessary for the formation of an intelligent judgment, the Government at home has so often to receive its impressions from agents who, consciously or unconsciously, are swayed by their own interests and passions, or who blunder from sheer ignorance. There was a flagrant illustration of it in the case of the Transvaal. To the last moment our Representatives there declared with the utmost confidence that the discontented Boers were only a small body of ambitious and disorderly men, while the great bulk of the people were delighted with the annexation of their country. And so, I believe, it has been to a large extent with regard to Egypt. It may be said that the present Government, having come in after the country had been committed to the policy of intervention, could not have done otherwise than they have done. I am very sorry to be obliged to say in regard to a Government, which I have, to the best of my ability, hitherto supported, that I cannot acquit them of having committed very grave errors in the management of this business since it has come into their hands. There were especially three grave errors into which they seem to have fallen. The first was when Lord Granville, in an evil moment, permitted himself to be seduced into signing the Dual Note prepared for him by M. Gambetta, which committed the country to vast and vague obligations in Egypt, both moral and material. The second was the adoption of what is called the Ultimatum; and the last and most fatal of all was the sending of the Fleet to Alexandria. I ask, again, what was the Fleet sent to Alexandria for? Up to that time, so far as I can see from the Papers, there had been a series of intrigues and counter intrigues in the country, but no serious outbreak of violence. Why was the Fleet sent? Various reasons have been assigned—indeed, reasons so various and contradictory as to indicate some embarrassment in finding a consistent answer. But it seems to me to stand forth clearly from the documents in our hands, that it was sent, in fact, to depose one Government, and to install another in Office; in other words, to uphold the Ultimatum, which was presented, let it be remembered, not by the Governments of England and France, but by their subordinates in Egypt on their own authority, for Lord Granville expressly declares that—

> "The terms of this Note had not been previously submitted to Her Majesty's Government."

And what did this Ultimatum demand? It demanded not only the resignation of the whole Egyptian Ministry, but the deportation of Arabi Pasha from the country, and the banishment of two other Members of the Cabinet into the Interior. Was there ever so monstrous a demand made on the Government of an independent country? But another reason assigned by Lord Granville in his despatch of May 15 is that the Fleet was sent "to protect British subjects and Europeans." Well, how have you done that? Up to that time British subjects and Europeans had been apparently quite safe in Egypt. There were rumours of disturbances in the Provinces, as there always are in those countries. But since the arrival of your Fleet all British subjects and Europeans have had to flee precipitately from Alexandria, leaving their property to the mercy of the fanatical Natives. The Government could not fail to have been aware that the appearance of a British Squadron in Egyptian waters would produce danger to European residents. They had been warned of this even by Sir Edward Malet, in a passage which Lord Granville has reproduced, but the warning coupled with a strange assurance that—

> "The political advantages of the arrival of vessels at Alexandria would be so great as to outweigh in consideration the danger which might possibly accrue to Europeans in Cairo."

What the political advantage is is not revealed. But we have more evidence on this point. On May 15, Sir Edward Malet writes that he and his French Colleague had called on Arabi Pasha, and warned him that if order were disturbed he would be held personally responsible. His answer was very significant—

> "He would guarantee public order and the safety of the Khedive so long as he remained Minister; but that, in the event of an Anglo-French Squadron arriving, he could not guarantee public safety."

But, taking the objects defined by the Prime Minister a little while ago in justification of this armed intervention, it seems to me that every one of those objects has been injured or imperilled instead of being promoted by intervention. What did he say those objects were? To maintain the rights of the Sultan, the rights of the Khedive, the rights of the people of Egypt, and the rights of the foreign bondholders. The rights of the Sultan! I should have thought the right hon. Gentleman was the last man in the world to care for the rights of the Sultan. I am quite certain of this—that if the people of England could be polled, they would protest, by an overwhelming majority, against one penny of British money, or one drop of British blood, being expended to maintain the authority of the Sultan in Egypt, or anywhere else. It was not without a great sense of relief that many of us learnt that the project of sending Turkish troops to restore order in Egypt had fallen through, for we know from their operations in Bulgaria and elsewhere in what fashion Turkish troops restore order. But have you maintained "the rights of the Sultan?" He does not think so; seeing that he has protested firmly and persistently, and in every form of language he could employ, against your Naval intervention, as derogating from his Sovereign rights and undermining his authority, and undoubtedly your plan placed him in a position of the greatest embarrassment and humiliation. But "the rights of the Khedive," how have you maintained them? Why, he owes his life not to your protection, but to the forbearance, or the corruptibility, of Arabi's soldiers. He had the courage not to accept your offer to run away on board your ships; and he was left to his fate, and it was not owing to anything you have done that he did not perish in the confusion and turbulence you had provoked. But when that turbulence is over, as I suppose you hope it will be some day, when you have desolated Egypt with war and restored some kind of order, and the Khedive is re-installed in authority, do you think that he will be more acceptable to the people of Egypt for having been imposed upon them by foreign swords? Well, then, we come to "the rights of the people of Egypt." How have you protected them? You have bombarded a city of 200,000 inhabitants. ["No, no!"] Well, you have bombarded their earthworks and fortifications. But I maintain that a great deal of the mischief done to the city was done by the bombardment. You have, for a time at least, destroyed a great part of the industry and commerce of Egypt; you have plunged tens of thousands of the people into privation and misery, and made them responsible for enormous burdens hereafter. Lord Granville says that we have not yet demanded compensation for the disorder and massacre of the 11th of June. But he intimates we intend to do so. And there are ominous intimations in the Italian papers that millions upon millions' worth of property belonging to that nation have been destroyed by the bombardment and the conflagration which ensued, for which indemnity will have to be demanded of somebody. Who will have to pay? Will you impose that upon the Egyptian people, whose "rights" you have undertaken to maintain? I care not about the rights of the bondholders. I say in the language of a very sober journal, *The Economist*—

> "To link our national interests to the claims of the bondholders is the sure way to imperil them."

It seems to me monstrous that the blood and money of the working people of this country should have to be expended to protect the investments and to collect the coupons of speculators in Egyptian Stock. But I confess I cannot see how, by plunging the country into what may be a prolonged anarchy, you have bettered the condition or prospects of even the bondholders. But, perhaps, the hardiest—I may almost say the most audacious—plea put forward is that the bombardment of Alexandria was a strict act of self-defence. Now, look at that plea for a moment. You send your Fleet to the waters of a foreign nation, which nobody pretends had up to that time attacked or molested us in any way. You send it avowedly in a menacing attitude, and with hostile purpose; and when the Government and people of that country take some precautions to fortify their coasts against this invading force, that is treated as an affront, and you pour your infernal fire upon them "in strict self-defence." I find a man prowling about my house with obviously felonious purposes. I hasten to get locks and bars, and to barricade my windows. He says that is an insult and threat to him, and he batters down my doors, and declares that he does so only as an act of strict self-defence. I own that I thought non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations was one of the principles of the Liberal Party. In the very first speech ever delivered by Earl Grey in the House of Lords as Prime Minister, when he was expounding the policy of the Liberal Administration of which he was the head, these were the words he used—

> "Our true policy is to maintain universal peace; and, therefore, non-interference is the principle—the great principle—which ought to be, and will be, heartily adopted by the present Administration."

My hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State seems to say that he also holds the principle of non-intervention, but with an exception. A witty French writer says that those who hold a principle with an exception are like a man who should take some precious essence and put it into a bottle, which he corks and hermetically seals, but leaves some small unseen crack at the bottom of the bottle through which all the precious contents gradually ooze out. Such are those who hold a principle with an exception. No language can adequately express the disappointment, surprise, and pain with which I see the nation led into this miserable embroglio in Egypt by statesmen whom I have so deeply honoured and so implicitly trusted as I have the Prime Minister and Lord Granville. I have not been accustomed to use flattering words towards the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, because I should not regard myself as of sufficient importance to make any tribute from me of much value to him. But now that I am obliged to dissent from his policy, I may be permitted to say that I have yielded to no man living in intense admiration of his transcendent abilities, and profound veneration for his character. The name and fame of men like him form a part of the common inheritance of the Liberal Party, and, indeed, of the nation at large; and not the least painful misgiving I feel at the present moment is lest these unhappy events should cast a shadow on the close of a great and illustrious career. At any rate, I am glad that I have had an opportunity of delivering my own soul. I cannot vote for this money, which to me is nothing else than blood-money; and as it is only by refusing to support the Vote that I can put on record my practical protest against proceedings which in my conscience I believe to be as impolitic as they are immoral, and which open before us a future full of ominous and perilous possibilities, I am determined to record my vote against this proposal, even if I have to walk into the Lobby alone.

Mr. GORST said, he had heard with pleasure the speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but the hon. Baronet would, perhaps, forgive him for saying that there was an important defect in his speech. The hon. Baronet told the Committee everything upon which the great majority of the House was agreed. He said we were in conflict with a military movement in Egypt; he described the great interests and duties this country had in Egypt, and drew the conclusion that we were bound to maintain law and order in Egypt. So far, he thought, the great majority of the House, with the exception, perhaps, of the hon. Member who just spoken, and one or two other hon. Members, was agreed; but the hon. Gentleman did not state and discuss those points of the case upon which the Committee would very much like to be informed. He did not describe what the events were which led to the conflict, or how far those events were preventible or not. He thought the Committee were entitled, in voting this money, at all events, in their speeches, to ask the Government how they had brought the country into this unfortunate position? The Committee had no opportunity on this occasion of expressing their opinion on the policy of the Government by voting, because they could not put any Resolution on the Paper, and could not take any vote in the House or in Committee without standing between the Government and that Supply which they were only too ready to give to the Executive in its need. Therefore, there was no opportunity of taking the sense of the House or the Committee; but they had a right in debate to point out the errors and faults by which the Government had brought the country into this unhappy conflict with military despotism in Egypt, and to ask for an explanation. It seemed to him that there were two forces which the Government might have invoked to control the military movement in Egypt. These two forces were, in the first place, the Suzerain Power of the Sultan; and, in the second place, the National movement as represented by the Chamber of Notables. Unhappily, the Government had by their policy brought themselves into conflict with both forces, and that not in pursuance of any distinct policy, but because they had allowed themselves from the very outset to be led by their Ally, the Republic of France, or rather by M. Gambetta, the greatest of the Republicans, into a course to which the Government had, when they took Office, expressed their disapprobation. The Under Secretary of State in his speech had said that the Government had treated the National Party with sympathy, and had also said that they had raised no objection to the National movement until it had become military. It would have been very much more consonant with facts if the hon. Gentleman had said that Her Majesty's Government had discouraged and repressed the National movement Egypt until they had thrown it into the arms of Arabi, and had, through their own misconduct, identified it with the military movement. He would try to make that good. The Government had had every reason to regard with favour the Chamber of Notables, because at the time of the military revolt, in September, 1881, the Chamber had come in a most unexpected manner to their rescue. When, on the 30th of September, events took an unexpected turn for the better, relief had come from an equally unexpected quarter. Arabi had summoned to Cairo in support of his demand for a Constitution the Members of the Old Chamber of Notables; and those gentlemen on their arrival had gone in a body to Cherif Pasha, and had entreated him to form a Ministry, offering him their personal guarantee that if they consented the Army would submit, and it was by that means that the military movement had been put down. The Government had had, therefore, every reason to look with hope and favour upon the meeting of the Chamber of Notables. That had taken place soon after the despatch of Her Majesty's Government on November the 4th; but the Ally of Her Majesty's Government had been of a different opinion. They had been told in the month of December by M. Gambetta that the approaching meeting of the Chamber of Notables made him uneasy—

"They might support the Khedive's authority, or they might make common cause with the colonels."

And the Government had been induced by M. Gambetta to meet the Chamber of Notables before they had assembled with that identical communication which had been regarded by the Porte as an infringement of its Sovereignty, and it had not been calculated to inspire confidence in the Chamber of Notables. It had not been a great length of time before the Chamber of Notables had put to the test the words which had been used in the despatch of November 4, about having "no desire to diminish national institutions," because, not long after they had assembled, they had made a reasonable proposition with reference to the Egyptian Budget, which he (Mr. Gorst) thought was the key-stone of the present trouble, which he would contend had arisen from the conduct of the English and French Governments, with regard to the Budget. In the Egyptian Budget there were two distinct sections, one which related to the revenues assigned to the payment of the Public Debt; and, with reference to that part of the Budget, no claim whatever had been made at any time by the Chamber of Notables to interfere with it; but there was a second part of the Budget which related to revenues not so assigned, and which had no connection with the Public Debt, and with which the Controllers had no direct right to interfere. The Chamber had claimed the right to discuss and vote that second part of the Budget, which was free from all international obligations, with the understanding that they should not interfere with the part of the Budget subject to international obligations. How had that proposal been received by the English Government? Recollecting, he (Mr. Gorst) supposed, their despatch of the 4th of November, they had said—

"That they did not wish to commit themselves to a total or permanent exclusion of the Chamber of Notables from handling the Budget."

Therefore, it had been accepted without positive opposition by Her Majesty's Government; but that again had been only for a day, because the next day they had been informed by M. Gambetta that he had a—

"Very strong objection to any interference by the Egyptian Chamber with the Budget."

He had said that—

"It behoved France and England to be very firm, lest any appearance of vacillation on their part should encourage the pretensions of the Notables to lay their hands on the Budget."

And in obedience again to their French Ally, within a few days Her Majesty's Government had come to the conclusion—

"That the proposal of the Notables could not be agreed to."

Had that been to diminish liberty, or to tamper with the institution to which liberty had given birth? And were the Government of England at that moment, in obedience to their French Ally for the time being, running counter to the most cherished traditions of our national history? Well, M. Gambetta had not been content with sending a mere intimation to the English and French Agents in Egypt that the proposal of the Notables could not be agreed to. He had sent a very strong instruction directing M. Sienkiewicz—

"To concert measures with Malet, and to insist upon Cherif Pasha absolutely rejecting the demands of the Notables, and not to listen for a moment to the proposed compromise or anything of the kind."

The Government were warned by Sir Edward Malet that the breach with Cherif might throw the Notables into the arms of Arabi, and their own officer had written—

"I should prefer to give the Chamber the right, and to wait until this right is abused before interfering. It must be borne in mind that the Egyptians have distinctly, for good or for evil, entered upon a Constitutional path—that the Organic Law of the Chamber is their charter of liberties."

A few days later, on the 20th of January, he (Sir Edward Malet) had written a remarkable passage, which he (Mr. Gorst) thought justified him in saying that it was the dispute with the Chamber of Notables about the Budget which gave the key to the whole position. On the 20th of January, Sir Edward Malet had written—

> "Armed intervention will become necessary if we adhere to the refusal to allow the Budget to be voted by the Chamber."

Well, notwithstanding the advice, and the warning, and the hypocritical provisions which had been made by the Government in their despatch, they had permitted M. Gambetta to adhere to his determination to trample upon the national liberties of the Egyptian people, and they had compelled Cherif Pasha to refuse the Organic Law of the Chamber, that had been the cause of the destruction of his (Cherif Pasha's) Ministry. In the despatch in which Lord Granville summed up the whole action of the Government he used the words—

> "It appears as if the opposition to the law had come from Cherif Pasha himself, and that the English and French Governments had supported him in his opposition."

Mr. ARTHUR COHEN: Will my hon. and learned Friend read to the end of the sentence?

Mr. GORST said, he was about to read it. Cherif Pasha, had stated on the 10th, to the Chamber, that he could not accept the Amendments; and the Controllers General objected that by such an arrangement they would lose their hold on the finances. There had been, at all events, an instruction to the British and French Agents to support Cherif Pasha, and they had supported him so effectually that he had been turned out of Office. The language used on that occasion by the Chamber of Notables to the Khedive would mark the sympathy and respect of a liberty-loving Assembly like the present. They had said that the discussion of the Budget was not one which affected Foreign Powers. The Controllers had then very soon reported to the Governments that the power in Egypt belonged to-day to the Chamber of Delegates, and to certain Military Chiefs, "to whose influence the Chamber submits." But whose fault had it been, he would ask, that the Chamber had submitted, but that Government which had rejected the reasonable demands of the Chamber? They were then told again by the same Controllers that—

> "Cherif's Ministry fell only because it would not disregard the opposition of the English and French Governments to the pretensions put forward by the Chamber to vote the Budget."

At the influence of the Controllers it had been destroyed. As a further illustration, he would point out that on the 14th of May, when Arabi convoked the Chamber of Notables for the purpose of deposing the Khedive, but ostensibly to take his part, one of the first suggestions made by Sir Edward Malet, after the massacre at Alexandria, had been to suggest to the Khedive again to summon the Chamber of Notables. They had learned from the public journals that the Chamber of Notables was now assembling in Cairo, and that some of them had actually forced their way through the camp of Arabi to Alexandria for the purpose of learning the actual state of the country. Therefore, he would say that the Chamber of Notables was a body to which the Government should have trusted; but, owing to the dislike of M. Gambetta to the free institutions of that country, they had been persuaded to place themselves in hostility to that body; and, because of that difference, they had driven the National Party into the hands of the Military Party. They compelled them to throw themselves into the arms of Arabi, and they had now allowed Arabi to pretend to be the head of a National Party, instead of being the head of a military organization. He would ask the Government to point out to the House that in the commencement of the unhappy war in Egypt they had not, by their neglect, been guilty of the pillage and destruction of Alexandria. There was an amusing and remarkable incident in connection with the matter which had occurred at the beginning of the trouble. The Government had written a despatch to their Minister at Paris on the 10th of December, in which they had described the actual position they wished to assume in the Egyptian crisis as an "attitude of a pacifying and calming character." That had been their policy, and the Ambassador, or Mr. Adams, who had been acting for the Ambassador, read that "elegant" description of the policy of the Government to M. de St. Hilaire.

M. St. Hilaire had been so struck by that singular and charming phrase of the British Government that he had begged for a copy of it; and, said Mr. Adams, "I ventured to give it." And so those two diplomatists had rejoiced together over those words like the two old women over "that blessed word Mesopotamia." He wondered whether the British Government had recollected their "attitude of a pacifying and calming character" when they had stationed their iron-clads before the forts of Alexandria? He should have thought that it would have had as little of a pacifying character as it was easy to perceive. This matter had been already touched on by several speakers, so that he Mr. Gorst) would deal with it very shortly; but as he saw the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) in his place, perhaps he might beg him, when he addressed the Committee, not to approach to within a measurable distance of calumny by insinuating that he (Mr. Gorst) meant, in what he was saying, to find fault with the sailors of the Fleet, and not with Her Majesty's Government. The object the right hon. Gentleman would have in making such a representation would be apparent; but he (Mr. Gorst) would defy the right hon. Gentleman to sow dissension between him and his constituents. His constituents were independent, and thought for themselves, like the constituency the right hon. Gentleman himself once represented. They did not, like the constituency the right hon. Gentleman now so fitly represented, take their political principles on trust from a Radical grandee. Well, the proposal to send the iron-clads to Alexandria was first made by the French Government, and it was only assented to by Lord Granville on the understanding that there should be three Commissioners sent at the same time to Egypt from England, France, and Turkey. Lord Granville said—

> "Such a demonstration could hardly in itself be a sufficient remedy or safeguard for the present condition of affairs: but it might be useful as a moral support to the three Commissioners if it were decided to send them."

Before the three Commissioners were sent, a telegraphic communication was despatched to Sir Edward Malet, asking what effect such a course would have on the life and property of European subjects at Cairo. On May 14th Sir Edward Malet, in accord with his French Colleague, spoke of the danger which the arrival of the Fleet might cause to Europeans at Cairo; but it was said—

> "Its arrival in support of the Khedive, who now seems to have with him all but the Military Party, diminishes the danger."

In consequence of the unfavourable Report received from Sir Edward Malet, giving his and the French Agent's opinion that the appearance of the ships would be likely to place British and French subjects in danger, the ships were sent to Suda Bay. There, again, the intention to send ships to Suda Bay was persevered in for one day only, because, as in every other case, the view of the French Government was adopted. The French desired that the ships should go to Alexandria, and on the following day orders were sent that instead of going on to Suda Bay they should go on to Alexandria. There was a remarkable instance of the manner in which Her Majesty's Government allowed themselves to be influenced by the French Government to do what they thought was wrong. The other Powers were not, in this case, invited to co-operate, and it was to be found in the official documents that the Prime Minister regretted it, and that the Government thought it a mistake. So that they had here Her Majesty's Government doing an act which the Prime Minister regretted, and which the Government thought was wrong. However—

> "As the French Government held absolutely to it, and as they have gone so far to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government, they have concurred in the course taken."

He (Mr. Gorst) should like to ask any Member, who hereafter might address the Committee, to produce a single instance in which the French Government had altered their views in deference to the wishes of this country. It appeared to him to be a ridiculous mockery, when, on every single occasion, Her Majesty's Government yielded their own opinion to the opinion of the French Government, and when they even did acts which they themselves thought wrong to please the French Government, that in not one single particular had the French Government ever altered its plans to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government. After a very careful study of the Papers, he had failed to discover a single instance of the kind. Then the Squadron went to Alexandria. And let him point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister that if if the other Powers had been invited, and they had joined in the expedition to Alexandria, the objection which he had pointed out against having troops ready to land and to assist in the operations of the Fleet would never have been raised, and there would have been no fear of offending the European Concert, which, according to the right hon. Gentleman, had been done. When the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry de Worms) questioned Her Majesty's Government as to the reasons why they had not had troops to prevent the destruction of Alexandria after the bombardment, the right hon. Gentleman put forward two. In the first place, he had said that the sacking of the city was not a natural consequence of the bombardment by the Fleet, and that first reason he gave on the 17th instant. Well, many hon. Members had pointed out the numberless warnings that Her Majesty's Government had received on that head. When he (Mr. Gorst) addressed the House on that subject some little time ago, he was only able to point to the opinion of the Correspondent of *The Standard* in support of his contention. But as soon as he had access to the Official Papers he was able to discover the quarters from which they had serious warning. They had first a warning from Sir Edward Malet, who told them that Arabi Bey had informed himself and M. Sienkiewicz that, in the event of an Anglo - French Squadron arriving he could not guarantee public safety. The British residents in Alexandria made a communication to Mr. Cookson, which Mr. Cookson thought so important that he asked the leave of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to telegraph straight to London, and which Lord Granville in turn thought so important that he gave the necessary instructions for it to be so telegraphed; and this was the opinion of the British residents in Alexandria, telegraphed by Mr. Cookson on the 30th of May. One would almost think, so accurately did it describe what occurred, that those who prepared the message had the gift of prophecy.

> "The small Squadron actually in port could only silence the fire of the Egyptian forts, and when those forts were disabled then would commence a great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of soldiers exasperated by defeat, while the English Admiral could not risk his men ashore, as his whole available force for shore operations does not exceed 300 men, although the Squadron was sent here to safeguard European life and property."

What an unfortunate enterprize! "To safeguard European life and property!" Most of the Englishmen left Alexandria, and the few who remained, with all the rest of the Europeans on shore, were massacred, and the whole of the property on shore was destroyed. The Khedive told the Government on the 12th of June—

> "If the Egyptian garrison apprehends any hostile action on the part of Europeans, there is danger of a general conflagration throughout the country;"

and Sir Edward Malet thought this so important that he not only telegraphed it to London, as he was bound to do, but communicated it by telegraph to Sir Beauchamp Seymour. Dervish Pasha warned them, on the same day, that danger might ensue if they assumed the aggressive—that immediate calamities might be produced by aggressive action —and on June 14 Sir Edward Malet told them that the Agents of Austria and Germany had telegraphed to their Governments that any armed intervention, not excepting Turkish, would place the lives of their countrymen in danger, and that the only means of avoiding the most serious calamities was his (Sir Edward Malet's) departure and that of the Fleet. That communication was considered so important that it was not only sent direct to the Government by their Egyptian Agent, but Count Karolyi thought it his duty to communicate it to Sir Henry Elliot, by whom it was communicated to the Foreign Office. On June 15, again, the Italian agent, Martino, telegraphed to Marsini—

> "Make no mistake. At the first news of an armed intervention, even exclusively Turkish, all the Colonists will fall victims to a fanaticism which has no longer any limits."

That, again, was thought of such importance that it was communicated officially by the Italian Ambassador in London to Lord Granville. So that

Her Majesty's Government had warnings from every quarter, and from every kind of person, through every sort of channel—they had notice that this would be the probable effect of the action of the Fleet. And how, after that, could the Prime Minister state on the 17th of July—

> "It is not arguable, in our opinion, that it was a natural or a probable consequence of the bombardment of the Fleet that an army estimated to number from 10,000 to 15,000 men should evacuate and burn and pillage the town."

The other reason the right hon. Gentleman gave was even more extraordinary than the first, and in mentioning it he would not occupy the time of the Committee more than a minute. The right hon. Gentleman's second reason was that preparations adequate to cope with the Egyptian Army would most certainly not have been allowable under the Instrument which was called the "Self-Denying" Protocol. He (Mr. Gorst) had not seen that "Self-Denying" Protocol, and he did not think any other hon. Members had.

MR. GLADSTONE: I say I did not call it the "Self-Denying" Protocol. That is what it has been called; but it was not my phrase. It was an engagement entered into by the members of the Conference.

MR. GORST: I take the words of *The Times* report, according to which the right hon. Gentleman stated—

> "Our judgment is that preparations adequate to cope with that army would most certainly not have been allowable under the instrument which is called the 'Self-Denying' Protocol."

MR. GLADSTONE: I did not call it so. I do not deny that it has been called so.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that, to prevent misapprehension, he would state that he had read the document in question yesterday to the House in answer to an hon. Member opposite.

MR. GORST said, he was anxious not to misrepresent the Prime Minister. The Instrument he referred to stated that—

> "The Government, represented by the undersigned, undertake, in any arrangement which may be made in consequence of their concerted action for the settlement of the affairs of Egypt, not to seek any territorial advantage, nor the concession of any commercial advantage for their subjects which those of any other nation shall not be equally able to obtain."

MR. GLADSTONE said, that was not the "Self-Denying" Protocol. There had been another Paper read.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The "Self-Denying" Protocol was the one I read yesterday.

MR. GORST said, there seemed to be a difficulty in this matter; and he should very much like to know why these documents were concealed?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had read to the House yesterday the Instrument in reply to a Question. Either on Thursday or Friday last the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) had asked him when the Instrument would be produced, and he had then said that the proceedings of the Conference being secret he could not answer the Question at once. A telegram was sent to Lord Dufferin asking if he knew any reason why the Instrument should not be placed before the House, and a reply was received yesterday from Lord Dufferin stating that his Colleagues would allow it to be communicated. That being so, he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had at once read it.

MR. GORST said, that was not the "Self-Denying" Protocol, or the Instrument which had been called the "Self-Denying" Protocol. The hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms) had referred to it, and had been told by the Prime Minister——

MR. GLADSTONE said, that a verbal ambiguity had arisen in regard to his answer to the hon. Member for Greenwich. Two or three days after giving that answer he had explained that the document the hon. Member was referring to was not the "Self-Denying" Protocol, and that an arrangement had been made between the Members of the Conference in regard to their action.

MR. GORST said, the statements of the Government were so contradictory that the Committee was getting mixed up. What he had himself read was a document signed by the different Governments on entering the Conference. He now remembered the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs reading a Protocol or an extract from the proceedings of the Conference; but he challenged the Government to show, either by the one document or the other, that they were prevented from having in Alexandria Harbour a force sufficient to land and prevent the pillage and sack of the place. Her Majesty's Government might escape, and, no doubt, would escape, a Vote of Censure in this House—no Vote of Censure could be brought forward with a chance of success; but they would not escape the censure of the whole civilized world. They talked of the moral law and of blood-guiltiness; but they might depend upon it that, whether or not they escaped any censure from the Imperial Parliament for the pillage and destruction of Alexandria, they would merit and would receive the condemnation of history.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: At the commencement of the speech to which we have just listened, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham stated that he was unable to move an Amendment to the Vote before the Committee, not, of course, because that would be inconsistent with the Orders of the House, because we have already had an Amendment moved by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), and the hon. and learned Member could have moved an Amendment in a similar way if he thought fit to do so; but he considered it improper to move an Amendment which might embarrass the Government at a time of national emergency. While, however, the hon. and learned Member hesitated to embarrass the Executive in a time of great need, he did not consider himself debarred from making a speech in which, at great length, he brought charges against the Government which he might have condensed into an Amendment; but, with a modesty for which I am bound to give him the greatest credit, he assumed that no speech he could make could possibly embarrass the Executive. Well, the hon. and learned Member went on to say that he admitted the existence of a military despotism in Egypt; and he added that the Government might have invoked, in order to deal with this military despotism, two forces—they might either have called in the authority of the Sultan, or have appealed to the influence of the National Party, as represented by the Chamber of Notables. Well, I confess I should have thought the Papers would have shown conclusively that, from first to last, Her Majesty's Government had invited and suggested the interference of the Sovereign of Egypt. We appealed to the Sultan of Turkey to exercise the duty of Sovereignty in restoring order in that country, and the real charge is not that we did not make this appeal, but that we did not enforce it in season and out of season, and independently of our Ally, the Republican Government of France. He taunts us, in fact, because throughout these proceedings we have not on every occasion acted independently of our Allies. Apparently he sets very small store upon the French alliance. ["Hear, hear!"] Well, that cheer may represent the opinion of hon. or of some right hon. Members opposite; but it is not the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. It has been throughout a cardinal point in our policy that, as far as possible, we would maintain that alliance which has existed for so long, and with such great advantage to the two countries. The Committee is aware that, in an eloquent speech which he made a few days ago in the French Chamber, M. Gambetta declared that the alliance was fraught with many benefits to France; and it has been rather unfairly urged, I think, that, therefore, it is of no advantage to England. But, on the contrary, I am persuaded that every word M. Gambetta used with regard to the interests of France may be used with equal force with regard to the interests of England. Everywhere throughout the world we meet the French nation, and we must meet them either as friends or foes; and I, for one, say better let us meet them as friends than as foes. Our relations with France extend over so many and such vast interests that it is of the utmost importance that our negotiations with them should be, as far as possible, of a friendly and confidential character; and, that being the case, in this matter of Egypt it has been from the first the desire of the Government to make to their Ally any concession which did not involve any sacrifice of principle. The hon. and learned Member went on to charge us with deceiving the Sultan with reference to the despatch of the iron-clad *Invincible*, which took place in the month of October last year. The charge of the hon. and learned Member is that, whereas the *Invincible* was sent to Alexandria on the demand of the Consuls as a refuge for British subjects, we told the Sultan that it would be withdrawn as soon as the Turkish Commission was withdrawn.

MR. GORST: What I said was that, after having sent out the *Invincible* to protect life and property, we pretended to the Sultan that it had been sent out because his Commissioners had not been withdrawn.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No doubt it is true that, while, on the one hand, we said we sent the *Invincible* to protect British life and property, on the other hand, we said it would be withdrawn as soon as the Turkish Commission was withdrawn; and what I have now to say to the hon. and learned Member is that there is absolutely no inconsistency between the two statements. What was the statement of the Sultan to us? It was that the incident had terminated, that order had been restored, and that the presence of our ships was no longer necessary. We said, in reply—"If you are convinced that order is restored, and that the incident is terminated, you will show your conviction that that is the case by withdrawing the Commission; and, when you have given that proof, we shall be ready in turn to withdraw our ships." The hon. and learned Gentleman then went on to speak in terms of great severity of the despatch of Lord Granville, dated November 4. He said it was distinguished by its intense hypocrisy, as it laid down, in one of its paragraphs, as a cardinal principle, that we were concerned for the prosperity of Egypt and the good government of that country, whilst it was elsewhere stated that our interest was in the safety of the Suez Canal. I fail altogether to conceive the precise inconsistency between these two statements. It appears to me that the well-being and prosperity of Egypt was intimately bound up, on the one hand, with the safety of the Suez Canal, and, on the other hand, with the reasonably good government of the Egyptian people. The hon. and learned Member went on to complain that the Government allowed themselves to be placed in opposition to the National movement, and drove the Chamber of Notables into the arms of Arabi Pasha. It seems to me that that is absolutely the reverse of the facts as they happened. So far from the Chamber having been driven by the action of England into the arms of Arabi Pasha, on the contrary, as time went on the Members of the Chamber separated themselves from Arabi. In the first instance, the Chamber was convoked on the initiative of Arabi Pasha; but subsequently they separated themselves from him, and refused to sit when they were convoked without the consent of the Sultan; and it was the President of the Chamber of Notables, one of its ablest Members, who demanded the retirement of the military leaders and the banishment of Arabi Pasha, and in that way laid the foundation for the despatch which the hon. and learned Member refers to as the Ultimatum of the Consuls General. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman says he will make his charge good; and he does so, in the first instance, by proving that M. Gambetta was hostile to the Chamber of Notables. There is no doubt that at one time M. Gambetta was hostile to the Chamber, and that hostility was based upon the fact that that Chamber of Notables was convoked at the instigation of Arabi Pasha, and would prove to be creatures of his.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: What is the date of the Paper in which that is stated?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not state it as appearing in the Papers; but as an inference drawn from the facts which appears to me extremely reasonable. I should think that, considering the circumstances in which Arabi Pasha rose to power, and considering that one of his first acts was to summon the Chamber of Notables, it was a reasonable inference to suppose that he had assured himself beforehand that their view was likely to be favourable to his schemes. The hon. and learned Gentleman did not prove his case by proving that M. Gambetta was hostile to the Chamber of Notables. Her Majesty's Government were never hostile to it; but the hon. and learned Member says they showed their hostility by objecting to the proposal of the Chamber to control the Budget. As to that, I would say that the Chamber made a claim which, in the opinion of the Government and in the opinion of the Controllers, was in contravention of the existing international agreement; and it is not competent for the Chamber of Notables or the British Government to permit an infraction of international agreement without, at all events, consulting the Powers concerned. All the Controllers and the British Government did was to point out that the arrangements were the subject of international agreement, and could not be altered without a fresh agreement. But the English Government did not express itself as at all unfriendly to a modification of the Control—on the contrary, negotiations were going on for a compromise, and were proceeding very favourably, when matters assumed a critical appearance, owing to the action of Arabi Bey and the Military Party. The whole matter, I will venture to say, is still in suspense. The question of the Control, no doubt, is an extremely difficult one. In the first place, it is perfectly certain that, whatever objection may be taken to the Control, it has been of immense advantage to Egypt. There is no doubt that it has legalized the collection of taxes, that it has prevented extortion, that it has secured the honest collection of the Revenue and lessened the burdens on the people, and that in that manner it has given an extraordinary impetus to the material prosperity of the country. Of course, if the sentiment of Egypt was opposed to the Control, and if they preferred a corrupt system of administration to the stern integrity and inflexible honesty of European administration, then I say that it may well be a question for consideration whether we are entitled to force the better system upon the people against their will. All I urge is that that, at all events, is a matter for the subsequent consideration of all the Great Powers, and not for the isolated decision of the British Government. I observe that in the French Chamber the other day, M. de Freycinet acknowledged the undoubted existence of a National sentiment in Egypt, and said that the time, perhaps, would come when due consideration must be given to it; and I say that when that time comes, the influence of the British Government will be used in order, as far as possible, to give due effect to all reasonable National aspirations on the part of the Egyptian people. Then the hon. and learned Member added to his indictment the charge that, in deference to this French alliance, we ordered our ships first to Suda Bay, and then sent them on to Alexandria. That matter is explained in the Papers, and the explanation is a simple one. The British Government were naturally anxious that the sending of the ships should not provoke an outbreak—a massacre or disaster—at Alexandria, and they wanted to be assured that their presence would not provoke such an outbreak before they finally gave an order that the ships should go to Alexandria. It will be found, on reference to the Papers, that Sir Edward Malet, while he asked at one time that the ships should be delayed, subsequently informed Her Majesty's Government that it was then most desirable that their arrival should be hastened. Our action as to the sending of the ships was guided by the information we received from our Agents. The hon. and learned Member went on to say that while we had recommended and desired that the other Powers should be invited to co-operate in the Naval Demonstration, we had again yielded to the desire of France, and refrained from giving that invitation; and he says that whilst the Prime Minister stated that we had done this in consequence of the French compliance with our wishes in other respects, the most careful examination he had been able to make of the Papers had failed to show him any single proof of such compliance on the part of the French. I must say I cannot understand how the hon. and learned Gentleman can have given any careful attention to the Papers without finding in those very documents, from which he quoted, proof of the statement of the Prime Minister. What is the fact? Why, in the very Paper in which the French Government propose that English and French ships alone should be sent to Alexandria, the French Government conceded to the English Government that the Sultan should be invited to send a military force to Egypt. Up to that time the French Government had persistently opposed the introduction of Turkish military intervention, and at that date, for the first time, they yielded to the representations of the English Government. This point seemed to us to be at the time of the very highest importance. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman, in the concluding part of his speech, called the Government once more to task for not having a sufficient force at hand at the time of the bombardment, and he says we received innumerable warnings as to the certain consequence of the bombardment. In the first place, he refers to the despatch of Sir Edward Malet, which was one of those earlier despatches to which I have already referred, and in which we were warned that the mere presence of the Fleet in Alexandrian waters would be productive of danger to the population—an opinion justified, no doubt, by the state of things that existed. He stated that Arabi Pasha made the threat that if the Fleet did not withdraw he would not be responsible for order. That was a threat which Arabi Pasha made directly on that occasion, and subsequently through other channels; but the hon. and learned Member seems to have failed to observe that a short time afterwards Arabi Pasha himself and the Prime Minister of Egypt both joined in assuring Sir Edward Malet that when the Fleet arrived there would be and should be no disturbance. The hon. and learned Member adds that the residents in Alexandria also warned the Government; but here, again, he has failed to study the Papers with sufficient care and accuracy. What the inhabitants represented to the Government was that the Squadron then in Alexandrian waters was insufficient for its purpose. As a matter of fact, there was only one iron-clad—the *Invincible*—and two small despatch boats at Alexandria; and the residents represented that that was not enough, and that from such a Squadron only 300 men could be landed. In consequence of these representations the Government sent another iron-clad directly, and two or three days afterwards three more; and the result was that when the bombardment took place there were three or four times the number of men at the disposal of the Admiral. The hon. and learned Member went on to say that we were warned also by the Khedive and Dervish Pasha. At the time we received these warnings the Khedive and Dervish Pasha were mainly the channels through which Arabi Pasha wished to convey to the British Government a menace to prevent the bombardment, and to induce the Fleet to withdraw; and this, the hon. and learned Member suggests, was the course we ought to have taken. It was a menace from the very man who at that time was preparing and organizing the outbreak that subsequently took place. The hon. and learned Member concluded by saying that we should be condemned by the whole civilized world for not having taken precautions to prevent a massacre. I would answer him by saying that in the sense in which such words are ordinarily used, there never has been a massacre since the bombardment and in consequence of it. It is true an hon. Member asked a Question in the House the other day as to the thousands of persons who were killed in consequence of the bombardment. I will answer him by referring to a telegram which appeared in *The Times* newspaper, I think, on Friday last. The Correspondent of *The Times* in that telegram declared that up to that date he had only been able to ascertain that five persons, in all, had been killed since the bombardment, and that he did not believe there had been any more. Of course, there has been deplorable destruction of property, which I think we may say could hardly have been foreseen. It was not possible to suppose that a strong army that was in no possible danger of offensive operations would let loose the convicts, the scum of the place, in order to destroy the property of innocent people, and retire from the town. That disaster, much as we regret it, could not have been foreseen, and if it had been foreseen, I do not think it could have been prevented. The mischief was done before it would have been possible to have landed troops from the ships, and no force that could have been landed could have prevented the incendiary fires that took place. I should like to turn now for a few moments to the speech delivered from a very different point of view, at an earlier period of the evening—the speech of the hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard). The hon. Member had said he was sometimes described as a member of the "Peace-at-any-price Party." I understand him to admit that he is a Member of the Party that would never concede, under any circumstances, the right of military intervention in the affairs of another country, unless we ourselves were directly attacked. But I am prepared to allow that there is a difference between a view of that kind, extreme as I hold it to be, and what might be represented as "Peace-at-any-price principles." Certainly, I shall not approach the argument of the hon. Gentleman with any prejudice, or scorn, or contempt, for I honour him for the consistency with which, on this and on all occasions, he has courageously advocated the views he holds. But my hon. Friend went on, in a tone and spirit which he will allow me to say was hardly worthy of him, to say that those who differed from him, and held views not so strong as to non-intervention as his own, might properly be described as the "War-at-any-cost-Party"—the Party that inflames others to bloody deeds, and remains at home wrapped in luxurious ease. I do not think it is necessary to impute cowardice and selfish motives to those who like myself believe that the honour and the interest of this country imperatively demand a military intervention. I, for one, at all events, have never accepted the doctrine of absolute non-intervention; and I cannot, for the life of me, understand how that policy of international arbitration, which has one of its most distinguished advocates in the person of my hon. Friend, can ever become a practical policy, unless it is coupled with the idea of an international police. The present appears to me to be a case for the intervention of an international police, and it seems to me that the special circumstances have thrown the duty and burden upon this country. Well, my hon. Friend went on to say that our action was, in his opinion, the irrevocable consequence of the policy of the late Government, unfortunately adopted by the present Government. Sir, it is not my business to defend the policy of the late Government, and, certainly, I am not prepared to say that we are adopting it; but that statement of my hon. Friend, in any case, does not convey the whole truth in this matter, because I venture to say that whatever may be our opinion as to the wisdom of the arrangement which constituted the Dual Control, and which involved this country in a constant interference in and supervision of the internal affairs of Egypt, if no such arrangement had been made, and no Control had existed, there is every reason to suppose that a state of things would have been brought about which would have threatened anarchy and disorder in Egypt; and, under these circumstances, the same duty as that we are now discharging would have fallen upon us. Sir, the cause of our intervention is the danger of anarchy in Egypt. Anarchy in Egypt would affect British interests of paramount importance, and I would say the interests of civilization generally. Now, what are these British interests? They are not—certainly not exclusively, certainly not primarily, or chiefly—the interests of the bondholders. I believe the total amount of the Egyptian Debt is something like £60,000,000 sterling, and I suppose it is probable that £30,000,000 of this amount is held in this country. I am not going to abuse the bondholders as being necessarily the enemies of the human race. I do not think it follows that because a man lends his capital to promote, in many cases, the material prosperity of other countries, that, therefore, he is to be represented as a usurer unworthy of any sympathy. But, on the other hand, any person who engages in a speculation of that kind must take the risks of it, and he is not entitled to call on his Government for military intervention in order to protect his investment. That is a position, however, which has been recognized in the past by the holders of Egyptian Bonds. They have already had to submit to a considerable reduction of the original terms on which they entered into these loans; and in the future, as in the past, they must make their own arrangements, and must not call on Her Majesty's Government to support them. But there are other interests, less questionable, more direct, and more important. There is, in the first place, our interest in the Suez Canal, the great highway of all nations, and, above all, the road between this country and our Eastern Possessions. I had the curiosity to have some figures prepared for me as to the British traffic on this Canal; and I find, on the best estimate that could be made, that £50,000,000 sterling in goods of different kinds pass through the Canal both ways and annually. In other words, one-seventh of the whole foreign trade of this country passes through the Canal at the present time. The fleet engaged in carrying this enormous trade is worth about £15,000,000 sterling, and four-fifths of the entire shipping passing through the Canal is British. As showing also our direct interest in Egypt, I may mention that of the total Egyptian exports, amounting to £7,000,000, £5,500,000 are

British, while the French portion is only £410,000. I hold that the security of that great highway is of paramount importance to this country, and we are bound to protect it against risk. Then, again, there are the private interests—the private commercial interests—which we have in Egypt. Probably there is between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000 of English capital engaged in private, peaceful, and legitimate undertakings in Egypt. Men so engaged in trade, whether in Egypt or any other country, have a right to look to their Government for reasonable protection. I have seen it asserted outside this House that we should give notice to British traders everywhere that they trade at their own risk, and that the British Government will give them no assistance and no support. Sir, I am not prepared to agree to such a doctrine as that. I only wish to point out to hon. Members what its immediate consequence would be. If you withdraw from those persons engaged in legitimate occupations the protection which hitherto they have been entitled to claim, you will withdraw also, I expect, a very large proportion of that enormous foreign trade which gives employment to so many of our people and contributes, not only to the prosperity of this country, but to the prosperity of other countries where these great commercial enterprizes are undertaken. I say it is a monstrous notion that all these great interests are to be sacrificed by this country to the ambition of a military adventurer—not to promote the National interests of the country, not to secure freedom in Egypt, not to secure the introduction of liberal reforms, but purely and solely in order that a military adventurer may continue his career unchecked and without opposition. I would ask also—though I do not intend to dwell at any length upon it—what effect would the holding of such a doctrine as this have upon our position, not merely in Europe or Egypt, but throughout the East? It has been said, and said truly, that we are a great Mussulman Power—that is to say, that millions of Mahomedans own our rule, and I cannot conceive anything more dangerous to the security of our people and to the security of our Possessions than that an idea should get abroad that we could be set at defiance with impunity under such circumstances as these. Well, Sir, my hon. Friend attributes the whole of the difficulties which have arisen in Egypt to the existence of the Control. He speaks of the number of Europeans who have been imposed upon the Egyptian people, and who draw large salaries, and whom the Egyptians look upon with jealousy. But I would point out to him, in the first place, that the great majority of Europeans in the service of Egypt are not appointed by the Control at all, but are in the direct appointment of the Egyptian Government, which may also dismiss them at any time. I quite admit it is natural that there should be some indignation amongst the most intelligent of the Egyptians, who see places that they fairly might desire to occupy themselves filled by foreigners; and certainly it will not be the duty of this country, when order is restored in Egypt, to use any influence it may possess in order to replace these Europeans in office. But, in my opinion, it would be entirely a mistake to assume that there is the slightest connection between what I would call this National sentiment, which I am inclined to think exists, and which is hostile probably to the control of the Egyptian administration by foreigners and the military movement that has for its leader Arabi Pasha. From first to last Arabi has never said a word against the Control. On the contrary, in a Manifesto he issued early in these proceedings, he admitted that the Control had been of immense material advantage to Egypt; and from first to last, throughout these proceedings, it will be found that his object, as tested by the result of his proceedings, has been to secure personal advantage for himself and his abettors. Let me follow that out for a moment. In February, 1881, the first military riots took place. What was their object? What view was put forward as justifying them? They had nothing to do with the increase of liberty in Egypt, with Constitutional reforms, or the Dual Control. But in connection with them a claim was made for the dismissal of an unpopular Minister of War, and a protest was made against the promotion of certain Circassians to the detriment of Egyptians. That riot, being successful, was followed almost immediately by an increase in the Army charge to the extent of something like £50,000 a-year. Again, in

September, when the second military riot took place, the chief object insisted upon by Arabi Bey and the mutinous colonels was an increase in the Army from 12,000 to 15,000 men, and that riot was almost immediately followed by an increase in the Army charges. The demand was for an increase of £280,000 in the Estimates; but that was finally compromised, and an actual increase made of £120,000 per annum. Then, in March, when another demonstration was threatened, the personal character of this conspiracy was still more clearly shown, for its object was to secure the promotion of a number of lieutenant colonels without the examination demanded by law—the object was to secure the promotion of men who could not pass the examination; and no words were uttered at that time, or at any other time, as to any Constitutional reform being required. And so the result of the movement up to the time of the bombardment was this—that 560 officers had been promoted, the numbers of the Army had been increased, and the Military Estimates had been enlarged by something like £200,000 per annum, while all the military opponents or rivals of Arabi had been proscribed, and some of them banished. These were the only reforms promoted by Arabi Bey, whose action is now represented as a great National movement. If there is any doubt whatever remaining as to the position of this man, I think the Papers will show what is the opinion of the most intelligent Natives about him. There is, for instance, on record the opinion of Cherif Pasha, the most able, the most intelligent, and the most courageous of Egyptian statesmen. He accepted Office at the request, in the first instance, of the Army and Arabi Pasha; but with the greatest reluctance, well knowing that with a mutinous soldiery the situation would necessarily become intolerable. Accordingly, a short time afterwards he found himself in opposition to the Army, and the same Army which had promised obedience to him demanded his subsequent withdrawal and retirement. Then, at that period, there was an interesting conversation reported of Sir Edward Malet with the then Minister of Egyptian Foreign Affairs, Mustapha Pasha, who was supposed to be a creature of Arabi, and who declared in March that the condition of things had become intolerable, that the promotions made in the Army would only lead to further discontent and further promotions, and that settled government, under the circumstances, was hardly to be hoped for. Lastly, in May, Sultan Pasha, the President of the Notables, is reported as having demanded the retirement of the military leaders, and the withdrawal of Arabi from power. Subsequently, Arabi returned to power, not as leader of the National movement, but in opposition to the Chamber of Notables, the most representative body in Egypt, and in opposition also to the Khedive and the Sultan. My hon. Friend went on to say that the Government made three cardinal errors in the course of their policy, and that the first of these was the Dual Note; the second, what my hon. Friend called the Ultimatum of the Consuls General; and the third, the sending of the Fleet. But I say that all these things hang together. The judgment of the Committee upon them will, of course, be influenced by the view they take of the situation. If my hon. Friend is right that it would be just and expedient to withdraw altogether from Egyptian affairs, to leave Egypt to anarchy, and to run the grave and serious risk of the interruption of the Suez Canal, and of danger to the lives and property of European and other subjects, then, of course, these three steps in the Government policy must be condemned. On the contrary, if it is evident to the Committee now, as it was evident to the Government after the military riots which had taken place, that some kind of interference was necessary if British interests were to be protected, then these were three steps which are easily to be justified. The Dual Note did not go further in principle than Lord Granville's despatch of the 4th of November, to which reference has already been made. That despatch was received with universal approval, not only by the Great Powers, but also in Egypt; and the Dual Note only put in another form the views which it expressed, and promised what at that time the Government were determined to afford—namely, the influence of this country in support of the Khedive against a military adventurer who was threatening his authority. Then the Ultimatum was described by my hon. Friend as the most monstrous demand ever made upon an independent Government. I have already pointed out that this so-called monstrous demand was originally the demand, not of the English Government, but of the Representative Chamber of Egyptian Notables; and as to the sending of the Fleet at the time it was sent, in view of the dangers which were threatening British and other European people in Egypt, I say that the Government would have been open to the severest condemnation unless that step had been taken by them. When my hon. Friend declares that the sending of the Fleet was the sole cause of the disaster which has since happened, I think he has not studied the Papers with sufficient care. Those Papers would have shown him that long before the Fleet was sent information was in the hands of the British Government that anarchy was rife in the Province. This information came to us, in the first instance, from our Agents in Egypt. My hon. Friend is disposed to distrust everything that comes from British Agents; but the Government do not share this distrust, and they relied on the information which they received as to the attempts made to rouse the fanaticism of the people, and as to the probability of general anarchy in Egypt if effectual measures were not taken to prevent it. And I do not doubt, if the Fleet had not been sent, that the loss of life, great as it undoubtedly is, would have been very much more serious. I hope my hon. Friend will receive what I say as being said with perfect sincerity. The Government have not entered upon this business without a full sense of its gravity, without a sense of the deep responsibility which their action casts upon them, and without the greatest possible reluctance. But there was a duty thrown upon Europe and upon Turkey, but primarily upon this country, to see that all the interests which had been created and which existed in Egypt should not be put in danger by a military revolt which it was in our power to put down. We have thought it our duty to interfere, and we have interfered with the sole purpose of putting down this military revolt, and of liberating in this way the National sentiment, to whose free expression we shall be prepared to give the most serious consideration. When those duties are accomplished we shall retire, having sought and having claimed no selfish advantage for ourselves.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I do not think that any Member of this Committee can possibly conceal from himself the occasion on which we are at the present moment assembled. We have before us the consideration of the military action of Her Majesty's Government, taken upon what the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has chosen to call the determination to put down military tyranny in Egypt. I do not in the least quarrel with the way in which he has described that action; but, at the same time, we cannot conceal from ourselves that we have entered upon a very grave undertaking. It is impossible for us to enter upon that task with a light heart, because, when once the sword has been drawn, we know not, considering what has occurred in Europe and what may occur hereafter, when that sword can be again sheathed. Now, there are two sentiments expressed in the speech of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) with which, although we have probably arrived at our conclusions, for different reasons I entirely agree. I agree with him in feeling the greatest surprise and pain at the action which Her Majesty's Government have taken. The other conclusion I agree with is one which relates to a fact which Her Majesty's Government have not considered, and which I think they ought to have considered, in the course of these transactions; and that is that we (the English) were, before these transactions took place, on good terms with all the people of Egypt, and that the people of Egypt looked up to us more than to any other European Power. I am afraid it will be a long time before we can restore those good relations with the Egyptian people, which, up to the period I speak of, so happily existed. But I am very glad to hear from Her Majesty's Government that, at all events, they recognize the vast interests which we have in Egypt. Those interests seem to me to be almost paramount, and the despatch of Lord Granville contains the statement, with which I agree, that—

> "The situation of Egypt on the most direct maritime route between England and her Indian Possessions and Australian Colonies gives to this country a special interest in Egyptian affairs. In addition to this British capital and industry have been largely employed in the introduction into Egypt of the great works of modern improvement, and a large British com-

munity is resident in the country. Its prosperity cannot be affected without involving the material welfare of many British subjects."

This sentence of the despatch has been substantiated by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, and I think we cannot attach too much force to it. If the Committee will allow me, I should like to recall one sentence of what is now a famous despatch written by the late Government on the 6th of May, 1877, in which they showed, at all events, that they were perfectly well aware of the enormous interest that this country had in Egypt in connection with the Suez Canal. The words of the despatch, which has now become an historical document, are these—

"Foremost amongst British interests is the necessity of keeping open uninjured and uninterrupted the communication between Europe and the East by the Suez Canal; and to blockade or otherwise interfere with the Canal and its approaches could not be regarded by the Government in any other light than that of a menace to India and a grave injury to the commerce of the world ;"

and it was added that—

"Such a course could not be consistent with the maintenance by them of a passive neutrality. Moreover, the maritime interests of the world were so largely involved in Egypt that an attack on the Canal could scarcely be regarded without concern by the neutral Powers, and certainly not by England."

These are not English interests, they are world-wide interests, and we are so intimately connected with them that it is our duty to see that the interests of the civilized world are kept safe from the anarchy and the state of terrorism described by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. I very much regret that the question, upon which I should not have said one word, as to whether the original blame in this matter rested with one Government or another, has been introduced into this discussion. In this respect I shall not follow the example of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. But I cannot help saying that the question he raised in 1876 was one of small importance comparatively, and that his speech which has been referred to was made in 1876, and not in 1879, as he seemed to wish to represent to my hon. Friend behind me. If anyone will read it I think he will say it is simply a haphazard speech of the moment, and that it is not to be considered as a prophecy. But coming to the year 1879, when—although the right hon. Gentleman says that 1876 saw the groundwork of our policy laid—the famous step was taken, you will not find that the Prime Minister can quote any speech of his in that year in which he is able to say that he foretold anything which is supposed to have come from the action taken at that time. Yet, if the right hon. Gentleman had given warnings in 1876, when a small matter was before the House, and if he really thought that the groundwork of British policy, and of the threatened complications, was then laid, it would surely have been his duty in 1879 to have repeated those warnings in every possible form and shape. But he allowed everything to pass without a word. I will now pass from that matter, being quite content to allow the case to rest on the acceptance by the whole of Europe of what took place in 1879, as described in the despatch of Lord Granville to Lord Dufferin of the 11th of this month. His words were—

"A declaration was at the same time signed by the Representatives of England, Austria, Germany, Italy, and France, engaging to accept the decisions of the Commission, and agreeing that the law to be framed on its recommendations should be recognized as obligatory in the International Tribunals."

And if we go a step further in the despatch we shall find Lord Granville saying—

"It was undoubtedly working well for the material prosperity of the country, and promised to do so for the future. Her Majesty's Government accepted it as a fact, and gave it their unreserved support."

Hon. Members may be quite sure the Government would not have done that if they had not thought the system introduced by the action of their Predecessors was working well. I hope, before the debate closes, we may hear the Prime Minister backing up the doctrines which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, not only on this point, but on a great many others also. The right hon. Gentleman said that this arrangement had undoubtedly had a beneficial result in Egypt—that there had been no extortion since it was in operation, and that it had worked an enormous amount of good to the inhabitants of the country; and with the acceptance of the arrangement by the Powers of Europe, by Her Majesty's Government, and by the President of the Board of Trade, I am content to leave all the frivolous arguments as to what occurred in 1876 and 1879, and to pass on to much graver matter. The question we have to discuss at the present moment is as to whether the action of Her Majesty's Government has really been conducive to the prosperity of Egypt, to the peace of the world, and to the interests of the Empire? The burden of proof in this matter lies upon Her Majesty's Government. The situation of Egypt when they came into Office, by their own confession, was perfectly healthy; they had no fault whatever to find with it, they uttered no word of condemnation of what their Predecessors had done, and they descried no cloud in the future. But what is the state of Egypt at the present moment? Our interests there are, practically, in the greatest possible danger; lives have been sacrificed, and property lost to an extent to which I need not now allude, and a state of anarchy has arisen which will with great difficulty be put an end to, and I charge this upon Her Majesty's Government as the result of the action they have chosen to take. It is through their want of foresight that they have allowed affairs in Egypt to drift into their present position, and I believe they have done this because there has been in their Councils disunion, and, consequently, in their action weakness and vacillation. They have never been able, it seems to me, to make up their minds whether they would maintain strict union with France throughout, or whether they would leave France and apply to Turkey. France, as everyone knows, is completely opposed to Turkish intervention, and there was a broad line of distinction between the policy of the English Government and that of the Government of France on this one point—that is to say, the English Government were throughout the negotiations wishing, if it could possibly be managed, that the Turks should come in as the Sovereign Power in order to set matters in Egypt right. On the other hand, the French Government said they were always opposed to intervention; but that of all interventions the intervention of Turkey was the worst. The Prime Minister told us last night that the great anxiety of the Government was that we should not be isolated, and that any action they might take should be taken in concert with the Powers of Europe, or, at all events, with France. What has been the result? They have got a Conference, and the result of that Conference is what the Prime Minister calls a "negative advantage," which means that the Powers themselves are not willing to be parties to military action in Egypt, and that we are, therefore, isolated from them. But the Government had another policy. They said if the Great Powers will not interfere they may give a mandate to some Power to act for them. But, unfortunately, they have not been able to arrive at that conclusion. We have it from the right hon. Gentleman that the Powers refused to issue a mandate to any Power to exercise military action. And then he goes on to say that, at all events, he has this entire satisfaction—that they have the moral support and concurrence of Europe in the policy they are pursuing. If that is all the result obtained from this great Conference, it is a very small one. It may be very satisfactory to know that the Great Powers are not going to quarrel with us over what we are fighting about; but if that is all we are to have for our delay and trouble, it is not very much. The Prime Minister goes on to say—"We have great hopes of getting France to join us;" but the result is that we are as badly off with her as with anybody else. We have the declaration made only yesterday that France, so far as she is concerned, holds herself prepared—for what? Why, to guarantee with us the free use and safety of the Suez Canal. But that is altogether beside the question; indeed, it was expressly excluded by the Prime Minister himself, so far as the Conference was concerned. We are not, then, entitled to look to France now for any individual or material concurrence in Egypt beyond this matter of the safety of the Suez Canal, so that the result of all the negotiations which have been carried on for so long a time is this—that, so far as we know, we are left absolutely isolated to take our own action alone. We have, then, suffered all the consequences of the delay which has taken place; but, by independent action long ago, we might have put a stop to the whole proceedings, without the loss of a single life or of any treasure. If we had simply put our foot down months ago, we might, I say, have stopped all this. The result of the want of firmness of the Government, of their want of decision, of their vacillation, of their weakness, is that we are now left in a perfect state of isolation to carry on this war in Egypt—to put down this military anarchy; and we know not how many complications may arise when once the sword is drawn. I do not wish to detain the Committee; but there are one or two points which I must touch upon, because they are broad points, which ought to be remembered. If this has been the view of the Government hitherto, I want to know why it was that they consented, so early as the month of January, to present this Dual Note with France? There is no doubt that an assurance has been given of what is called "sympathy and support" to the Khedive. That has been given in all kinds of despatches. But the Government tell us that this Dual Note, given in January, is of an extraordinary character; and they say themselves that the considerations which induced Her Majesty's Government to join in the Note are indicated in the document itself; and they believed that the announcement on the part of the two Governments of "a firm determination"—(I hope the Committee will lay a considerable stress on that word "firm," for it is rather an extraordinary word)—of "a firm determination" to support the Khedive and the proper authority, might have had the effect of averting the danger with which that authority seemed to be threatened. If the *status quo* was menaced, those people who chose to menace it would find England and France arrayed against them. That is a strong assertion to make for England and France. Turkey had not been asked; it was a Dual Note, not a Treble Note. It was to be the duty of England and France, if the *status quo* was menaced in any way, to array themselves against anybody who menaced it. An extraordinary occurrence took place immediately afterwards. It was quite evident that after the Note had been presented there was some hesitation and misgivings within the Government as to what they had done. How it arose I cannot say; but a curious conversation occurred between Lord Lyons and M. Gambetta, which is well worthy of close consideration, for M. Gambetta pointed out, somehow or other, that Her Majesty's Government wanted to explain away the Note which they had given, and M. Gambetta felt—I suppose at that time his courage was screwed up—he felt very much annoyed at that, and said—

> "If you explain that away the whole value of the Note will be gone, and we shall have to write a new one."

He begged Lord Lyons, in words which cannot be mistaken, that the Government should give no explanation of the Note whatever, and that they should let it go out in its bare integrity as it was. But what happened? I suppose there were occasions on which the Cabinet had their differences. Later on, certainly, I do not know how it came to pass, but the whole of Europe understood the Note as any rational man who read it would have understood it, that if the *status quo* was menaced, material support would be given to the Khedive to hold him in his position. But was that the real interpretation? Nothing of the kind. No material support was for a moment suggested, but only moral support, which was supposed to be quite as effectual; and there was nothing more meant in that Dual Note of the month of January than was meant in that most innocent despatch of the 4th of May; Europe must have been extremely astonished at that. An explanation never was given to the Khedive at all—he was left alone with the understanding that that Note really meant what it said, and that the Government said what they meant when they wrote it. That led the Khedive to go on trusting implicitly in the assurances of Her Majesty's Government, and must have largely influenced his conduct, for the Khedive, as the Prime Minister has himself stated, has behaved most loyally and truly throughout to Her Majesty's Government. Matters now go on rapidly, and we find M. Gambetta saying what would be the direct consequence if any explanation of the Note was offered. He says, and the words are very remarkable—"You will swell the arrogance of those who are opposed to you"—swell the arrogance, that is, of Arabi Bey. And the arrogance of Arabi Bey certainly did swell, until it has now swollen to a very considerable extent indeed. Matters continued to go on, and the Government had warnings given to them by a great many people. Sir Edward Malet gave them a great many warnings, and he implored them to let it be known that they were going to do something—I now come to the month of May—and to let it be known, at all events to Turkey, that England would interfere. He writes again on the 23rd, and says—

> "The present situation, which is so grave, arises from the belief that the Powers will not interfere, and that France will not allow Turkey to interfere. For Heaven's sake, do something to dispel this illusion. If you are going to interfere let them know it."

But the great mischief that has happened is that you have encouraged the belief among the disturbed population of Egypt that whatever they did you would not interfere. That is conduct which I deplore as utterly unworthy of Her Majesty's Government. The Government were aware of it, and they soon found the difficulty in which they were placed. They knew they had written that Note, and they implored France, in a letter of a most extraordinary character, to act with them. They said—

> "We have great practical reason to act together in this matter — whatever happens do not sacrifice the great advantage which we have got from our joining on this point."

But you do not want the matter to be known—you insist on secrecy—a secrecy which you know must be exploded in a few months. They knew the whole difficulty they were in, and they implored France to relieve them from it; but they had not the moral courage to break from France, or, at all events, to tell her, and let it be known what they really meant to do. What happened then? That was in May, and you then have that most deplorable despatch that was ever addressed to a British Government from their Consul at Alexandria. I will not read it again, but it described the deplorable state of Alexandria, and begged and implored assistance. [Mr. GLADSTONE: We sent it.] The Prime Minister says they sent it; but I say they did not—not adequate assistance. What did you do? You sent a Joint Note, and the story of that Note is very curious. Some suspicion had gone abroad that at last the English people would do something more than was expected, and by the full authority of the Government a Dual Note again was presented. That Note, I am bound to say, in the most positive terms, demanded nothing short of the exile of Arabi from Egypt altogether with his rank and pay; and it went on to set forth that if he was not banished the English and French Governments would insist on their conditions being fulfilled. Now, can you conceive a stronger point than this—that this great English Government, having sent one Note, and not having acted upon it, should again insist in still stronger terms, and say—"If this condition is not fulfilled, we shall insist upon its fulfilment?" The only conclusion I can come to is that the Egyptian—Arabi himself—well remembering the fact that Her Majesty's Government had spoken out before, but had not acted, thought he knew exactly with whom he was dealing, and came to the conclusion that the second Note meant no more than the first. He believed, no doubt, that he and his friends had only to stay in their position, and to go on with their arrogance swelling, and that the English Government would stand by with their arms folded doing nothing. That is exactly what they did, and they are much to blame. They ought never to have written either of those Notes unless they meant them to be backed up, and I have never heard a word of explanation upon that point. Either they meant what they said, or they said what they did not mean; and if they said what they did not mean, I say distinctly that that is not the sort of action which any English Government ought to hold out to the country. Many of our troubles have started from that point, and what is the result of the whole story? Nothing was done; and then came that terrible massacre. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade has told us, for the first time, that it was not a massacre, because we are to believe some newspaper telegrams which appeared in *The Times* saying that only a few people had been killed. Only to-day I asked a Question of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs about a newspaper story of another massacre elsewhere; and he said we were not to take newspaper paragraphs when they talked of massacres, because they were all wrong.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I think there is some confusion here. I was not speaking of the undoubted massacre of

June 11th, but of the events subsequent to the bombardment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Then that will do equally well for my argument at the present moment. It backs up my argument that there was a massacre on the 11th of June. I misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman when he referred to one massacre. The fact is there have been so many, and I thought he was referring to that of the 11th of June. There was, then, an undoubted massacre on the 11th of June. There can be no doubt about that—I see the Prime Minister smiling; but this is not a matter about which a single smile ought to come from an English Minister—it is not a question on which a single smile ought to pass across the face of an English Minister.

MR. GLADSTONE: I smiled at the errors of the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Even if I have made an error, which I deny, this is not a matter on which a smile ought to be produced by a British Minister. The question is far too grave—it is far graver than the massacres in Bulgaria. Does not the right hon. Gentleman believe in the massacre of the 11th of June—in the terrible horrors which passed through the whole City of Alexandria on that day, when life and property were both destroyed? That is a state of things into which we have been brought entirely by the action of Her Majesty's Government. The massacre of the 11th of June did take place—I observe that the right hon. Gentleman still smiles—and the British Consul was insulted and wounded; and though we are going to ask some day that reparation shall be made, none has been made as yet. That was the state of affairs on the 11th of June; but what is the case now? The arrogance of Arabi has certainly swelled to vast dimensions; and not only has he ignored the Khedive, but the authority of the Sultan as well; and yet he is allowed to go free. We had warning from our Admiral that forts were being built in opposition to our ships. We requested that their erection might be stopped: it was stopped for a time; but soon it went on again, more forts were built, and our ships, which were sent there, as I understand, as a refuge for British subjects and Europeans who might be there in need of help, were no longer safe at their moorings in the Harbour of Alexandria. We were put to all this trouble entirely through the action of the Government, which made it necessary either that our ships must run away, or that there must be a bombardment of the town. [MR. GLADSTONE: Of the forts.] Of the forts I mean. Nobody accuses the Government of wishing to bombard the town. If the action of the Government had been much firmer, none of these efforts would have been necessary. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not smile upon this point. If the Ministry had shown a firm determination that the forts should not be built, they had the power to prevent it; but it was not until those forts became real dangers that they took effective steps to prevent it, and we know the mischief that has happened since. The events of the 11th of June had shadowed out to the Government that there were not troops enough, and that if the bombardment did take place it would be followed by massacre. In consequence of the despatch of the 30th of May we did take steps to prevent massacre, but we did it only by halves; and this, at all events, may be depended upon—that if we had only sent more troops the Admiral would have made use of them. He did not confine himself to the 300 he had before, but he used all the forces at his command; and I must hold the Government responsible, to a great extent, for the massacre which did take place. Now, I want to know—and it would be extremely interesting to have it cleared up—why it was that at that point, after the bombardment, and as soon as the massacre was heard of, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) left the Government? It was such a curious point at which to leave. He approves the bombardment, lights the match, and after it is all over he changes his mind, and immediately runs away. That must mean one of two things. Either he repents the action he took, or there were great dissensions in the Cabinet before that action was taken. It is clear that when the orders for the bombardment were given, that meant war. Why did he stay and give those orders for war, or, having given them, why did he not stay and bear the brunt of the consequences? We have never heard any explanation from him on that point; but we are thoroughly entitled to have ample explanation before the debate is over, because it might show that throughout all the previous conduct of the Government there have been great dissensions in the Cabinet as to whether action should or should not be taken. However, at last, we are compelled to go to war, and the Prime Minister comes down and asks for a Vote of Credit. He knows quite well that when a Minister comes down and demands a Vote of Credit on such a matter, that Vote will be given to him, and that fact necessarily deprives the debate of some of the interest it ought to have. But there is one question I would like to ask. We are told that this Vote of Credit is sufficient only for three months, and we very much want to know whether the Government calculate that the war, or whatever it may be called, will only last three months, or whether at the end of that period we are likely to be asked for more money? We were told that on Saturday the Prime Minister would give us a full account of the amount of the Vote of Credit; but he did not appear in his place on that day. Of course, we all know what his engagements are, and after a good deal of questioning we did get from the Secretary of State for War the announcement that we were going to be asked for £1,300,000, of which sum £900,000 was to be for the Army, and £400,000 for the Navy. We went away thoroughly satisfied that that was all that would be required, even though we thought the sum so small that we were almost tempted to ask whether there were not any shillings or pence in the calculations. But in the middle of the day an error of £1,000,000 was discovered. It was not £1,300,000, but £2,300,000, that was required. We were tempted to ask how it was, if the Cabinet had decided on the sum, that a Cabinet Minister should make such a difference between his announcement at 12 and his announcement at 2 or 3 o'clock, when the other £1,000,000 was added? We should have thought very little about, and might have imagined that there had been a mistake about, the amount for the Navy, had it not been that the Prime Minister told us yesterday that, of the £1,400,000 which is nominally for the Navy, no less than £1,200,000 is really for the Army—for the transport of troops. How, then, was it that the Secretary of State for War was not aware of the sum? That wants explanation. [Mr. GLADSTONE: It is taken for the Navy.] Yes; but for Army purposes. The Secretary of State for War must have known that, in addition to the £900,000 required for the Army proper, no less than £1,200,000 of the balance was required for transport or other Army purposes. We cannot help thinking that a great deal of money has been spent already, and that the Government have undertaken a greater task than they are aware of, and have not laid before the House anything like the expenses which they will be asked for before the war is over. I believe they have totally miscalculated what the war is to be, and what it is to cost, and that they have now only asked the House for a first instalment of that cost. We have unhappily been brought into this war by the incaution, the vacillation, and the want of concert of Her Majesty's Government. [Mr. MUNDELLA: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman says "Hear, hear!" but he is not a Member of the Cabinet, nor can he tell us why the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has separated himself from the Prime Minister, especially at so peculiar a point. Although we shall readily vote the amount now asked for, we shall hold the Government responsible for this war, because we believe it is entirely owing to their action that there has been any occasion for the Vote of Credit at all.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Hugh Shield.*)

MR. GLADSTONE expressed a hope that the debate would be allowed to finish to-morrow. Hon. Gentlemen should remember that every day added to the debate was a day added to the Session.

Motion *agreed to*.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND ASSURANCE BILL.—[BILL 190.]

(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. FAWCETT said, it would not be necessary for him to keep the House more than a few minutes in moving the second reading of this Bill. The Bill simply embodied the unanimous proposals of a Select Committee appointed at the commencement of the Session. That Committee was a representative one, embracing Representatives not only of each Party, but of almost every section in the House. Although the Bill embodied the unanimous proposals of that Committee, he found that there was one portion of the Bill to which considerable objection was raised, and that was a proposal to increase the maximum of insurance to £200, and make the maximum of annuities £200 also. Although he was extremely reluctant to relinquish that portion of the Bill, which was unanimously approved of by the Committee, he felt that at that period of the Session it would be perfectly useless to persevere with the provision in face of the opposition with which he had to contend. Therefore, as he had already stated, if he was allowed to get into Committee on the Bill, he would himself propose to alter the maximum of insurance and annuities to £100; and, if the Bill was now read a second time, he had Amendments which could be at once placed on the Paper. He thought hon. Members interested in the subject would see that he had faithfully carried out his promise. There was another portion of the Bill which was objected to by the bankers — namely, Clause 7; and it had been suggested, by a Circular which the country bankers had issued, that the Government were proposing, by a side-wind, to raise the amount allowed to be annually deposited in the Post Office Savings Banks. Nothing was further from his intention than that. He felt strongly that if the limit of the Savings' Banks' deposits was to be increased, it ought to be increased in an open and intelligent way, and not by a side-wind. But, to remove all doubts on the point, he had prepared an Amendment to Clause 7, which, he believed, would completely remove the objection of the bankers to this provision. If it did not, he should be ready to adopt any suggestion with the object of carrying out more fully their wishes on the subject. He hoped that those remarks would show that he had been anxious, as far as possible, to meet the wishes of those who objected to the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Fawcett.*)

Mr. WARTON said, as the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler) and himself had felt it their duty to oppose the Bill in its original state, he was exceedingly obliged to the Postmaster General for the consideration he had given to their objections, because, in its original state, the Bill seemed to interfere with the Insurance Companies, and to put a considerable risk on the Exchequer, inasmuch as the amount by which it was proposed to alter the annuities was very considerable. He was also obliged to him with regard to the objections raised by the country bankers. But he had to make a practical suggestion, and that was that, if the opposition was withdrawn to the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman would give some time, three or four days say, for the consideration of the Amendments which he had now proposed in regard to bankers and Insurance Companies. He made this proposal in perfect good faith and with the best intentions, and wished to offer no opposition to the Bill.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the Duties of Income Tax to be granted in conformity with the Resolution of the twenty-fourth day of April last, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year which commenced on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of One Penny Halfpenny;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Three Farthings;

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of Five-eighths of a Penny;

Provided always, That where any Dividends, Interest, or other annual Profits or Gains are due or payable, half-yearly or quarterly, in the course of the said year, the first half-yearly payment, and the first two quarterly payments shall be deemed to have been or to be chargeable with the Duty of Five Pence, and the other half-yearly payment and the two other quarterly payments shall be deemed to be chargeable with the Duty of Eight Pence.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Bill to amend the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 255.]

NAVY (H.M.S. "INFLEXIBLE").

Return *ordered*, "showing the estimated and actual cost of building and completing for Sea service H.M.S. 'Inflexible.'"—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Return *presented* accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed*. [No. 306.]

NAVY (SHIPS' ACCOUNT), 1882-3.

Copy *ordered*, "of Account of the state of Ships in the Programme for 1882-3, showing where built; when launched; first cost; total cost of repairs up to taking ship in hand for present repair; dates when commissioned and paid off; stations on which employed; work done up to the present time; present condition and nature of repairs proposed now to be done (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 406, of Session 1881) and of Ships now awaiting repair, with the date of their last commission." —(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Copy *presented* accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed*. [No. 307.]

COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS (COPELAND OR MEW ISLAND STATION).

Return *ordered*, "of the further Correspondence, since the date of the last letter of the last Return (20th day of February 1882, No. 32), which has taken place between the Commissioners of Irish Lights, the proprietors of Mew Island, the Trinity House, Mr. John R. Wigham, the Board of Trade, and Professor Tyndal, respecting the improvements of the light on, and the establishment of a fog signal at, Copeland or Mew Island, and the adoption of gas instead of oil as a means of illuminating that station."—(*Mr. Ewart.*)

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 26th July, 1882.

Their Lordships met;—And having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—

House adjourned at a quarter past Two o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 26th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —£2,300,000, FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (Vote of Credit)—R.P.

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—*Resolution* [July 25] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Committee*—Agricultural Holdings, Notices of Removal (Scotland) * [5]—R.P.

Withdrawn—Trusts (Scotland) [198].

QUESTION.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—PROTECTION OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

MR. NORWOOD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he can assure the House that, in the steps about to be taken for the protection of the Suez Canal, there is no intention to interfere with its existing administration, nor to deprive the Canal of its position as a purely commercial undertaking?

MR. GLADSTONE: In answer to the Question of my hon. Friend, I can assure the House that in the steps now contemplated for the protection of the Suez Canal, the only object in view is the defence and security of the Canal and the freedom of passage through it; and there is no question raised with respect to the administration of the Canal, its position as a commercial undertaking, or its international character.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ARMY RESERVE FORCE.

CONSIDERATION OF HER MAJESTY'S MESSAGE.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Her Majesty's Message [25th July] *considered.*

Message again read.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name, and which, I think, will be a proper introduction to the Motion which will be made by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War. It is—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her most Gracious Message communicating to this House Her Majesty's intention to cause Her Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty should think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service."

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, that it was unfortunate that the Secretary of State for War was not present, as he desired to ask him a question as to the number of men to be called out, and the term and conditions of their service? It was reported that men of six years' service only were to be called out, and not the others. As far as he had been able to judge of that, it was a very good plan. The younger men were not likely to have formed engagements in life such as older ones had. But even men of that young age sometimes did enter into matrimony; and it would be right to know what sort of provision had been made for their wives under these circumstances?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he thought the questions were most proper questions to be put; but he doubted very much whether this was the opportunity. He thought it would be better to reserve them until the Secretary of State for War made his proposal. The subject before the House now was simply an Address thanking Her Majesty for the communication She had made, and proposed nothing whatever for the acceptance of the House; and, indeed, it would be perfectly open to the House to decline to take any steps whatever in furtherance of that Message.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON said, it certainly appeared to him that this Resolution was in the nature of a war proceeding, and he wished to ask a question of the Prime Minister, because that day fortnight the right hon. Gentleman stated to the House that this country was not at war with anyone. This Resolution looked very much like entering on a course which might lead to war. He would like to know whether this country was at war; and, if so, whether any declaration of war had been made?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I apprehend this is not the first or the tenth time in history—I might say even within my own recollection — that military measures have been taken by this country without our being in a state of war. A state of war implies, in the first place, some recognized and organized Government against which that war is directed. It may be that when that Government is of a humble character, or very backward in civilization, even if it be an organized Government, war is not always declared. I do not recollect pointedly; but I do not have in remembrance our having declared war against the King of Ashantee, when war was made upon him in 1873. With respect to the present state of things, war being a certain regularly constituted relation in the sense of International Law, I do not think the term is applicable to a state of things where we are moving against a military faction that is in actual rebellion against its lawful Government. The form which the movement assumes I take to be an interference, under the circumstances, on behalf of the legal Ruler against a portion of his subjects. But a state of war, I apprehend, in a legal sense, does not exist. I do not expect that this view of the matter will have any effect on my hon. Friend, because military measures may be as decidedly taken as if a state of war had been regularly proclaimed, and as if we were dealing with parties against whom a state of war might be declared in a legal manner.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I may remind the House that on the last occasion when the Reserve Forces were called out we were not in a state of war. They were simply called out in view of an emergency.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Act of Parliament provides for that—"a state of great emergency."

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he would put his Question to the Secretary of State for War on a future occasion.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to know, with regard to the despatch of Turkish troops to Egypt, whether the Conference was to regulate the relations between the Turkish and British troops, and would decide who was to direct the operations of war; whether Sir Garnet Wolseley would be under the command of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, or whether the Turkish Commander-in-Chief would be under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley? It was desirable that some arrangement should be made on that point; because it would be perfectly anomalous, after asking the Turkish troops to go to Egypt, for our troops to act independently of the wishes of their principal officers. On the other hand, he did not see how our operations could be subordinated to those of the Turkish Commander. It would be satisfactory to know whether that could not be arranged by a special Convention between the Turkish and English Governments; or whether the Conference, by which the Concert of Europe was either to be kept up or liquidated, was to decide the mutual relations between the Turkish and the British troops?

Mr. ONSLOW: Before the Prime Minister answers that Question, I should like to ask whether the English Government are going to consent to Turkish troops being sent at all? After the preparations that we have been making, and after the considerable time taken by the Turkish Government to fall in with the demands of the Conference, I wish to ask the Government whether now, even at the eleventh hour, they will put their foot down and do what is necessary to restore law and order in Egypt by their own power alone?

Mr. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend is aware that the British Government, in conjunction with that of France, has moved the Conference to request the despatch of Turkish troops on certain conditions. The Porte has now taken a step—it may be an important step—towards compliance with that request, in sending officers, as its organs, to the Conference to enter upon the discussion. But I am not aware that the Conference has yet received any definitive communication from these organs of the Porte. None such, at least, have been made known to us. We have not received the terms and conditions upon which the Turkish troops are to be sent. With regard to the Questions of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), I think they are premature, although they are very important, because no decision has yet been taken by the Sultan as to the request of the Conference, or as to the conditions by which that request is limited. Therefore, it would be quite premature on my part to enter in detail upon the consideration of this question. But I may say that unquestionably, viewing the friendly and perfectly independent relations between British measures and the action of the Conference, I hope the Questions of the hon. Gentleman, and my not answering them, will not be taken to give the smallest countenance to the supposition that the disposition of the British Force is to be under the control of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief.

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL said, he wished to make some observations which he believed would be more in Order now than if he postponed them until the Speaker left the Chair, and he trusted the House would grant him its indulgence for a few moments.

Mr. SPEAKER pointed out to the noble Lord that the Question immediately before the House was that an humble Address should be presented, thanking Her Majesty for her gracious communication. The next Order of the Day for Supply would be an occasion on which the noble Lord would be more at liberty to enter into discussion.

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL said, with all due deference to the Speaker, he ventured to think the observations he had to make were more germane to the Question before the House than they would be on the Question of going into Committee of Supply. He had no wish to say anything which might conflict with what he took to be the prevailing sentiments—at any rate, on that side of the House—that no obstacle and no impediment whatever should be imposed on the path of Her Majesty's Government to prevent them from carrying out, as soon as possible, the task which they had set themselves, and from bringing the war to a speedy termination. But as to the time at which this Message from the Crown was taken into consideration, he must say he thought the Government had laid themselves open to some criticism. He spoke with all deference; but he ventured to say that the occasions in the history of this country had been rare when a Message from the Crown conveying an intimation of a state of emergency had been so long postponed, and deferred until the emergency had reached an acute stage. The Prime Minister, in answer to the Question of the hon. Baronet, just now said there had been many instances in the history of this country when they had been at war without a formal declaration of a state of war; but he ventured to say that was purely a technical argument. They had to face the fact that the Government had taken steps which did commit this country to a war, and without the formal consent or the countenance of Parliament. He did not think it was a trivial fact with regard to which they should not be sensitive—they who sat on the Liberal side of the House—that they were asked to vote a Vote of Credit, and asked to take into consideration a Message from the Crown after, and only after, those events which had been brought about by the deliberate orders of Her Majesty's Government to the English Admiral—events which committed this country to a war, which had absolutely compelled the Government to pursue a course of which the bombardment of Alexandria was only the first step, and which left Parliament absolutely no option but to grant what they demanded. It would be difficult to point to any historical event in the history of this country which more entirely committed the country to a war without the previous consultation of Parliament. He believed if the Government of Lord Beaconsfield had taken such a step as that of the bombardment of Alexandria, it would have been denounced in very strong and vigorous language by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs yesterday, with amazing frankness, said the Government only came to Parliament when they were absolutely compelled to do so. He (Lord Colin Campbell) thought that was a statement which, had it fallen from the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs during the late Administration, would have drawn from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, some very strong observations as to the supremacy and right of Parliament to control. The other day the Prime Minister referred to a great historical event which he (Lord Colin Campbell) should have thought would be the last the right hon. Gentleman would adduce as a precedent—namely, the Battle of Navarino. There were some very important distinctions between the Battle of Navarino and the bombardment of Alexandria. In the first place, the Battle of Navarino was the outcome of an agreement between three Powers. It was the outcome of what they might call the Concert of Europe, and it was not the isolated action of England. In the next place, it was the outcome of orders not to bombard a seaport, not to destroy the Turkish Fleet, but to establish a blockade. It was entirely unpremeditated; it was brought about by an emergency that was not foreseen—namely, the fact that the Turkish Fleet had fired upon the Allied Squadrons. Thirdly, it put an end to a sanguinay struggle — it did not commence one. It secured the triumph of a really National Party without involving this country in a war. Fourthly, it was an incident in an intervention which had absolutely no justification in International Law. He did not speak without book. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, who, as they all knew, was a great authority on International Law, had interposed in a speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and reminded him that a Conference was actually sitting at Constantinople when the Battle of Navarino was fought.

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord is now referring to speeches made in Committee of Supply on the Vote of Credit, and I must point out that the Motion before the House does not admit of a discussion of that kind. The Motion before the House is an Address to the Crown.

LORD COLIN CAMPBELL apologized for travelling outside the Question before the House. He would simply content himself with quoting the authority of letters which bore the signature of "Historicus"—an authority which he was sure the Prime Minister would at once acknowledge the great weight of. "Historicus" had said of the Battle of Navarino, that it was a "high act of policy, above and beyond the domain of law." But it was a policy which had been endorsed by the general sentiments of this country. It was a policy which had obtained through a long course of years the tacit approval of Parliament. He would not trouble the House further now, but would only venture to repeat that he thought the Message from the Crown had been too long postponed; that the preparations had been too long deferred; that contingencies which had occurred might have been foreseen; and if they had made these preparations earlier they would have had more chance of seeing an early surrender on the part of the Egyptian troops, while they would have saved the people of Egypt much misery, and this country a large amount of cost.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her most Gracious Message communicating to this House Her Majesty's intention to cause Her Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty should think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

To be presented by Privy Councillors.

MR. ONSLOW asked, assuming the debate to be finished to-day, what the course of Business would be?

MR. GLADSTONE replied, that the Vote for the Men would be taken first; then that for the money; and after that would come on the Motion of the Secretary of State for India.

SUPPLY—FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (VOTE OF CREDIT).

[SECOND NIGHT.]

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Question again proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. HUGH SHIELD (who was very indistinctly heard) said, that the right hon. and gallant Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) had made a searching criticism yesterday of the conduct of the Government. The debate had extended over a very wide field, and their conduct in a matter which must have been a most difficult business had been unsparingly criticized. The critics, however, had the very great advantage of being able to bring to their task the wisdom which proverbially came after the event. He had no intention of asking the Committee to accompany him over the very wide field which had been opened out in the debate, nor into the conduct of the Government throughout the difficulties in Egypt, which had culminated in the terrible events of the 11th of July. He confessed that ever since the military outbreaks of January and September, 1881, the state of things in Egypt had appeared to him like one of those nightmares which the consciousness of approaching peril brought about. But it ought to be remembered that the difficulties with which the Government had had to contend, and the misfortunes which had happened in Egypt, were mainly the result of the policy of the late Government, and arose from the loyalty with which Her Majesty's Government had abided by the engagements made for them by their Predecessors. It was somewhat remarkable that almost every hon. Member who had risen to address the Committee from the Conservative Benches had taunted the Government with the sacrifices they had made in order to abide by the Alliance which was bequeathed to them by their Predecessors. That was the only observation he proposed to make upon the general subject; and he now intended to address the Committee upon a single part of the subject, to which all the speeches of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite had been addressed, and especially that of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), and which had for their sole basis the circumstance that the Fleet was sent to Alexandria unprovided with an adequate landing force. The criticisms resolved themselves into one of two propositions—either it was wrong to send a Fleet to Alexandria without sending at the same time an Army along with it, or the Fleet, being at Alexandria, and being unprovided with an adequate landing force, it was wrong for Her Majesty's Government to allow the bombardment to take place on the 11th of July. But it was at the suggestion of M. de Freycinet that, as a first step, it was desirable for Her Majesty's Government to send iron-clads to Alexandria. Her Majesty's Government acceded to that suggestion, at the same time informing the other Powers that they might do the same if they chose. Would any hon. Member suggest that, instead of acceding to the request of M. de Freycinet, Her Majesty's Government ought to have taken up this position, and replied—"No; we will not send a Fleet of iron-clads without, at the same time, sending a landing force, to send on shore in case of need." A landing force, to provide for any emergency which might arise, must of necessity have been a large force, and a moment's reflection would dissipate the suggestion. The situation was just the situation in which it was reasonable to hope that the sending of iron-clads to Alexandria might exercise a salutary effect by assuring the Khedive of support, and allaying panic; but to have insisted on sending an Army would hardly have been consistent with our attitude towards the other Powers, and with due regard to the jealous watchfulness of the Powers in regard to their separate action. He therefore passed by that suggestion, and, assuming that any error Her Majesty's Government might have committed was not an error which could apply to the sending of ships, he came to the question, was it wrong, the Fleet being there on the 11th of July, and being unprovided with a force for landing, to bombard the fortifications of Alexandria? What was the situation? At that time the Fleet was menaced with serious danger. He postulated that fact, and, while he declined to go further with hon. Members who treated that allegation of fact as an odious exercise of power, he could not help regretting the manner in which the hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard) had discussed the question. No doubt, everything in the nature of war was, to the hon. Member, most deplorable. But, the Fleet being in danger of serious injury, there was only one of two courses open to Her Majesty's Government—either to get the Fleet under weigh, as the French Government did in the case of their Fleet, or lay before Alexandria and bombard the forts. It was known very well that the French Fleet steamed out of the way. He had no inclination to make the slightest reflection upon the French Government for the course they took, or to suggest that, from their point of view, it was inconsistent with the conduct that ought to have been expected from them; but, regarding it as their only possible line of action, he would view it in the light of the consequences which it might have entailed upon the Khedive himself. If Her Majesty's Government had taken the same course of action they would have brought themselves within the scope of the eloquent invective which Lord Salisbury addressed to them upon a recent occasion, when he said—

> "You have pledged yourselves to the present Viceroy of Egypt; you have promised to protect his interests and power; you have induced him to place himself in a position of unexampled danger, and you cannot abandon him without meanness incompatible with honour."

Therefore, Her Majesty's Government had no possible course open to them, except to remain at Alexandria and bombard the fortifications. And now came the argument of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and especially of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who said that the Government ought to have foreseen the particular consequences, and the deplorable consequences, which did follow upon the bombardment. But how was it possible for Her Majesty's Government to anticipate that, after the attacking force had demolished the fortifications, the defending force would proceed to burn and pillage the city? Happily, so far from that being an ordinary incident in civilized war, it was an unheard of incident in history. The right hon. and gallant Admiral opposite (Sir John Hay) brought forward the precedent of Moscow, and based upon it a charge of want of *prévoyance* on the part of the Government. He would not waste many words in referring to the case of Moscow; but he did not know whether the right hon. and gallant Admiral had the case of Aden in his mind, when he said it was the duty of the Government to send a Military Force with the Fleet. Aden was a fort on the South-West Coast of Arabia, and it was bombarded by a Naval Force, and then taken by soldiers. That case certainly presented an instance in which a Military Force was usefully combined with a Naval Force. But it was idle to suggest that the instance of Aden ought to have conveyed any lesson to Her Majesty's Government.

SIR JOHN HAY said, the case he had mentioned was that of St. Jean d'Acre, on the 2nd of November, 1840.

MR. HUGH SHIELD begged the right hon. and gallant Member's pardon if he had misquoted him. The bombardment of Aden took place just a year before, and he had done the right hon. and gallant Admiral the injustice to suppose that that was the achievement he had alluded to. Nevertheless, the instance of Aden was one that was well worth considering. But the object of the expedition to Aden was not only to attack, but to capture the place. The Sultan had undertaken and promised to cede Aden to the British Government, and it was of the very essence of the expedition that we should send not only a Naval, but a Military Force. But the capture of Alexandria was no part of the design of Her Majesty's Government. And when we bombarded Algiers, in 1810, the attack was made in order to obtain the release of prisoners who had been piratically seized, and who were cruelly confined. That case also was the case of a Mahommedan city, occupied by a Mahommedan population, with fortifications of considerable strength. The fortifications were bombarded; but there was no idea of landing an armed force, and the defending force, after the demolition of the forts, did not proceed to pillage and burn the city. He asked, when did his hon. and learned Friend present the House with that long catalogue of warnings, which he said ought to have apprised the Government of the particular and special results which took place? Not one of those separately, or all of them taken together, in the smallest degree pointed to the pillage and burning of Alexandria. They did point to the necessity of removing the inhabitants, and that Her Majesty's Government had not neglected. That was the only lesson these warnings conveyed to Her Majesty's Government, and he ventured to say it was the only lesson they would have conveyed to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), but for the great advantage which he enjoyed of bringing to bear on his task the wisdom which came after the act. If that foresight of the hon. and learned Member, and other Gentlemen who had taken the same line of argument, were not *ex post facto*, then he said that they were gravely to blame for not having imparted the result of their clairvoyance more fully to the House. He did not know whether the hon. and learned Member for Chatham had attended the important meeting at Willis's Rooms, at which the whole strength of the Conservative Party was present; but from the circumstance that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had described it as a "hole-and-corner" meeting, it was probable that he did not attend it. However, the character of the speeches delivered there appeared to be significant, and he would, with the permission of the Committee, read extracts from two of them. Mr. Bouverie said—

> "We have seen an event without parallel in the history of this country—a number of our fellow-subjects, officers and sailors of the British Fleet, have been murdered while a British Admiral with a British Squadron lay quietly at anchor and did nothing to protect them."

Again, Lord Salisbury spoke to the effect that—

> "The Arabs were under the guns of the English ships. It was a shame it should be said that not only had one Representative of England been wounded and British officers killed, but that the Admiral of the Fleet never budged an inch."

He (Mr. Shield) pointed out that if the Admiral had "budged an inch," he could only have done it by firing his heavy guns, and those who urged that course now blamed the Government for the consequences. But he ventured to claim from history a different verdict. He believed, whatever might be the fortune destined to attend our arms, the verdict of history would be that in the long, difficult, and complicated negotiations which had had this unhappy *dénouement*, the objects before Her Majesty's Government had been such that no Liberal Government need blush for them, and that the means they had employed were the best that were open to them, having regard to the great and unexampled difficulties which encumbered their action. They certainly did not enter on this business with a light heart, nor did they underestimate its gravity; nevertheless, they went forward with a good hope that neither in its origin nor by its results would the military action now taken by Her Majesty's Government bring discredit on the English name.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he should not detain the Committee very long in discussing the question before it, nor should he endeavour to follow his hon. and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Shield) into the question of the necessity of the transactions which had taken place. These things had passed, and they were now entering the phase of immediate hostilities. He wished to ask Her Majesty's Government with what Allies those hostilities were going to be undertaken? It appeared to him that the Concert of Europe had completely disappeared, and that they were entering upon this serious undertaking without a single Ally; in fact, that they were going to do what the Prime Minister had more than once protested against in the case of Austria. Having quarrelled with the Constitutional Party in Egypt, they were going to maintain that Party against the party of action; but they were going to act under circumstances totally different from those which existed on former occasions. When they went into the Crimean War, they did so with the consent of all Europe. They had France as their Ally; they had Austria as a benevolent Ally, carrying her benevolence so far as to occupy the Danubian Principalities; they had the goodwill of Piedmont, the principal independent Power in Italy; Germany as an Empire did not at that time exist, but Prussia was certainly neutral; she did not take part in the hostilities, and any hostility she might have privately felt was neutralized by the feeling shown by the smaller German States. Thus they had Turkey and France as active Allies, Austria as a benevolent Ally, Piedmont as a possible Ally, and it might be said that the feeling of all Europe, with the exception of Prussia, was against Russia. The only opposition to the policy of the late Government appeared in the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister, who said that "Day and night he thought how he could thwart the projects of Her Majesty's Government." [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no!] He was not speaking with reference to Egypt, but saying that the policy of the late Government was opposed by the right hon. Gentleman. However, what was their present position? France was not entirely with them; Turkey did not seem to go very far with them; and neither Germany, Austria, nor Italy had shown any active interest in their success. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had told them yesterday that he had a right to assume that they had the moral support of the four Powers; but that assumption seemed to be based upon no written document, and if they were to judge from the assumption he announced in the House a few days ago that Austria and Germany considered our bombardment of Alexandria a legitimate act, it seemed to him they could not depend much, in the hostilities they had undertaken, upon the imagination of a Government which could not distinguish between a negative and a positive. The Government and their supporters had informed the Committee that all these difficulties arose from the establishment of the Control; but, as he had pointed out some time ago, the establishment of the Control took place under very different circumstances from those which existed at present. They were at that time the Allies of Turkey; they were endeavouring to restore to Turkey Provinces which she had lost by the attacks of Russia; France had cooperated with us in making the Treaty of Berlin; and the Sultan had deposed the late Khedive at our request. But then there had been no demonstration at Dulcigno, and France had not seized Tunis. The conditions of amity in which the Control was established had disappeared, and Turkey saw in France and England, instead of two Allies, two Powers who had done her a fatal injury. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had yesterday discussed the conduct of Her Majesty's Government towards the Chamber of Notables. But, in his reply, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) gave no answer to the statement of that hon. and learned Gentleman; indeed, it seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman had very imperfectly read the Papers on this subject, because he had to be constantly prompted by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The President of the Board of Trade said that he inferred that M. Gambetta had opposed the pretensions of the Chamber of Notables, because that Body had been summoned by Arabi Pasha; but his hon. and learned Friend had shown that immediately after it was summoned by Arabi Pasha the Chamber went against him. On the 14th of September, Consul Cookson wrote—

> "On Tuesday (the 13th) things took an unexpected turn for the better. The relief came from an equally unexpected quarter. Arabi Bey had summoned to Cairo in support of his demand for a Constitution—by which he buoys up his military agitation—the members of the old Chamber of Notables. These gentlemen, to the number of 150, arrived that morning; but they proved more capable of appreciating the true situation than their military allies. Informed of the negotiations going on with Cherif Pasha, they, in a body, went to him and intreated him to agree to form a Ministry, offering him their personal guarantee that if he consented, the Army should engage to yield absolute submission to his orders."

That was on the 14th of September, 1881. Then he came to M. Gambetta's proclamation, in which he opposed any concession to the Chamber of Notables as advocated by Lord Granville. On the 17th of January, 1882, nearly six months later, Lord Lyons, writing to Lord Granville, said—

> "M. Gambetta answered that he had already despatched to M. Sienkiewicz by telegraph a very strong instruction directing him to concert measures with Sir Edward Malet, and to insist upon Cherif Pasha's absolutely rejecting the demands of the Notables, on the ground that they were incompatible with the state of things established in Egypt by international engagements with France and England. M. Gambetta went on to say that he was informed that at Cairo a compromise had been proposed to the effect that the rejection of the demands should be accompanied by an assurance that they should be complied with in 1885, or at some other fixed date. His Excellency had, however, he observed, especially instructed M. Sienkiewicz not to listen for a moment to anything of the kind."

The President of the Board of Trade assumed that, in January, M. Gambetta refused to consent to the concession to the Chamber of Notables because, in September, they had been summoned by Arabi, and had at once shown that they were not at all under the influence of that person. But his belief was that the Government were so anxious to obtain M. Gambetta's assent to the Treaty of Commerce that they were willing to throw everything into the hands of France if she showed herself likely to sign that Treaty. They had been informed that Her Majesty's Government were tied down by the Control established by the late Government. No doubt, they had been right in carrying out, as far as they could, the policy of the late Government; but it seemed to him, in view of the fact that they had upset the policy of Lord Beaconsfield in every other respect, that there could be no great harm in modifying the constitution of that Control in obedience to the exigencies of public opinion. But they had, in fact, given way to France, and allowed themselves to be led by the nose, so to speak, by the Controllers themselves. Now, what said Sir Edward Malet? On the 11th of January he wrote to Lord Granville thus—

> "The 31st Article of the new Organic Law of the Chamber of Delegates, proposed by the Government, authorizes the Chamber to express opinions on the Budget, but it gives no power of sanctioning or rejecting any part of it. The Budget is divided into two sections—one disposing of revenues assigned to the service of the National Debt, the other of those revenues which are free. The Delegates of the Chamber, it appears, are unanimous in insisting upon the right in future years of voting this second part, which they contend will in no way interfere with international engagements. At first they asked to examine and vote this part of the Budget of 1882, but the proposal was subsequently withdrawn. Cherif Pasha and the Controllers General are of opinion that if the Chamber is to have the right of voting the Budget, the Council of Ministers, and, therefore, the Control, lose all hold over the finances. It is possible that the Chamber, if it possessed the right, might use it with moderation, but it would be a leap in the dark to confide the power to it before it has in other matters proved its political capacity. On the other hand, the Chamber exists, and will continue to do so unless it is forcibly suppressed, which can only be done by intervention, and this is a last resource which the possible eventuality of the infraction of the Law of Liquidation would in no way justify. It is not impossible that the breach which has thus been created between Cherif Pasha and the Chamber may, if not avoided, ultimately cause His Excellency's resignation, in which case the present Minister of War would be the popular candidate of the National Party for the Presidency of the Council. But supposing the Khedive names a Minister who comes into office on a point on which he at once finds himself at variance with

the Controllers, the situation becomes extremely difficult. I confess that rather than this situation should supervene, I would prefer to give the Chamber the right, and to wait until this right is abused before interfering. It must be borne in mind that the Egyptians have distinctly for good or for evil entered on a Constitutional path; that the Organic Law of the Chamber is their charter of liberties."

And this charter of liberties, the adoption of which was recommended by their own Agent, and the rejection of which their own Agent said would cause Arabi Pasha to be made President of the Council, the Government refused, at the dictation of M. Gambetta, who, at the same date, said he would not listen to one word of the demand. At a later period, Cherif Pasha having gone, another Minister came into Office—Cherif Pasha having fallen in consequence of the Government truckling to M. Gambetta. They would now see what this succeeding Minister wrote to Sir Edward Malet. Anything more moderate than the document referred to he had never read. It ran thus—

"The note refers to the whole Budget; whereas, by the terms of the Law of Liquidation, the Budget of Government expenditure is divided into two parts, purposely distinct, the first containing the credits necessary for the service of the Public Debt, the second embracing all the amounts entered to meet administrative expenses. It is beyond doubt that the sole cause and object of the institutions created in Egypt in consequence of the international arrangements, were to guarantee the regular fulfilment of the obligations of the country towards the creditors. The Foreign Governments never ceased protesting in this respect, that it was their formal intention not to mix themselves up in the internal administration of Egypt, which was intrusted to His Highness the Khedive by the terms and conditions of the Imperial Firmans. There is nothing to modify this position. On the contrary, the Organic Law, which is drawn up with a feeling of scrupulous respect for engagements, which Egypt considers sacred, withholds in an absolute manner from the vote of the Chamber, all the credits necessary for the service of the Public Debt; they thus form a charge inscribed, so to say, as a matter of routine in the Budget. Consequently, far from being jeopardized, the interests of the creditors ought once more to be re-assured. In accordance with the Decree of the 15th November, 1879, the Controllers General take rank and place at the Ministerial Council Board with consulting voice; they, therefore, take part in the discussion of the Budget, and give their opinion. The whole Budget will continue, as heretofore, to be discussed at the Ministerial Council. The Controllers General retain the most extensive powers of investigation, and the right of communicating either to His Highness or his Ministers the observations arising from their investigations, but the Government never undertook to exclude the country from that discussion. Can it fairly be blamed for admitting the taxpayers to examine the use of the public funds devoted to administrative purposes? Is it not a right common to all countries, a primordial right which cannot seriously be denied to the Government of His Highness the Khedive without, at the same time, denying to it the essential prerogative conferred by the Firmans of internal administration for Egypt? However, in view of the misgivings which have been manifested, it has been conceded that the Budget, before coming executory, shall be discussed by the Ministerial Council with the assistance of a delegation from the Chamber of Notables. The Chamber of Delegates has been assembled six weeks; it is eager to enter on a normal procedure, and impatiently awaits the promulgation of its Organic Statute which the Ministry cannot further delay. None of the provisions of that Statute infringe the International Conventions in force. The Government of His Highness hopes that that very promulgation will tend to remove all misgiving, and will, by the absolute reservation of all questions relative to the Public Debt, furnish the Governments of France and Great Britain with a fresh proof of its firm determination loyally to observe all its engagements. It relies on the equity and constant goodwill of the two Governments insuring a favourable reception for the preceding explanations."

Those were the modest and temperate words of the Egyptian Minister who succeeded Cherif Pasha, who had been turned out of Office because Her Majesty's Government would not allow him to consent to the reasonable demands of the Chamber of Notables. They found that Minister in a calm manner asking them to allow the Chamber of Notables to have those rights which belonged to all Representative Bodies, and the Government were at the same time informed by their Agent that unless this was granted there must be intervention, because that would be the only way of settling the question. Yet, in the face of this, the Government not only refused to accept the demand of the Minister, but even to take it into consideration. He would now ask how they were to take the statement made the other day by the Prime Minister, that "in any arrangement the rights of the people would be taken into consideration?" He would also ask if Her Majesty's Government had at last succeeded in obtaining the assistance of Turkey in the restoration of peace and order in Egypt? If that were not quite arranged, he should think Her Majesty's Government would take means for preventing it, because, naturally, if the Turks went there Her Majesty's Forces would be in a very disagreeable position. He had asked earlier in the day what would be the relative position of the Turkish troops and those sent out under Sir Garnet Wolseley; and he had received to that question one of those answers which the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly entitled to give, but which, like many of his replies, conveyed no notion whatever of his intentions. Therefore, he again asked what the relations of the British and Turkish troops would be? Were they to be settled with Turkey—throwing aside that Concert of Europe which seemed to have disappeared altogether from the political programme of the Government? Or were they to be arranged according to the determination of the Powers? Again, he asked whether the arrangement would include the right of the Chamber of Notables to exercise all those privileges which, as he thought, they had asked for in the most temperate manner? Further, he would like to know what Her Majesty's Government conceived to be the period over which their operations in Egypt were likely to extend? He found that the proposal in the Conference was that the stay of Turkey in Egypt should be limited to three months, unless the Khedive asked that it might continue for a longer time. Had the Government stipulated for a stay of three months; were they going to remain in Egypt for three years, or did they mean permanently to occupy the country? It was supposed that Her Majesty's Government had taken up this Jingo policy for the purpose of eclipsing entirely the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. They knew that on entering upon the war with Turkey, Russia made similar professions of disinterestedness to those made by Her Majesty's Government; yet Russia obtained a large accession of territory by the Treaty of Berlin. Therefore, he asked, what was to be the nature of the operations the Government were about to undertake in Egypt? Then there was the question as to the ultimate position of the Suez Canal. Much had been said at various times of neutralizing the Canal and placing it under the safeguard of a European Guarantee. He had himself advocated that policy at the time of the purchase of the shares; but there were different kinds of neutralization, and he was distinctly opposed to that form of it proposed by M. de Lesseps—namely, the prevention of the passage of ships of war through the Canal in time of war. But, surely, steps could be taken which would entirely remove that difficulty and place the Canal under the jurisdiction of the Public Law of Europe in a manner satisfactory to the nations of the world. In the case of the Canal on the other side of the Atlantic, provision was made by Treaty with regard to its political position, and it was provided that vessels of war traversing the Canal should be exempted from capture in time of war, the protection thus afforded being extended to such distance as might be defined from the two ends of the Canal. If that principle were applied in the case of the Suez Canal we should have the benefit of the Canal in time of war, while, at the same time, there would be no infringement of it by any belligerent. Again, it was a rule of International Law that all vessels of war might enter neutral ports for repairs, but that they must not leave until 24 hours after the departure of merchant vessels under the enemy's flag. Why should not this rule be applied to the Suez Canal? He was unable to see why the same regulations should not apply to the Canal as applied to neutral ports. There was no intention on the part of hon. Members to interfere with the grant of the money necessary for the operations which the Government were about to undertake; but they had a right to expect from them some intimation both as to the future of Egypt under their auspices, and the position of the Suez Canal. In his opinion, peace and order could not be restored to the former except on the basis of popular content, nor could the freedom of the latter be secured without satisfying the legitimate demands of the nations of the world.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that, whatever might be thought of the conduct of the Government by hon. Members opposite, it was his good fortune to speak on behalf of the Navy, which he felt sure would receive from all parts of the House nothing but praise. The officers, the seamen, and the marines had all admirably discharged the duties assigned to them. Complete as their success had been, the modesty which had characterized them throughout the recent operations was still more remarkable. He would add that what deserved, perhaps, even more praise than was called forth by the manner in which the ships and men were handled, was the promptitude with which seamen and marines were landed, and the admirable zeal, courage, and judgment with which they discharged the delicate and difficult duty of restoring order in Alexandria. So far, he thought, there would be no difference of opinion that the Navy was free from blame. But in many quarters there was, no doubt, a disposition to attach blame to Her Majesty's Government for their conduct of the Naval operations in the Mediterranean. He need hardly say that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay) had taken a prominent part in expressing his opinion in that sense, because he was never backward when an opportunity offered to attaching blame to the Liberal Party. The observations with which he should trouble the Committee would be, for the most part, in reply to that right hon. and gallant Member. He was under the disadvantage of not having heard the earlier part of his speech; but he found, by a report of it in the newspaper, that he had stated that some of the ships sent to take part in the operations under Sir Beauchamp Seymour were not suited to the work they had to do, and that vessels of a lighter draught ought to have been present. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman went further, and said that these vessels ought to have been present in the harbour, in order to attack the fortifications of Alexandria. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), however, ventured to state it as the opinion of most competent Naval authorities, that the ships on the spot, as matters had proved, were the best for the purpose intended—that it required exactly the kind of heavy ships that were sent there to silence the forts at Alexandria.

Sir JOHN HAY said, his remark had reference to ships required to take the place of vessels which were withdrawn from the places assigned to them by the Admiral.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, his contention was that the ships sent were fitted for achieving the object in view. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman also said that although no detailed official account had been received of the bombardment, yet a private account had reached him which stated that the *Sultan* had received a large number of shots before she was able to make any reply whatever to the batteries on shore, which she was charged with silencing, and that it was not until she anchored that her fire became effective. Now, he asked whether it was right for the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, who he was sure would be the last man to cast any slur on the officers and crew of the *Sultan*, before any official account had been received of what had happened, to hold forth to the world that the ships of the Fleet were so ineffective in the manner in which they managed their guns that they failed to hit the forts before they were themselves struck, as he believed his statement was, 30 times? There was no official information bearing out that statement.

Sir JOHN HAY said, the hon. Gentleman must allow him to explain that he had said nothing disparaging to the officers of the *Sultan*, whom he believed to have behaved in a most gallant manner. His statement was that the ineffective firing was due to the swell of the sea; he spoke of that as causing an unstable platform for the guns, which would not have occurred in smooth water in the harbour.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he thought it would follow, from the statement of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, that the ship being under weigh, and in consequence unable to discharge her duty, some blame would attach to the officer in command for not having brought his vessel to an anchor. He was not prepared to enter into the merits of the question; but he regarded it as unfortunate that a report of this kind, which had no sort of authentic confirmation whatever, should have been used by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman. But the principal allegation of the right hon. and gallant Admiral was founded on the insufficiency of the force employed; he stated to the Committee again and again that the Government had not provided Sir Beauchamp Seymour with a sufficient Military Force for the purpose of protecting life and property on shore, and that allegation was mainly founded upon a despatch of Mr. Consul Cookson, which he quoted, It turned out, however, that the words quoted were not those of Mr. Cookson, but the words of a Memorial signed by some of the inhabitants, which Mr. Cookson forwarded. The substance of that Memorial was that the small Squadron in port could only silence four of the forts, and that the Admiral's force available for operation on shore did not exceed 300 men. It was upon this that the right hon. and gallant Admiral founded his allegation that the Admiral had not more than 300 men to land at Alexandria. [Sir JOHN HAY: At that time.] That could hardly be so, because he said in his speech that, after carefully examining the despatches published by the Government, he had come to the conclusion that it would be unfair——

SIR JOHN HAY: From what is the hon. Gentleman quoting?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: From a report of the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman.

SIR JOHN HAY: It is quite inaccurate.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The report stated—

> "That on the 16th of June a certain letter was written to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, saying that he was authorized to land a force if required for the protection of British subjects and Europeans. The Committee would observe that on the 16th of June the City of Alexandria had 12,000 troops, while the force at the disposal of Admiral Seymour was not more than 300 men."

SIR JOHN HAY: The letter I quoted was from Lord Lyons. I do not object to anything I have said being criticized, but I object to be criticized on a report which I deny to be accurate.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he was content, if the report was not accurate, to fall back on the allegation founded on the so-called despatch of Mr. Cookson. It was true that at the time that despatch was written, the 30th of May, there were in the Harbour of Alexandria only the *Invincible* and two smaller vessels; but on the day the despatch arrived another iron-clad, the *Monarch*, and two other vessels were ordered to Alexandria. They joined on the 2nd of June, and on the 5th of June the *Alexandra*, the *Superb*, the *Temeraire* and the *Inflexible* arrived, the force which they carried being available on the day of the massacre. That being so, he appealed to any Member of the Committee who heard the speech delivered by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman yesterday, as to whether the impression was not conveyed—unintentionally, of course—that the 300 men alluded to in the Memorial forwarded by Mr. Consul Cookson represented the number available at the time of the massacre, and not those available some weeks before the steps were taken which he had described? But the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was not content with quoting the so-called report of Mr. Consul Cookson; he quoted also Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and said that while the Government stated, in answer to Questions put to them, that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had full instructions to land men, if he thought fit to do so, Sir Beauchamp Seymour himself wrote on the 12th of June that he had no intention whatever to land men. And here, again, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the precise circumstances under which that announcement was made. The massacre at Alexandria occurred on the 11th of June, and it was true that Sir Beauchamp Seymour did not land any force on that day. But in the Papers that had been laid before the House the Admiral gave his reason for this, which was that any attempt to land a force on the Marina would have been followed by most serious consequences. Moreover, Captain Molyneux, in even stronger terms, had stated that, although the troops would have undoubtedly overcome the resistance which would have been opposed to their landing, yet many thousands of lives would have been sacrificed. Although it was unintentional on the part of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, he ventured to say that he had very greatly misrepresented the meaning of Sir Beauchamp Seymour's statement. In discussing the merits of the question as to whether a large force could not have been landed on the day of the bombardment in order to secure Alexandria from the perils which threatened it, he would not enter upon political considerations. The political reasons against that course being adopted had, he thought, been disposed of by the Prime Minister, who pointed out at an earlier period of the discussion that it would have been in opposition to the whole tenour of the policy of the Government if they had attempted at that time to land such a force as would have been required for the purpose. But he would ask anyone who had looked at the map of Egypt and considered the circumstances of the case, how the landing could have been effected? Let it be borne in mind that the only place where this force could have been landed was in Aboukir Bay; that it must have been landed under the guns of the forts, and marched along a narrow strip of land, in order to cut off Arabi and his force from the country beyond. One of two things would then have happened. Either Arabi would have been caught in a trap, and in that case it was probable that a lawless soldier, such as he was, would have committed the most dreadful outrages and pillage in Alexandria; or if, as was far more likely, he declined to be taken in the trap prepared for him, he would have evacuated Alexandria and spread outrage, murder, and pillage over the interior. He did not believe there would have been any means of saving the city from destruction, even if there had been 10,000 men available for landing there. But the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had told the Committee what he would have done under the circumstances. He said he would have sent 10,000 men to Cyprus long before the bombardment was thought of. His plan was then to begin the bombardment in the morning, so as to allow plenty of time; the 10,000 men were to come from Cyprus and to land in Aboukir Bay while Arabi was occupied with our guns, and to occupy the city without any resistance. But was it likely that, while the Fleet was engaged with the batteries, Arabi would have been ignorant of the fact that a fleet of transports two miles off were making for Alexandria? The right hon. and gallant Gentleman, he believed, said that no Naval officer of distinction would approve the course which had been followed by the Government. Now, although he had no right to express an opinion on Naval operations, yet he had some modicum of appreciation of what the result of this plan would have been, and, so far as he could gather from the opinions of competent officers, the plan promulgated by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would have had no practical effect whatever. He had only one other statement of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman's to refer to, and he must apologize for having made his speech so personal. The other statement the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had made was that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government must have had some idea of what would happen if Alexandria were bombarded. The Prime Minister had said that no one could have foreseen that an Army such as that of Egypt's, with the forts destroyed, no doubt, but still in occupation of the town, could have committed such an act of criminal violence as that they had witnessed; but the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) had referred to the burning of Moscow as an instance in support of the argument he had used. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman ransacked history for a case, and the one he unearthed was the case of Moscow. Well, a worse case could not possibly have been selected, because the Committee would see what the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had to prove—not that there were cases in which a defeated Army had set fire to a town, but that there had been cases before where an act of that sort had occurred in consequence of there not having been a force at hand strong enough to prevent it. So the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would have them to believe that the Russians burnt Moscow and retired from it because the French were not strong enough to prevent them. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had always believed it had been because the French were in such overwhelming numbers that there was no possibility of resisting them. The argument against Her Majesty's Government was that they did not provide a sufficient force to prevent this act being done; but he contended that no force they could have brought would have prevented it. He thought, therefore, he might safely take advantage of this instance, and say that the argument proved their case, instead of doing anything to disprove it. These were the observations he had to make on the conduct of the Naval operations; but he should like to refer to two points not immediately connected with the matter. He had observed that comments of a somewhat contemptuous kind had been made as to the marines in the *Tamar* having arrived at Alexandria without ammunition, and the *Orontes* having arrived without any troops.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he had not referred to that.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he was not quoting the right hon. and gallant Gentleman; but he thought it right, as he had seen these comments in the newspapers, to state what he knew about these matters. As to the *Tamar*, the explanation was perfectly easy, and it was this—that when the vessel was sent out with a number of marines to strengthen the marines in the Mediterranean Fleet the ships of the Fleet were full of ammunition, and, therefore, there was no necessity for sending out any ammunition. Those marines, as it turned out, were used at Alexandria as a separate force; but it was not for that purpose that they were sent. At Alexandria, of course, there was an abundant supply of ammunition for them. Then, as to the *Orontes*, she was at Malta, at the disposal of the Admiral commanding-in-chief. He was aware that she was empty, and it was by his orders that she was first sent to Cyprus and then to Alexandria. The Government had the most perfect confidence in Sir Beauchamp Seymour, who was a man possessing great knowledge of his Profession and considerable judgment; and though it might not be for him (Sir Beauchamp Seymour) to say it, no doubt the gallant Admiral had excellent reasons for what he did. The Admiralty had not yet heard from him on the point, and he (Mr. Campbell Bannerman) could only conjecture what the gallant Admiral's reasons were. He had not authority to say so, but it seemed to him that the reason for the proceeding was this. At Cyprus there were two large iron-clads, the *Agincourt* and the *Northumberland*, each with a battalion on board. The Admiral, probably, ordered the *Orontes* to Cyprus—first, because it could take the troops out of these two ships and make them and the iron-clads more comfortable, which was a matter of importance if they were to remain there any length of time; and, next, because that would leave two ships at his disposal for general Naval purposes. So long as they were half-transports and half-fighting ships they were not so useful for Naval purposes. Therefore, the *Orontes* was sent to Cyprus to get the troops out of the two iron-clads, and thus disengage them for Naval purposes. Instead of that, the two iron-clads were themselves sent on to Alexandria with the troops on board, and the *Orontes* accompanied them. That was only a conjectural explanation, although he thought it was a probable and natural one; but, even if it should prove not to be correct, the Admiralty had such confidence in Sir Beauchamp Seymour that they felt quite sure he could give excellent reasons for his proceedings.

MR. T. C. BRUCE: In making the remarks which I intend to address to the House on this subject, I may say, in the first place, that I do not wish to discuss the amount of responsibility which may be distributed between this and the late Government with reference to our interference in Egypt. And I refrain from doing so for this reason, that I think every Government in England, to whatever Party it may belong, is bound by the nature of things to exercise some such interference. What is the position after all? It is, I think, agreed by every statesman in this country that we have a very great and paramount interest in the Suez Canal, not only because a very large proportion of the traffic which goes through it is British, but because we are, perhaps, the only nation to which that Canal is a matter of necessity in a time of war, and our position is thus not only paramount but peculiar. We have heard discussions about the possibility of defending the Canal. It is perfectly certain that in the long run you cannot have peaceable possession of the Canal unless Egypt is at peace, and it would be against the highest interests of this country to allow the intrusion of any Power which might, under certain conditions, become hostile to ourselves. The result is that Egypt is, to a great extent, a protected country. It is not like a free nation with independence of action and responsibility for its own errors. We thus incur a certain responsibility by the very nature of things, and cannot allow Egypt to prove itself a nuisance to its neighbours, and probably a danger to ourselves. We have heard of protected countries before. We know what the result was of the famous Protection of Turkey, to defend her against foreign attacks and not against her own internal difficulties. And if we are placed in that relation towards Egypt, we have certain responsibilities—responsibilities which we cannot entirely shake off—in reference to the government of that country. Now, there were two ways of proceeding under these circumstances. One was, of course, the very simple one of conquering the country. But could we undertake the government of a country, inhabited by a hostile population, and the limits of which are very undefined? Egypt stretches to countries where Europeans cannot work and live, and if you attempt to occupy all of that country, you have to resist an endless succession of tribes, one more savage than another, and it would involve you in constant expense and international embarassment. It seems to me the only course was to enter into some arrangement whereby we could secure such an amount of good government as it is possible to obtain in Egypt, consistent with the nature of its inhabitants, and at the same time to place ourselves in a position of friendliness with all other nations concerned. At the time when these engagements first began the state of Egypt was very peculiar; the state of bankruptcy and confusion has already been stated to the House. That condition offered not only an occasion, but an imperative occasion, for some interference. I know that in this country bondholders are not looked upon with favour; in fact, they are considered in some quarters as no better than landlords, and they are representatives of what French revolutionists call "infamous capital." It has been the practice of this country not to interfere on behalf of English bondholders, but that has not been the practice of other countries; and if you were to have a settlement of Egypt agreed upon by other Powers, it was absolutely necessary that there should be some settlement of the bondholders' claims. The French Government was particularly interested in that character, as the French people hold very largely; and they were pressed very strongly by the public to defend the rights and claims of the bondholders. Now, if our object were to secure the good government and prosperity of the country, certainly no better means to accomplish that could be invented than a control over its finances which would insure a regular financial administration in that country. The Committee will, I hope, forgive me for entering into some detail on a matter of which I have some personal knowledge. There is one thing which is wanting in the mechanism of all Oriental, and probably of all absolute Governments, and which is of the greatest practical importance, and that is such a control over financial details as is exercized by the Treasury in this country. The Minister of Finance in Oriental countries is the banker—not the controller of the other departments and of the Sovereign. They call upon him when they please. Even where there is a regular Budget, whenever the heads of departments want more money they go to the Sovereign, obtain an order from him, and those sums are paid without any reference whatever to the general state of the finances of the country. That has been one of the great difficulties in introducing a regular system into Oriental countries. The introduction of the Control was intended to remedy that state of things. The European administrators, having, as they had, an independent position, were able to introduce not only regularity, but also a great reform in the whole financial administration of the country. Sometimes this originates among Eastern people themselves, but only where the Sovereign is a man of great strength of mind. For instance, the Sultan of Turkey has introduced a degree of regularity into the finances, such as has not been known for years; but that is a financial accident, not a regular system. The result of what has been done in this respect in Egypt has been universally admitted to be an enormous increase in the prosperity of the country, as was only natural. It was the natural result, because not only were the burdens on the people to some extent diminished, but they were regulated and defined, and that is a most important point in Oriental finance; for it is not the burdens that do appear, but the burdens which do not appear, that are most important. Not only were the claims of the creditors reduced about 30 per cent, but illegal and arbitrary exactions were almost entirely abolished, and that alone has given to the population of Egypt a sense of security which it has never enjoyed before, I suppose, since the time of Joseph. That is, I believe, the main explanation of the great increase of prosperity which nobody denies, and which has been shown particularly among the lower classes. There has been lately a great importation of timber into Egypt to build houses. The fellaheen never had houses before, and they dared not show that they had wealth enough to get a house, or it would have been seized by the rapacious tax-gatherers. Suppose we had adopted a plan which I have seen proposed, and by passing a self-denying ordinance had wiped out the whole debt; not a single Egyptian taxpayer would have paid one penny less, as the money would have been taken from them all the same, to whatever use it might have been put. That system of Control was carried out by the management of the two Powers most interested in Egyptian affairs. A great many remarks which have been made about the Control do not apply to it at all, but apply to the action of the different Governments, through their Consuls interfering with the government of Egypt entirely independent of the Control. You cannot, in a year or two, reform a country which has been misgoverned for 5,000 or 6,000 years. But the result of the measures of reform which have been adopted, and of the consequent prosperity, has been a greater development of political feeling among the people than has ever been known since they emerged from the condition of slaves, and anything which tends to destroy the new system would, in my opinion, be a very serious loss to the Egyptian people, at well as to the rest of the world. It is perfectly possible, and I hope it is probable, that if the National Assembly, when relieved from the present military tyranny, shows itself to be influenced by feelings of independence and courage, and attains different knowledge of administration, it may be able to supply the place of the Control and of other departments now under European supervision; and no one would be more rejoiced than I should be. But at present our intervention cannot be dispensed with, without destroying all the benefits of what has been done. The House may remember that the National Assembly have declared that they would respect the rights of the Controllers to the revenues applied to the Debt, but that they would claim the control over the rest of the expenditure. What would follow while they are influenced, as they are at present, by the military authority, is that in case the ordinary revenue became insufficient for their objects, they would either have recourse to the hypothecated revenues, or would form a new Debt, which would lead to further complications. Therefore, the resistance offered by the Controllers to the changes suggested in their position, without any experience of how the Assembly would deal with it, was, in itself, perfectly justified, independently of the fact that their position is secure by an international compact. There were one or two points in which the system was badly worked. One was the great excess of European officers employed. To my mind it was absolutely necessary to have European *employés* taking the principal departments—men trained in good habits of finance and administration. But partly owing to the dual character of the Control, there has been a great increase in the number of subordinate European *employés*, beyond what I think was necessary or desirable; and it would be much more satisfactory to train up the Natives themselves to fill these posts. I believe the salaries given to the higher officials were not a bit too large. I have had some experience of what you have to pay men of intelligence and probity who go from this country. In one part of the administration of the Revenue of Turkey in which I was concerned, we had only one European, who was at the head of it, and the whole of the rest of the people employed were Natives. There were 4,000 of them, and they worked as efficiently as any body of Europeans would have done. There is another point on which a good deal of jealousy has arisen, and that is the partial exemption of Europeans from taxation. This matter is, however, not so much the result of Control as of the old capitulation. I have never had occasion to speak about Oriental affairs without raising my protest against this. It is a relic of a state of affairs which has passed away. It is unjust to the Natives, and injurious to the progress of civilization. Two days ago when I listened to the eloquent words of the Premier as to his desire to treat Mahommedans and Christians alike, I hoped that he would take up this subject. It would be an admirable theme for the European Concert. These differences caused a certain amount of irritation; but that irritation was confined to certain classes, particularly those who had been gainers under the old system of government, and I think it might have been altered by judicious reforms. A more serious danger was the discontent of the Army. It had been harshly treated, particularly the officers, for the men are only too glad to get their discharge, even without payment of their arrears of pay. This discontent culminated in the meeting of February, 1881, which was a threatening symptom, and should have been repressed more sternly than it was. I have not alluded to one subject of importance in this matter—namely, the position of the French. On the lines I have endeavoured to explain—the desire of arriving at a solution of the Egyptian difficulty with the adhesion of the other Powers, which appeared to be necessary, the French had to be taken into account. They had a large financial interest in the country; and they had a considerable interest in Egypt besides their financial interest. The hon. Member for Merthyr talked in a disparaging way of the French interest as being sentimental. That may be so; but with some nations the sentimental reason is as strong as the desire for cotton on the part of some hon. Members. I know that at the time the French Government entered into these arrangements it fully realized the objects of this country, and was sincerely disposed to co-operate with us. But difficulties arose, owing to the old traditions of French diplomacy in the East. The traditional policy of all the French Consuls in the East, and of all French Government *employés*, has been one of jealousy and hostility to this country. This was aggravated by the conduct of what is called the Colonies—that is, the residents of each different nationality, who are animated by far greater jealousy than we are at home, and whose great idea is that the whole power of their respective nations should be exerted in support of their interests and feelings. The difficulties thus created were intensified by the extreme instability of French Governments. I believe that, for several years, the average time in Office of a French Ministry has been under 10 months; and though a Minister may not approve what his subordinates are doing, those subordinates believe that he will not remain in Office long enough to interfere with them. Look at the case of M. de Ring. He encouraged the pretensions of Arabi Pasha, and opposed the French Controller. Thereupon he was recalled, an act which was severely blamed by the newspapers which belonged to M. Gambetta. Then, when the Council assembled the other day at Constantinople, the French Government sent M. de Ring to take part in the deliberations. That is an instance of the great instability which marked the conduct of the French Government to their *employés*. But there occurred last year what, to my mind, has been the determining cause of all our trouble, and that was the French Tunisian Expedition. That Expedition produced two results—it stirred in its depths the Mussulman element in Africa against all Europeans, and particularly against those who showed themselves in alliance with France. It was that feeling which turned what was first a Military revolt into a National movement, and gave a most serious extension to the feelings which existed in Egypt before. It had another effect. If you are to deal on friendly terms with a great Mussulman population, there are only two ways of doing it. One is, you may conquer them. When a Mussulman is once beaten he knows it; he says it is fate, and he submits. But, short of that, the only method is by remaining on terms at least of friendship with the leaders of his religion. The one thing which really excites a Mussulman is a feeling which, when we share it, we call zeal; when we do not share it, we call it fanaticism. But whether zeal or fanaticism, it is the very strongest feeling a Mussulman has. That feeling was excited, not by us, but by the French in that unfortunate Tunisian Expedition. In another respect that Expedition was most unfortunate. The great and steady aim of the French Government since then has been to avoid the introduction of the Sultan's power, moral or physical, into Egypt; and from that time forward no proposition to allow him to interfere, either morally or by his troops, has been accepted by the French Government, except after every species of delay. Since then the assistance of Turkey has always been saddled with conditions which would place the Sultan before the public as the distinct Agent of Christian Powers, which would deprive him of any power for usefulness that he might have among his own people. The influence of the Sultan over this part of his Empire is far more religious than political. The Sultan must either interfere by an Army and force, which is to be avoided if possible, or by his moral influence acting on the side of the Powers, and not as their delegate; because if he acts as their delegate he loses over the Mussulman population the whole of his present influence. One of the most unfortunate results of that Tunisian Expedition has been that it has thrown the French Government into a position in which it cannot accept anything which would strengthen the moral position of the Sultan in North Africa. I blame Her Majesty's Government because they have not taken sufficient account of this fact. They have held with the French Alliance, and submitted to them in a course which must infallibly lead to a break-up of the friendly system on which Egypt has hitherto been governed. Our Government has at divers times suggested the intervention of the Sultan. That has been set aside at the instance of the French, not because of the interests of Egypt, but because of the interests of their policy in North Africa. That was never one of the things we undertook to support, and should never have been allowed to exercise the influence it has done in the decisions of Her Majesty's Government. I will not go into a detailed examination of the Papers, which has been already done in this House, and which fully supports my assertion. I only allude to the meeting in September last, because it was the result of that meeting which first alarmed the European community and induced them to restrict their operations. Her Majesty's Government then proposed that a Turkish General should go and endeavour to restore the Army to their allegiance. That proposal was objected to by the French, and abandoned; and then, when the Sultan sent an Envoy, without an Army or any military character, Her Majesty's Government do all they can to diminish the importance of that mission. As a matter of fact, he did a certain amount of good, and he might have done more; but all his relations with the Western Powers were such as to diminish the influence of Turkey. I am not an advocate for the employment of Turkish troops; but I am an advocate for the power which the Sultan might have exercised on those rebellious subjects, and without which an armed conflict was certain to ensue. Then came Lord Granville's despatch of November 4th, which I read with considerable surprise. It was a little too good. It did not mention the real reason for our presence in Egypt. We are there for reasons of our own, which no English Government can neglect. I blame that despatch because it did not mention those interests as the reason. They are not incompatible with the rest of the despatch; on the contrary, we have every reason to wish for prosperity and a good government in Egypt, because it is necessary for our interests as regards the Suez Canal. And stating this openly, it would have had this advantage—that possibly if these reasons had been given the despatch would have been believed. I have seen a good deal of these Oriental peoples; and if you profess greatly disinterested motives they do not raise an echo in the breast of an Oriental. If you showed them there was something you wanted for yourselves, and which would be good for them, they would listen to you; but if you say you are putting yourselves to trouble solely for their good, it is listened to with the same sort of incredulity with which in private life you would hear a man say he was come to buy your goods for your benefit only—you would button up your pockets. That is the main objection to that despatch. I think it was the desire of the amiable Gentleman at the Foreign Office to place a most charming picture of his feelings and wishes before the Egyptian people; it failed because he did not understand them, and because the language of Rasselas is no longer understood on the banks of the Nile. Now we come to another phase of this matter, which is a very important one, and that is the Ministry of M. Gambetta. M. Gambetta has a will of his own, and, furthermore, he appears to have had a very clear appreciation of the solution of this question in the sense in which he wanted a solution—namely, to accept no interference, moral or physical, on the part of the Sultan. He took it up, and proceeded to act upon it, and the result was that famous Dual Note. That Note contained something like a promise and something like a threat; and there would have been a good deal to be said for it, if the Governments had put themselves into immediate position to execute that promise and to realize that threat. But they did not. The Dual Note produced considerable excitement in Egypt and in Europe, and great indignation at Constantinople; but it was followed by nothing. M. Gambetta took all that passed between him and Lord Lyons, and between Lord Granville and M. Challemel-Lacour, in the most favourable view to his own object. In the famous despatch in which M. Challemel-Lacour stated that Lord Granville had told him the Note was of no use whatever, I have no doubt that the French Ambassador misunderstood what Lord Granville had said. Lord Granville is a very intelligent man, and he must have said not that the Note was of no use, but that it was much worse than useless. In the meantime these statements were made, these expectations were excited, but no action was taken, and the Egyptian people were left contemplating these Powers with no other feeling than, if they were acquainted with English history, a wonder which was Sir Richard Strachan and which the Earl of Chatham. The Note produced considerable disturbance in the minds of European Powers, and was connected both with what we were doing in Egypt and with another fact in the political world, which is a clue to all Continental politics, and that is the jealousy between the French and Germans. There is a rather curious despatch in the French Yellow Book, dated February 10th, from the French Ambassador in Berlin to M. Gambetta. He says—

> "In conformity with your instructions I have endeavoured to become informed as to the disposition of the Cabinet of Berlin with regard to Egyptian affairs. From the intimation I have received, and which I have reason to believe to be authentic, an exchange of ideas has passed between Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy on the subject of the attitude they ought to assume on the renewal of troubles of the nature of those which occurred in Egypt a few months ago. The conclusion is that the Cabinets are unanimous, although in different degrees, to reject the proposal of any descent on the banks of the Nile, of either English or French forces, and that the solution, which appears to be the only practical one, would be the sending of Turkish troops."

The result of M. Gambetta's policy, whatever it might have been, was cut short by his resignation, which was another instance of the extreme difficulty of resting on a French alliance, because in three months the policy of France underwent two changes—one being from the somewhat inert policy of M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire to the active policy of M. Gambetta, and the next from the active policy of M. Gambetta to the effacement of M. de Freycinet. There is another despatch in the book of February 16th, from the French Ambassador at Berlin to M. de Freycinet. He says—

> "Prince Bismarck told me that he had been extremely apprehensive when he saw France and England taking the initiative by any step which might engage them in military intervention in Egypt, for he was convinced that any action taken under those conditions would produce difficulties between the two Powers, and might even lead to a conflict between England and France, which would provoke a disastrous perturbation of the whole world."

The German Chancellor added that, in his opinion, the simplest way of getting rid of the Egyptian difficulty was to confide to Turkey the charge of the matter. There is a remarkable change in the tone of those two despatches, which is explained by the change in the French policy. M. de Freycinet still maintained the objections to the introduction of the Sultan's power in Egypt; but he was determined not to move the French Army unless he had an order from Prince Bismarck, to prevent the danger to France of the German Chancellor raising any objection afterwards to what he did. That had been the guiding policy of the French Cabinet ever since. And in all our arrangements and the diplomatic means we have adopted, we have been carrying out the wishes of the French Government, which were to combine an appearance of energy in this matter with a due subordination to the national distrust of their neighbours, which is the guiding policy of the French Government. I believe that in all these negotiations Her Majesty's Government adhered far too closely to the French Alliance, and this has prevented our Government interfering to prevent a danger which was every day growing more formidable, and also prevented their taking those steps which their own judgment indicated. That led to this interminable delay. There is no evidence that at any time the Great Powers of Europe would have had any objection to our taking the necessary steps. The principal object of the Conferences was to obtain the French concurrence, which you have not obtained. There was nothing in the history of Europe to lead anybody to expect that you could possibly have succeeded, and all this delay and disaster would have been avoided had you formed a right judgment of the policy of Europe. We held on to the expectation of French help, while events have been growing, and we have lost the assistance we might have had from the Sultan. We have committed ourselves before Europe and Turkey to an intimate union with the nation which has excited the greatest possible hatred in Turkey, and which unfortunately does not possess the confidence of Europe. I do not oppose the Vote; but I do hope, if the grant is made, that the affair will be short and decisive. I trust there will be no diplomatic delays, and no seeking for the opinion of other nations. No other nation is going to fight; but we have undertaken a task which I fear is far more formidable than many think. I trust it will be carried on with vigour, and without any diplomatic hindrances, which can only endanger our success and increase our losses.

Mr. RATHBONE said, he would not attempt to enter into the merits of the interesting speech they had just listened to; but he would point out what he knew, from his experience as a merchant and a shipowner, to be a fallacy, which he believed to be at the bottom of the present difficulty, and which, if not removed, might lead us into further complications when we came to make final arrangements for the restoration of order in Egypt. The fallacy to which he referred had run through a great many of the speeches that had been delivered on the present occasion, and had even found a place in the speech of the hon. Member who had just spoken, notwithstanding his great knowledge and experience of the East. Many of the speakers in this debate had attacked the Government for having attempted, in the first instance, to obtain the Concert of Europe before they interfered, either alone or in conjunction with France, and they did so on the ground that England had an interest in Egypt and the Suez Canal differing and exceeding, not only in degree, but in kind, the interest of other nations, and they assumed a position which he thought derogatory to the power and independence of this country, and utterly untenable in fact—namely, that the commercial greatness of Great Britain, and her power and her connection with India, were dependent upon the maintenance of the Suez Canal, and, therefore, England had special ground for interference. He should show that, so far from that being the case, other nations rather than England had a special interest, differing, not in degree, but in kind, from that of England. Let him guard himself against being supposed in any way to depreciate the immense interest the world had in the commerce through the Canal. Two sentences would suffice to show what the Suez Canal had done, and what it had not done. It had opened a new way for commerce of infinite benefit to producers and consumers in India and Europe; but it had not specially improved the position of preponderance which England enjoyed as the first commercial nation of the world. Therefore, the position of England, both commercially and politically, could not be struck at by other nations through the Suez Canal and Egypt. It was very important this fact should become known, because, acting on that supposition, the nations of Europe had declined to join us in steps which might have prevented this outbreak in Egypt, or at least made its suppression more speedy. What had the opening of the Suez Canal done as regarded the position of the commerce of England as compared with the commerce of other countries? It had transferred from England that position of immense advantage which she possessed of being the natural geographical depôt of the commerce of the East. Let him illustrate this by a single example. When he went, as a youngster, into an East India house to learn business, the cotton of India was collected by Natives, brought down to Bombay in carts, and there it was collected by Native houses, and then shipped by an English house, in an English ship, to an English port, where it was consigned to an English house, warehoused in an English warehouse, insured in an English office, and sold to an English merchant, who bought it for manufacturers in Austria and elsewhere, and then shipped in English vessels for Marseilles, Havre, Trieste, or other ports on the Continent, whence it was distributed to the manufacturers. What happened now? Nearly the whole of that cotton went direct from India to the ports of Southern Europe, and from there sent on to the manufacturers. The manufacturer in Austria could contract, and did contract, with the Native merchant in Bombay to supply him direct with a certain number of bales of cotton every week or month, so that the former trade of England was swept away. It was true that some of the cotton still came in British vessels, but for shorter distances, and smaller freight, and it was even difficult to maintain that diminished trade. The same had taken place in other trades. The silk which in his young days was brought to London now went direct to Lyons and other places without coming to the English depôt. This had been an immense advantage to the consumers and producers of India and Europe, but it had been of no special advantage to England. This transfer of trade had been mainly in consequence of the opening of the Suez Canal; and had it not been for the immense energy of our people, stimulated by Free Trade and political freedom, incalculable injury would have been done to our trade, and the fate of the cities of Eastern and Southern Europe when the course of trade was changed from them in olden days might have overtaken this country. People said—"Look at the enormous increase that has taken place in the Mercantile Marine of this country through the opening of the Suez Canal." The cause of that, however, was the invention of the compound engine a few years before the opening of the Suez Canal. Steamers superseded sailing ships, and iron superseded wood. England being the workshop of the world, and the financial centre of the world, our shipowners, having been roused to energy by the abolition of the Navigation Laws, at once took advantage of the new state of things. He thought he had made clear that the position of England as a Maritime Power was not created by, and did not depend upon, the Suez Canal. Our communication with India no longer depended upon the Suez Canal. This had been partly shown in the speech of the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), and in the letter which he addressed to the newspapers the other day. Without going so far as his hon. Friend as to the speed of steamers, he was advised that it was perfectly possible now to build transports which would take the whole of the coal necessary to carry them straight to Bombay, and which would take on board their cargo of men and *matériel*, and reach Bombay in as short a time as the present transports did—namely, in 31 days. Surely this was a cheaper way of making ourselves independent of other countries than undertaking to interfere in all cases in Egypt. It was perfectly true that the new transports would go to Bombay in a shorter time through the Suez Canal than they would if they went round the Cape, providing there was no impediment and danger in the way; but would anybody tell him that in case of a European war in which a country with Mediterranean ports was engaged, we should attempt to send our men and *matériel* of war through narrow seas exposed to gunboats and torpedo vessels which could issue from the ports? If these powerful transports were sent through mid ocean, where we had many more cruisers than other nations, the transports would be hard to find, hard to catch, and dangerous to follow. He maintained, consequently, that in case of war with any Mediterranean Power it would not be through the Suez Canal, but by the high seas that we should send our *matériel* and men. Had he not shown that neither our commercial superiority, nor our Naval power, nor our connection with India were necessarily dependent upon the Suez Canal? And what was the bearing of this contention on the present argument? Why, it was that the Government were perfectly right in appealing to Europe, as interested at least as much as we were in the maintenance of peace in Egypt, and in the maintenance of the Suez Canal. It was of the greatest importance that we should avoid complicated engagements with individual Powers in Europe, the difficulties of which had been well pointed out by the last speaker. He hoped we were not so ill-advised as to return to a system of individual alliance, instead of keeping up that great Court of Arbitration which this Ministry, to their great honour and credit, had re-established in the hope of averting war. In voting for the Government on this occasion, he did so on the understanding that as soon as order was restored in Egypt the Government would again have recourse to that great Court of Arbitration, and not enter into entangling arrangements with individual Powers likely to lead to complications and misunderstandings with the Powers themselves, and utterly inadequate, as experience had shown, to protect Egypt from disorder, or to do anything to maintain the peace of the world, which he believed to be the object and intention of the present Government.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he had listened with considerable interest to the observations of the hon. Member for Carnarvon (Mr. Rathbone), and he must say that the impression those observations left on his mind was that because the hon. Gentleman assumed that the Suez Canal was not a convenient mode of transit for vessels, he came to the extraordinary conclusion that Her Majesty's Government were wrong in interfering with the affairs of Egypt. In his (Baron Henry De Worms's) opinion, the first hypothesis of the hon. Member was utterly and entirely fallacious, and in answer to that hypothesis he would simply read a few sentences from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) last evening, in reference to the importance of the Suez Canal. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "There was, in the first place, our interest in the Suez Canal, the great highway of all nations, and the road to our vast Indian Possessions. He had had some figures drawn out for him with respect to it, and he found that no less than £50,000,000 sterling in goods of different kinds passed through the Suez Canal each way annually. In other words, one-seventh of the whole foreign trade of this country passed through the Canal at the present time. The Fleet which was engaged in carrying that merchandize was itself worth £15,000,000 sterling. Of the entire shipping passing through, four-fifths was British."

He commended these words to the special attention of the hon. Gentleman; they appeared to carry conviction home, and he (Baron Henry De Worms) was at a loss to understand how the hon. Gentleman, who had such a large experience of the shipping trade, could possibly conclude that the maintenance of the Suez Canal was not of paramount importance to the commerce of the world, and freedom of transit an Imperial, as well as a commercial, necessity to Great Britain.

MR. RATHBONE: I never said anything of the sort. I asserted it was of vast importance.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, the hon. Gentleman had certainly attempted to minimize its special importance to England. If they assumed that goods of the value of £50,000,000 sterling passed through the Canal each year, of which 82 per cent were English, he thought it was clear that England had an immense stake in the maintenance of the Suez Canal. He would, however, leave that portion of the speech of the hon. Member, and pass to other matters which, perhaps, more distinctly bore upon the question before the Committee. First and foremost, he would wish to allude to the speech of the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. That speech was unquestionably one of great ability; but it was more distinguished by what it left unsaid than by what it really said. The hon. Baronet did not condescend to treat the Committee to an exposition of that foreign policy which had led the country to the present disastrous crisis. He simply informed the Committee that it had become necessary for Her Majesty's Government to take certain steps; but, as regarded all the intermediate stages, the hon. Baronet did not give any explanation whatever. Before he made his statement to the Committee as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Egyptian crisis, the hon. Baronet adopted a course which was scarcely worthy of the good case which he assumed Her Majesty's Government had. Not content with offering no explanation of the line of policy which had led Her Majesty's Government to the present result, the hon. Baronet endeavoured to throw the whole onus of the present state of affairs upon the late Administration. He referred, in the first instance, to the mission of Mr. Cave in 1876, but of that mission he was not able to say more than that it was entered into with a very useful intention—that was to say, with a view of looking into the accounts of Egypt. But when he came to the mission of 1879, he said he should be able to establish the fact that that particular mission to Egypt was fraught with political rather than with financial importance, and he proceeded to prove his position in a very remarkable way. He said there were two considerations submitted to the Commissioners who were then appointed—M. Joubert and Mr. Rivers Wilson. One of the considerations affected the distribution of the revenues of the country. That the hon. Baronet did not complain of in a political sense; but the other consideration had regard to the administration of the National Debt of the country, not administration in the sense of the word in which it was usually accepted, but in a mere book-keeping sense—that was to say, the Commissioners were called upon to look into the State accounts with a view of putting them in order—and that, the hon. Baronet argued, was a political interference on the part of this country in the affairs of Egypt. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, however, did not mention at the time one fact, and that was that one of the Commissioners who went out to Egypt for that purpose was a Liberal ex-Cabinet Minister—a man of great ability, but who certainly would not have accepted the mission had it been of a political, or anything other than of a purely financial, nature. It was hardly fair to assume, under these circumstances, that this purely financial action was a distinctly political one, and that, as a result of it, we had now been reduced to the unfortunate crisis in which we found ourselves. The hon. Baronet used another argument which was still more remarkable. He said the Commissioners, Messrs. Rivers Wilson and Joubert, were clearly appointed politically, inasmuch as they were allowed to have a seat in the Councils of the Khedive. But the hon. Baronet forgot to mention the fact that that appointment was not made by the Government, but by the Khedive himself, with a view of affording such facilities as might be in his power to the Commissioners for the purpose of setting to rights, if possible, the accounts of Egypt. The hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard) and the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) declaimed loudly against the war; they said it was undertaken in the interest of the bondholders. They argued that the interference or investigation which took place in 1879 had led to the present crisis; and as, in their opinion, the present crisis was likely to terminate in war, they came to the exceedingly illogical conclusion that, because Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. Joubert were appointed to look into the finances of the country, this war was undertaken in the interest of the bondholders. There were no nations who were not interested more or less in the finances of other countries. Their argument was refuted with great vigour by the President of the Board of Trade. A more ridiculous fallacy or indefensible proposition was never submitted to that House than that because a country had a large pecuniary interest in another country, therefore it was precluded from interfering to protect its own interests. He had already said that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his long and able speech of yesterday, presented to the Committee no actual defence of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and he (Baron Henry De Worms) was prepared to prove that assertion. He would take one point which was of very great importance. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that some short time since he ventured to ask the Government what were the opinions expressed by two of the Great Powers of Europe—namely, Germany and Austria, as to the course which had been adopted by Her Majesty's Government. The answer he received from the hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was to the effect that both Germany and Austria had approved the action of Her Majesty's Government in the bombardment of Alexandria. Not feeling perfectly satisfied as to the accuracy of the answer, he repeated his Question two days later, and the answer of the hon. Baronet then was that Germany, at least, so far from expressing approval, had done exactly the reverse. ["No!"] Well, had not expressed her approval. A few days later the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) put a similar Question with regard to Austria, and the answer was very much in the same groove. As a matter of fact, the official organ of Austria repudiated the statement that a full approval had been given by Austria.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT asked what the hon. Member meant by official organ?

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, he meant the official *Gazette.*

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that what had been quoted was the language of the diplomatic despatches.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, the communications were printed in the official *Wiener Zeitung*, and he understood the Government of Austria had not expressed their absolute concurrence with the policy of the Government, as the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs had led the Committee to believe. Be that as it might, it would not have been out of place if the hon. Baronet had told the Committee what were the exact relations between the Great Powers and Her Majesty's Government at this moment. If hon. Members looked back they would find that the whole foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government had been based upon what they might now call a myth—the Concert of Europe. The European Concert had been the pet hobby of the Prime Minister ever since he assumed Office. It had been preached to them perpetually; but he was bound to say that the present form of the European Concert was, like a novel form of music, more distinguished by its discord than by its harmony. It was evident that if European Concert on this particular question had ever existed it existed no longer. It was not necessary he should investigate the particular reasons which had led to the alienation of England from many of the Great Powers. Those reasons were not difficult to find. If they remembered some of the utterances of the Prime Minister, such as "Hands off!" applied to Austria, and the "antihuman specimen of humanity!" applied to Turkey, they could understand why the Concert of Europe had not been maintained. The result was that now, when we needed European Concert, we found ourselves isolated and alone, and, therefore, it showed the inherent weakness of his case when the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs dared not face the facts. The hon. Baronet had glossed over the relations between this country and France. In the able speech which they had just heard from the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce), the hon. Member put, as clearly and as fairly as it was possible, the reasons which led him to consider that the extraordinary subservience shown to France was fraught with great danger to this country. No one more than himself would desire to see the most perfect *entente cordiale* between two nations so intimately bound up together as England and France; but he was bound to say that the extraordinary line of policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government with regard to France led one rather to the conclusion that the Government had no exact ideas of their own, but that originally they depended upon France for ideas. It was perfectly clear, that however much the two countries were bound together, however desirable in the interest of civilization it was that France and England should remain on the best possible footing, it was impossible that two countries who had not and could not have the same interest could always have the same policy. That was an axiom of politics, and one which, unfortunately, the present Government had neglected. The interests of France and England were not identical, and, as was pointed out by the hon. Member for Portsmouth, nothing could have been more dangerous, in this particular crisis, than for us to go hand-in-hand with France, who, by her action in Tunis, had offended the Mahommedans. The origin of the whole of these complications might be found in the Dual Note, and that Dual Note was inspired by France. It was no sooner written than it was not acted upon, and what was the result? It begot in the minds of the Egyptian population distrust, and it strengthened the hands of Arabi Pasha. The next step we took was the Ultimatum *de jure*, but not *de facto*. Her Majesty's Government endeavoured to prove they did not send the Ultimatum. The actual Ultimatum originated with Her Majesty's Representative at Cairo, and was afterwards accepted by the Government in the Despatch of the 25th of May. The Ultimatum was to the effect that Arabi Pasha should be deprived of his power and banished. Was he deprived of his power and banished? No; he was reinstated and decorated by the Sultan, and France and England were ridiculed. What was the next step in which we went hand-in-hand with France? It was the "Self-Denying" Protocol, which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had tried to explain away. When he (Baron Henry De Worms) asked the Prime Minister the other day whether we were not prevented, by that Protocol, from taking any particular course for the security of life and property in Alexandria after the bombardment, the Prime Minister said that was so; but, subsequently, the right hon. Gentleman said that he did not mean it was the effect of the Protocol, but that certain words had been incorporated in the proceedings of the

Conference as to "sole action." It was not necessary to point out how extremely illogical the conclusion of the Prime Minister was, because, as a matter of fact, if this "Self-Denying" Protocol was the reason why we did not send troops to prevent the massacres in Alexandria, how was it that now, this "Self-Denying" Protocol being in existence, we could send troops? As a matter of fact, this "Self-Denying" Protocol was merely a clause introduced in the proceedings of the Conference, and this clause was introduced, not at the instigation of England, but at that of France. Here there were four facts in support of the argument he advanced—that blind subservience of Her Majesty's Government to that of France had mainly contributed to bring about the present disastrous crisis. First of all there was the Dual Note, then there was the Ultimatum, then the *Protocole de Désintéressement,* and then the sending of the Fleet, also suggested by France. The first resulted in distrust, the second in ridicule, the sending of the Fleet resulted in massacre, and the result of the "Self-Denying" Protocol was the destruction of Alexandria. These facts alone were quite sufficient to show that the Government were, to put the more charitable interpretation, misled by the views which they entertained with regard to the identity of our interests with those of France. It appeared to him that, step by step, disregarding all the warnings alike of our own officials, and, he might almost say, the dictates of common sense, we had gradually and certainly come to this terrible state of things. In the masterpiece of the greatest of Italian poets, he was struck with a passage which appeared to him to convey very accurately the position of Her Majesty's Government—*Virgil,* pointing out to Dante the unfortunate beings whose principal sin would seem to have been their indecision, and their having done neither good nor evil, but who were, notwithstanding, just on the verge of the Inferno, said—

> "Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda é passa."

Her Majesty's Government, through their indecision, stood on the brink of that dark abyss, and had gradually led this country into a dangerous and complicated war. Her Majesty's Opposition could for the moment but look and pass on, waiting events. He did not think it necessary to pursue the course adopted by many hon. Members, and discuss, word for word, the various despatches which were to be found in the Blue Book on this question. He did, however, think that one great reason why the unfortunate result which they now deplored had been arrived at, was the love which Her Majesty's Government had always shown for empty demonstration. It was thought, when the Fleet arrived off Alexandria, that its presence would have such a moral effect upon the Egyptian people that peace and order would at once reign supreme. The policy of the Government was like that adopted by the Chinese and Japanese of old, when they painted hideous faces on shields with the view of frightening their enemies. We had, step by step, drifted into war, of which no one could foretell the end. There was every reason why no loyal Englishmen should wish to embarrass Her Majesty's Government at such a moment as the present—["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen said "Oh, oh!" but he should be the last to embarrass the Government; but, on the other hand, he should not be doing his duty to his constituents or to that House were he to debar himself from what he considered perfectly honest and legitimate criticism of the policy which had led to the present result, and the policy of the Government which could be best described as a policy of "Letting I dare not wait upon I would."

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not propose to make many observations on the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, but wish to address myself to a very different speech, coming from the Benches opposite—the speech of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce), who, in a closely-reasoned argument, full of the responsibilities of the present situation, made a very considerable contribution to this debate. With regard to the speech which we have just heard, I must say it was full of those contradictions which we notice in so many of the speeches of hon. Members opposite, and with respect to which I may have a word or two to say presently. I wish to know, is it the desire of the Conservative Party we should act alone in Egypt, or is it their desire that we should act with other Powers; and, if it is their desire we should act with other Powers, who are the Powers with whom they desire us to act? Those are questions which I think may fairly be put, and with which I propose to deal myself. I think the Committee will see the great embarrassment under which Her Majesty's Government—and, indeed, any Government in Office at a time like this—must labour if they are to fight more or less with their hands tied. They cannot speak of foreign Powers as hon. Members opposite speak of them; they cannot speak with the freedom of independent Members; and they cannot comply with the natural desire which is felt by hon. Members in this House that at every stage the complicated negotiations which are at present being pursued should be made public. Other Powers maintain their secrecy and conduct their negotiations undisturbed by Parliamentary inquiry; and, therefore, I think allowance must be made for Her Majesty's Government in that respect. I might put it in this way. It is a game at "whist" they are playing, and they are expected to lay their cards on the table, while the other players may reserve to themselves the secrecy of their own hands. In speaking of other countries, I shall claim the same privilege of speaking with freedom as hon. Gentlemen opposite; but it will not be in the sense of being discontented with the relative position which this country is occupying at the present moment in the Councils of Europe. The hon. Member who has just sat down spoke of the alienation of other Powers from England. What Power is alienated from England? To what single despatch can hon. Members opposite turn to prove that we are alienated from any Power? Why should hon. Gentlemen wish to turn to any despatch of the kind? Why should they wish to prove that this country has alienated either the goodwill or the respect of the other Powers of Europe? I maintain, and I am prepared to show, that at the present moment this country does enjoy the confidence of the other Powers of Europe, and that it does enjoy it because the Powers believe in the clean-handedness of this country. An hon. Member—I think it was the other hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff)—yesterday said that the other Powers of Europe were suspecting that we had got sinister designs on Egypt. I do not believe that that is the view of the other Powers of Europe. I believe they have convinced themselves of the entire sincerity of England in this matter. Much has been said with regard to France; and we may bear in mind at the present moment that every word which is said with regard to an alliance or an understanding with that great nation is said at a time when that nation itself is in the midst of a great crisis, and when one of the great questions which are before the French people and the French Chamber is the value of an alliance or understanding with England. That is one of the points which is now submitted to French public opinion, and, therefore, under the circumstances, there is a great responsibility attaching to hon. Members of this House who discuss these difficult and delicate relations. I have seen the report of a debate which took place not 10 days ago in the French Chamber, and that report should be read by hon. Gentlemen who think there is no respect or regard for England in Europe. The debate turned upon the value of an understanding with this country, and from all sides of the Chamber there was a feeling expressed that an understanding with England was one of the sheet anchors of French prosperity, and one of the sheet anchors of the future of France, and was, indeed, a matter which was not to be lightly disturbed. I do not say that because the French desire an alliance, that alone is a reason why we should sacrifice any English interests to that alliance; but it is a fact to which we are entitled to call serious attention. And let me ask the Committee at what moment is it that the French desire an alliance with England? Five or six or ten years ago one would have said that the French nation would have been indignant and angry at any isolated action of England in Egypt; one would have said that any shot fired by English guns in Egypt, if the act was not done in company with France, would thoroughly estrange the relations between the two countries. That was the prophecy. The interests of both countries in Egypt had always been acknowledged; and I commend to the recollection of those who talk lightly of our acting alone in Egypt that it has always been a doctrine received in France—a traditional doctrine of French policy—that there could not be any isolated action of England in Egypt.

Well, then, I say it is a remarkable fact that in the face of this tradition, in the face of this doctrine, England did act alone in Egypt. And what is the result? That France is alienated or angry? Not at all; but that our action is followed by a debate in which the English alliance is still considered as the sheet-anchor of France. Much has been said about the subservience of England to M. Gambetta. But anyone who reads the French papers will see that precisely the same charge was launched against M. Gambetta, and that he and his Colleagues have been represented as the dupes of the wiles and the astuteness of the English diplomacy. But, perhaps, as it was said in France that Lord Granville always had the better of the French Ministers, it is only natural that the same thing should be said, *mutatis mutandis*, in England. But unless there are Members of this House—I hope there are none—who read the newspapers in order to find something that may tell against ourselves, anyone who reads the papers in a proper spirit will see that the action of Her Majesty's Government has been appreciated in France, and that where we might have expected opposition and reproach, we have met with nothing but commendation. And I would have said as much, did time permit, with regard to the question of the alienation from us of the other Powers of Europe. If the Committee will allow me I will now turn to some other portions of this great controversy, which may truly be said to extend over so much ground that it is impossible for any hon. Member to deal with it in all its phases. I do not propose to enter into any of the controversies which have been initiated with regard to the bombardment of Alexandria, or the number of troops that Her Majesty's Government ought to have sent during the several stages of the proceedings which have culminated in the position in which we find ourselves now; but I wish, and the Committee will expect me, to say something on the subject of the Joint Control which has been introduced into the discussion of this question. But, before I come to that point, let me say this, that the key of the position of the Government appears to me to be the fact that anarchy in Egypt is dangerous to the best English interests, and anarchy in Egypt is a thing which cannot be suffered to exist, if we pay due regard to the best interests of our country. That is no new doctrine. Some hon. Members speak as if the importance of Egypt to England had only been discovered since there were Egyptian bondholders, since the making of the Suez Canal, and since the Khedive owed us £200,000. But if we consult the history of the country we shall find that our position in Egypt has always been a matter of supreme importance to England as a nation. An hon. Member asked yesterday why we were in Egypt? Well, we have been there in one form or another for a very long time, indeed, before any of these recent transactions, and partly because we have been invited there by the Rulers of the country themselves; and Egypt, as has been well stated to-day, has long been under our *quasi*-protection. It is not an independent country. Its relations with Turkey are most peculiar. But the various Governments of Europe have always claimed a *locus standi* in Egypt different from that claimed in any other country in Europe or elsewhere. I should like to say a word upon that point; but before I do so I regret very much that I must for a moment turn aside to the speech that I understand was made yesterday in my absence by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan), which cast aspersions on the transactions of a firm to which I once had the honour to belong. The speech of the hon. Member does not appear to have been fully reported; but I am not going, on the invitation of the hon. Member, to offer any explanations or apologies for the transactions of that firm.

Mr. M'COAN: One word of explanation. I cast no aspersions, but simply stated historical facts, in support of which I gave figures and dates. I cast no aspersion whatever, but I left the Committee to draw their own conclusions.

Mr. GOSCHEN: There is a peculiar way sometimes of stating figures and dates; but I wonder why the hon. Member singled out the particular firm to which I once belonged, to drag it before the Committee. I will show the way in which the hon. Member put his facts and figures. He spoke of the nominal amount of the loans, and compared it with the actual sum which found its way into the State Treasury, and he asked what had become of the difference; and the insinuation, I understand, was that the difference had gone into the pockets of—[Mr. M'COAN: No, no!]—or had stuck to the hands—a most offensive expression—but I understand it was the expression used by the hon. Member——

MR. M'COAN: I never used the words. The right hon. Gentleman is misrepresenting what I said.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON: I heard the words myself, and I told them to the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. GOSCHEN: These loans were issued at a discount to the public. And let me illustrate the case by an example. The price for 100 francs of French Rentes at present is about 80. If a loan were now to be made for France, it would, of course, not be issued at 100, but would be given to the public at 80; therefore there would be a discount of 20 per cent, being the difference between 80 and 100. An analogous discount, going to the public, was included in the sum which was supposed by the hon. Gentleman to have stuck to the hands of the negotiating contractors. That was the way in which the figures were put, and the inferences of the hon. Member are entirely and absolutely erroneous. I turn now from this digression to other and more important matters. I went in 1876 to Egypt, as the Representative of the bondholders, and I went there on the distinct understanding that my political action was to be in no way fettered by that mission, and that I should not be expected to do anything to conflict with the political interests of my countrymen. I was determined that on a honorary mission I would not compromise either my own position, and still less the position of my country, in regard to such matters by any action of my own. When I arrived in Egypt, and established what is called the Control, the Powers of Europe had already interested themselves to obtain a *locus standi* in Egyptian finance. A few months before my arrival the then Viceroy signed a Decree establishing an institution called the Commission of the Public Debt, and invited the Governments of Austria, Italy, and France to nominate Representatives to that Commission of the Public Debt. These Representatives had been nominated by these Governments, and, therefore, the Committee will bear in mind that at that moment there were European Governments with a *locus standi* in Egypt at the invitation of the Khedive himself. It is also important to bear in mind the position of the International tribunals in Egypt. The case has been put as if the Control first involved this country in Egyptian affairs; but before the Control was established these tribunals had been created, composed of Judges nominated by various countries of Europe, and the English Judge had been in office for some time, and was performing his functions. The arrangement had been made, and I will now show the Committee the effect of these International tribunals. In May, 1876, the power had been given to the these tribunals to summon before them even the Minister of Finance, and any creditor of the State going before them, had a *locus standi* as such, and could sue before English, French, Italian, and Austrian Judges. Therefore, this so-called interference in Egyptian financial matters already existed before the establishment of the Control. There is a little incident long since forgotten which I may call to the recollection of the Committee. It is a fact that a creditor of the State had, at that moment, seized public property, and was suing the Viceroy before that tribunal. I do not say this to defend my action or the full share I took in founding the Control, but I think it right that the country should know that the so-called Financial Protectorate existed before the Control was established. The Control itself may be attacked or defended on two grounds; either in its relations to the public of Egypt, or in its bearing upon the relations of the Great Powers of Europe with the Egyptian Government. As regards its effect on the population of Egypt I might say much, but I shall say very little; for there has been almost universal testimony from both sides of the House and even in "another place," both from the Leader of the House of Lords and the Leader of the Opposition, that it has worked for the prosperity of the Egyptian people, and to that fact testimony has been borne, not only in all parts of the House, but in all the news arriving in this country from Egypt. I believe that Arabi Bey himself admitted to Sir William Gregory, that the Control was an institution which had conferred great benefits on the country. I am relieved, therefore, from the necessity of saying more as to its effects on the population of Egypt. I may, however, say this, that a clause was carefully inserted in the Decree relating to the Controllers, the object of which was to insure the specific protection of the taxpayers against unauthorized exactions. Those who were in the House a few hours ago must have heard the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce) who sits above the Gangway, bear testimony to the efficiency of the arrangement in having lightened the taxation of the fellahs in Egypt and relieved them from the abuses to which they had been exposed. I stated, when I returned from Egypt in 1876, that the then Viceroy never for one moment held out a hope that if there was any diminution in the interest of the Debt there would be the slightest relief to the burdens imposed upon the taxpayers of Egypt. A true word has been said in the debate to-day, that if the Control had been entirely swept away and the whole Debt wiped out, it would by no means follow that the Egyptian taxpayer would under a disorderly military *régime* pay one cent less than he pays at the present time. It has been said very prominently—for the responsibility must be thrown on someone—that it was myself, although acting as a private individual, who established this Control. Well, however that may be, I am entitled to examine—and I do it in no spirit of apology, but simply in the spirit of explanation—how far the Control, established in 1876, involved Her Majesty's Government. I say it did not involve them at all. Lord Derby did not appoint a Controller; even the French Government did not appoint a Controller; but they nominated one, and he was chosen and appointed by the Viceroy himself. There is only one quotation with which I will trouble the Committee. In one passage of the Decree relating to the establishment of the Control, the Viceroy, speaking of the Controllers, says —"They are to be accountable only to us." The Controllers were to be accountable to nobody else, as they did not depend upon the Commission of Foreign Governments. There was another phrase—

"The Controllers General, who are to take part in the preparation of the Budget, are not to encroach on the functions of the Ministers, who will remain the sole judges of the necessity of the services."

The Controllers did not involve Her Majesty's Government in any way. I stated at the time to the bondholders that the appointment of a Controller by the Government would be contrary to English views and habits. Referring to the desirability of having an English Representative of the bondholders on the Commission of the Public Debt, I stated that although the Viceroy might nominate such an English Commissioner, I did not believe the English Government would send such a Representative to Egypt, as it was contrary to English views and habits. I say that much to show that I may be responsible, as a private individual, for having secured the Control which, I believe, to have been most conducive to the welfare of Egypt, but that I do not consider that Her Majesty's Government were at all involved by the arrangements to which I was a party. It was my conviction at the time that the interests of the Egyptian taxpayers and the interests of the creditors were not hostile, and that both were united in the establishment of honest and orderly administration in Egypt. That was my conviction at the time, and it has been proved by the result, for order and regularity in the administration have contributed much to the prosperity of the country. I am responsible for what I have done in union with my French Colleague; but I am not responsible in the slightest degree for establishing a Control by the English Government which would involve that Government in the action taken by the Controllers. Such, then, is the story of the Control. If the Committee will permit me, I will now turn for a moment to another point, and make a few remarks upon some of the causes which have disturbed the progress of that comparatively orderly state of things which was established in Egypt. But it occurs to me that I ought first to say one word with regard to the English and French *employés*. Before the Control was established at all, there were already innumerable English, French, and other foreign *employés* in the Government of Egypt, and they were there not in what are properly called administrative departments only. The term includes a number of men with technical knowledge, such as engineers and others who have got such special training as only Europeans acquire in the first instance. Further, it ought to be borne in mind that when in a country like Egypt a disorderly state of things is brought to an end, and good order introduced, it is not in the first instance that Natives can be got to do the work. It is part of the duty of Europeans to see that the Natives should be trained to the work, and taught to do it afterwards; but at first Natives cannot do it. I turn now to the question how the present difficulties have arisen, and what were the influences and agencies at work in Egypt and elsewhere. I think, in the first place, that an orderly Egypt, with finances comparatively flourishing, with a strong direct control over the Pashas and over the Government, and with an improving commerce, might not have been a perfectly agreeable thing in another quarter. And when we are pressed to secure the moral support of Turkey, I think I am entitled to say that I have never seen any moral support from the Ottoman authority that tended to secure financial or any other control. The new order of things in Egypt was a thorn in the side of another Power. I have been informed, and with good reason believe, that the Turkish newspapers were told to be exceedingly careful in their comments upon the rising prosperity of their co-religionists in Egypt. The state of things established in Egypt did not, from the point of view that it was good, or from the very virtue of the system, if I may so say, secure it that support and sympathy from the Suzerain Power which, under other circumstances, one might have expected. Then, in the country itself, testimony has been borne that many abuses were curtailed, and the curtailment of abuses sometimes creates enemies to the system which has introduced the reforms. In Egypt there were a number of influences at work which were hostile to the Control. I think I may, with all respect to the Committee, venture on the comment that, in many of the speeches we have heard, too much stress has been laid upon separate acts, such as the Dual Note, and that while objections have been taken here and objections there, the general causes which produced the alarming events in Egypt have not been sufficiently considered. The hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce), in his excellent speech, alluded to one or two of these causes, and I am able, in some respects, from absolute knowledge, to confirm what he said. He spoke of the effect of the Tunisian Expedition upon the feelings of the population of Egypt. When I come to this part of the question, though I would wish to speak with all respect of France, I must say I think a tremendous responsibility has followed from the action which that country took with respect to Tunis. The hon. Member for Portsmouth was perfectly right in saying that this attack, as it was considered, upon the Mussulman element in Tunis, inflamed the Mussulman element in Egypt, and created suspicion where there was little suspicion before. I am not now inventing arguments, but I will tell the Committee facts which were brought to my notice when these matters occurred. I had letters from Egypt stating that the populace was saying—"The French have taken Tunis; it is absolutely certain that the English will take Egypt." They thought that was a perfectly rational result. They had not got a knowledge of the English Government, or of my right hon. Friend at the head of it, or they would have known that such a solution was most improbable. But they thought it was perfectly natural that as there had been a beginning on the part of France in seizing Mussulman territory in Tunis, we should follow it up by putting our hands on Egypt. I do not wish in this debate to introduce controversial matters, but it would be contrary to historical accuracy if I were to omit the fact that the taking of Cyprus by England also had its effect. It acted in this way. We took Cyprus, the French took Tunis; so they argued our turn was coming again, and we should take Egypt. There is great confidence in the sincerity of the English Government; but there is no doubt that—I was going to say the seizure of Cyprus—but I will say the Cyprus arrangements did affect, to a very considerable extent, the Mussulman mind, and that the Native Egyptians did not think themselves so safe against annexation to England as they had been before. This is not a digression, but it comes, I think, within the purview of the Committee. I do not think that the hon. Member for Portsmouth was quite correct when, speaking of the difficulty of the French and the

Sultan acting together, he set that down simply to the Tunisian Expedition. The Tunisian Expedition was rather the result of the suspicion France entertained of the movements of Turkey. The suspicion of a Panislamic movement contributed greatly to the action of France. The attitude was this, and I think I am an impartial witness on the question. If ever a foreign Government took action at an inopportune moment, it was when the French took isolated action as regards Tunis, at the very time when a Conference was sitting at Constantinople. But I do not think that the French Government acted from financial or corrupt motives. They very likely believed earnestly that there was danger to be feared from Tripoli, and that the Sultan had for some time been raising a fanatical Mussulman feeling in various parts of his Empire. I am bound to say that it afterwards came before me personally that what was called a Party at the Palace, if not the Turkish Government, were doing their best to inflame and stimulate Mussulman feeling in Africa and elsewhere. Now, I have said that the action of the French in Tunis was one of the causes which led to excitement in Egypt; it is also true that there is much evidence to show that efforts have for several years been made by influential people at Constantinople—people connected with the Government—to stir up fanaticism. Among other circumstances that came to my knowledge, I learnt that pamphlets to the number of 40,000 were distributed at Mecca—that great gathering-place of pilgrims from all parts of the Mussulman world. The Dutch received similar information with regard to their Mussulman Possessions; and it seems that an idea, perhaps not an unnatural one, had been formed in the minds of the Rulers at Constantinople, that they ought to try, by increasing the authority of the Caliphate elsewhere, to indemnify themselves for the loss of territory in Europe. They hoped, in fact, that in many parts of the Empire they would be able to emancipate themselves from Western influence. And now the Committee, if they have followed me, will see that we may have to deal with feelings which have been purposely roused with a deep political object, and we must guide our course accordingly. This is not a financial question. We have to consider the attitude of this country towards the East in general; and when Her Majesty's Government go forward with the difficult work which they have undertaken, I trust they will have the sympathy of the country. We have undertaken that work in the same spirit as that in which we undertook the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, not as the representatives of the Cross against the Crescent, not with any desire to increase the fanaticism which unfortunately exists, but simply as the champions of order and civilization; the champions of order who are unwilling to allow the banishment of all Western influence, which has laid hold, and which most people of this country wish should lay hold, of many parts of the Empire of Turkey in order to improve the position of its population. Is that to be thrust back 20, 30, or 40 years? I can assure the many Members who sit on this side of the House, and who take an interest in such matters as the Slave Trade, the better government of Eastern Roumelia, and the position of the Christian populations in Armenia—objects which have long been dear to many Members of the Liberal Party—that those objects would not only be compromised, but in all probability frustrated for ever, if England were to allow herself, by what I must call the terrorism of massacre, to be driven out of Egypt. Let me emphasize that expression, "the terrorism of massacre." That has been the policy of the Military Rulers of Egypt. They have said—"We have hostages for the conduct of the European Powers, and we will slay all Europeans on whom we can lay hands if our terms are not granted." What, I ask, would be the position of England, of Europe, of Christians in all parts of the Mussulman Empire, if the fear of such a terrorism were to hamper us in the action which we must take for the defence of the interests of our country? Where should we be in Syria and Damascus and in Armenia? I do not speak of India, because we are agreed what would be the effect in India. But this is not only a question of India or affecting trade, but it is this. Is the West to be thrust back by the East? That is one of the questions which may have to be decided. That is one of the questions before Europe at the present moment; one of the issues which is before this Committee and the Government. Under what conditions is the Government to undertake that task? I come back to the question with which I ventured to open my observations. Are we to go alone; are we to go with Allies, and, if so, with what Allies? Now, it appears to me that, whenever the case is put that the Government is going alone, the charge is made that we are isolated; and whenever the case is put that we are going with Allies, the charge is made that we are hampered and embarrassed. Well, now, I think the critics of the Government ought to elect which course to take. It appears to me there is much to be said on both sides. The hon. Member who spoke last exclaimed, "What co-operation have you got?" I should have thought it would have been more satisfactory to hon. Members of that section to which the hon. Member belongs to have said England should undertake this task alone, and does not require the co-operation of other countries. Do they believe we require the co-operation of other countries? I may frankly state my own opinion as to what I believe would be for the greatest advantage to the Government and the greatest convenience. And that is, as far as regards Military and Naval operations, that England should go alone; but we should go alone with the goodwill and cordial support of other Powers; that we should not act alone so distinctly or arrogantly as to make the other Powers of Europe mistrust us. But I am not dissatisfied with the position in this respect in which we stand. The other Governments do not oppose us, but give us their cordial support and leave us to conduct operations alone. I have been perfectly candid in my statement. I wonder whether right hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition Benches will favour the Committee with a distinct statement of what they think the Government ought to do. There is one point in the speech of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce) which I wish to notice, because I think it was almost the only part of his speech with which I do not cordially agree. He said there were two ways in which we might act with Turkey. We might, he said, either have an armed force from Turkey, or their moral support; and the hon. Member, if I understood him rightly, put the case thus. We do not wish for the Army of Turkey to come with us; but we blame the Government for not having secured the goodwill and moral support of the Suzerain. I wonder whether that is an argument adopted by any large section of this House. I think I know what the moral support of Turkey is. The moral support of Turkey is Dervish Pasha. He was sent to Egypt to give precisely that moral support which my hon. Friend recommends. And another feature of the moral support of Turkey is the decoration of Arabi. I should like to know what would be the object of Turkey in giving her moral support? Will she give it us out of Platonic friendship, and towards what object? Will she give it towards the reform of Egyptian Administration; towards establishing a Chamber of Egyptian Notables when the Constitution in Turkey is in suspense? While I will not go so far at this moment as to say that I regret that the Turkish Forces have been announced as being likely to co-operate, yet I should prefer that we should ourselves act first; and, whatever action the Government may take, I trust they will not suspend their operations on account of these delusive or procrastinating efforts of Turkey to act with us at the last moment. Her co-operation would simply be an embarrassment. The Committee will remember the objects which the Government proposes to effect in Egypt; and let us take care that, in whatever alliance we make, or whatever arrangements we pledge ourselves to, we may retain sufficient liberty of action, at the end of those tremendous efforts which it may possibly be necessary to make, to have our English policy in Egypt carried out for the benefit of all, and according to those principles for which we contend. But it is said, "We are alienated in Europe," and the policy of the Government is generally talked of as weak and vacillating in this matter. I should like to ask what Power of Europe do those critics who bring those charges most admire? In whose shoes would they like us to stand as far as these matters are concerned? In regard to France, the position of France is desperately difficult; and I will admit to the full the difficulty which our Government has had to contend with, and that it is almost impossible for them to secure at the same time the goodwill of Turkey and the goodwill of France. That is a question of great complexity. I do not wish to speak dogmatically; but if you wish to secure alliance with either of these two countries and the goodwill of one or the other, in what direction ought this country to look? Egypt is a matter of great and supreme importance to us; but Egypt does not constitute the whole of European politics. There are other questions, and questions which are very delicate. Allowance must be made for France as regards her great military neighbours. I believe France looks on the matter in this light. The critics of the Government speak of our being isolated, but we have, at all events, no enemy on our frontier; but allowance must be made for French uncertainties and difficulties in this respect. We may send an army to Egypt, and our coasts will still remain secure; but French politicians may hesitate, and I believe do hesitate, not from the point of view of any misunderstanding upon the Egyptian Question—do not seek for the cause where it does not exist—but they hesitate because they are not prepared to send a large body of troops away from home in consideration of other possible eventualities which, as the hon. Member for Portsmouth said, are never absent from the minds of Frenchmen before they send away from home a body of troops. Another difficulty has been alluded to; it is the existence of excessively weak Governments in France—weak in this sense, that they do not command a sufficient majority to secure a continuity of policy. With all those difficulties, will it be wise to take advantage of those difficulties and show anything but perfect goodwill towards France? I think not; and I do not believe it would be for the interest of England that France at this moment should feel herself driven, by the necessities of her position, into joining those four Powers who are always exercising a kind of watchful attitude towards her. Hon. Members speak of the European Concert. It is not only our Government that desires to act with other Powers. That principle is now introduced into European politics; it may be that sometimes one Power is excluded, but what is the connection between Austria, Germany, Russia, and Italy but a kind of Concert of a large part of Europe? And all recognize the value of dealing with questions in that way, and of having them placed before them. Now, let me answer one objection. It is this. If this matter is, as you say, of grave danger to European civilization, why do not Germany and Austria take the same view? Hon. Members opposite, and the critics of the Government in the Press, and abroad, and elsewhere, are very candid when they speak of any English Government. What are the views and the feelings with which Germany and Austria are inspired? They do not look at the Egyptian Question from the narrow point of view of the settlement of the Eastern Question; but Germany looks at the position of Turkey as an invaluable position in a conflict which she might have either with Russia or France. Turkey lies in a position that if there were a conflict between Germany and Russia, Turkey would be an invaluable Ally; and if there were a conflict between Germany and France, the Mussulman element in the North of Africa might be an element to which she would look for support. Austria follows Germany. She has difficulties enough also in her way, and she is required, under serious conditions, to maintain a very reserved attitude on the Eastern Question. Under these conditions, I decline to be guided by the example of those two great Central Powers in determining what is the duty of England, whose position is totally different; and what we wish for, and what has been announced by the Government, is this—that in those countries they should recognize the paramount interests of England and France. They make no conditions whatever, and we are in this position—that having consulted them, they are in a good humour; whereas, if we had stood aloof, in the event of embarrassments arising, we should not have known what their attitude would be. Hon. Members scoff at the Concert of Europe; but it has rendered efficient service to the cause of peace in Europe, and it has strengthened the position of the Government, and they have consulted the other Powers of Europe. Now, I will not prolong these observations; I will only make one more remark, and it is this. Having this severe struggle on our hands—I do not think anybody in this House disguises the gravity of the struggle—having it on our hands, it will contribute enormously to our power and our reputation, if foreign Governments believe that it is one England that is acting, and it is not two Englands with which they have to deal. I mean this. If they know that, whatever criticism there may be on the past, there is continuity of policy in this matter, whatever Party reigns supreme, then the position of England will be infinitely strengthened in the Councils of Europe. There was a time—not so many years ago—when our controversies were mainly limited to domestic affairs, and their influence did not extend much beyond domestic questions; but that is changed now. Having held a responsible position abroad, I know the full effect of doubts as to the existence of unity in England. If a Foreign Power thinks it has only to deal with a section or a Party, and that England, as a whole, is not at its back, the Government will be seriously weakened. But it will be immensely strengthened, not in a political sense, but as the Representatives of the country in carrying out its objects, if it is understood abroad, as I hope it will be, that no such difficulties or disunions exist in regard to our Egyptian policy, and that even if it should happen that the present Government should fall and another take its place, the same policy on this question will be pursued. With regard to what is to follow after the impending struggle shall have been concluded, I agree with the view that when Egypt is restored to order we should evoke Native aid in governing the country. I am content with the declaration the Government have made with regard to the future of Egypt, and I cordially hope that their action will be for the benefit of Egypt, and that their efforts will be crowned with success in securing increased order and prosperity in the East.

Mr. BOURKE rose to continue the debate.

Mr. M'COAN asked to be allowed to make a personal explanation in regard to an observation which had been made by the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen)——

The CHAIRMAN said, he had called upon the right hon. Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke).

Mr. M'COAN said, he imagined that, as a question of right, he was entitled to make a personal explanation.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR rose to a point of Order. He wished to ask the Chairman if it had not been the invariable practice of the Committee to give precedence to an hon. Member who wished to make a personal explanation?

The CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) intends to confine himself strictly to a personal explanation, he can, with the indulgence of the Committee, be heard; but he is not entitled to reply to the remarks of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) after I have called upon another right hon. Member.

Mr. M'COAN said, he had stated, on rising, that he wished to say a few words of personal explanation. He believed that he had a right to do so, and if he had misapprehended his right, he regretted it.

The CHAIRMAN: There is no question of right in the matter; but the hon. Member may be permitted, by the indulgence of the Committee, to make a personal explanation.

Mr. M'COAN said, he would ask the indulgence of the Committee to allow him to make a personal explanation. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen) had complained of a speech he had neither heard delivered nor seen reported. He based his complaint on some of his (Mr. M'Coan's) remarks, which seemed to have been communicated to him by the hon. and learned Gentleman sitting next to him (Mr. Serjeant Simon). He (Mr. M'Coan) questioned the accuracy of the words which had been reported to the right hon. Gentleman; but that was not the point he had to deal with now. In referring to Egyptian finance last night, his object was not to attack either the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) or his firm, but to show that Egypt, in its dealings with European financiers, had suffered very hardly, and that the case of the bondholders was neither so strong nor so weak as some persons thought. He had said that in respect of the three loans contracted for by the firm of which the right hon. Gentleman was then a member, amounting to a total of £12,000,000, the Egyptian Treasury only received £9,000,000 in cash, or its equivalent. He did not intend to insinuate—he would have been fatuous or foolish if he had—that the firm had put that balance of £3,000,000 into their pockets. He said nothing of the kind. But, making ample allowance for the discount usual in these cases, there still remained a margin of £785,000, which, according to his understanding of the transaction, could only have gone into the pockets of the contractors. He did not say that last night, but he said so now. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now introducing new matter.

MR. BOURKE: I am quite sure there was one observation which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) with which the whole Committee will sympathize, and that is the observation he made in referring to his own personal position in regard to the Control in Egypt. I myself happened to be at the Foreign Office at the time when the right hon. Gentleman went to Egypt; and, being acquainted with what occurred at that time, I must be allowed to say that I can entirely corroborate the statement he has made. It was fully understood that whatever he did in Egypt should not pledge or commit him to any political action hereafter. The observations which have been made by the right hon. Gentleman in reference to the Control could not but have been listened to by the Committee with great interest. I shall, however, if the Committee will allow me, say two or three words upon that subject in the course of the observations I propose to make. The right hon. Gentleman has asked one or two questions which I should like to answer in the first instance. He said he should like the question answered, whether hon. Members on this side of the House desired the English Government to go to Egypt at the present moment, with or without allies? And he added that there was much to be said on both sides of the question. Now, I do not think that is a question we on this side of the House are called upon to answer. What we wish to know, to use a common expression, is with which horse the Government really desire to win? It is we, and not they, who have a right to ask that question. From reading these Papers, I am greatly inclined to fear that we are going to Egypt without Allies; and that, instead of obtaining the Concert of Europe, we are in danger of falling into isolated action. For my own part, I have no objection to the Concert of Europe being carried out to the greatest and fullest extent. I have never said a word against that Concert, either in this House or anywhere else; but I am against sacrificing, for the Concert of Europe, the vital interests of England. The right hon. Gentleman, in his remarks in reference to the Concert of Europe, has, I think, been rather hard upon our old friend Turkey; and I very much doubt the prudence of the right hon. Gentleman, if he wishes at this moment to effect the good, which I am sure he does wish, in speaking of Turkey in the way he has. The right hon. Gentleman said the moral support of Turkey, which some persons said we had lost, and which everyone on this side of the House says we ought to gain if we can, is summed up in Dervish Pasha. Now, we cannot forget that that moral support has been invoked by Her Majesty's Government, but invoked at a time when it is almost too late to do any good; and, therefore, it does not lie in the mouth of any supporter of the Government to say it is a mistake to invoke the moral support of Turkey. Passing from that matter and the observations of the right hon. Gentleman, I have, in the first instance, to say that we should have been very glad indeed if we could have separated this discussion upon the Vote of Credit now before the Committee from the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and no person can feel more strongly than I do the critical position in which the Government now finds itself placed. I quite agree with the observations of the right hon. Gentleman that it is, above all things, necessary, at this moment, at any rate as regards the practical support about to be given to the action of the Government, that the country should present to Foreign Nations an attitude of entire unanimity. With regard to the question of unanimity generally, and the observations of the right hon. Gentleman on that subject, I will only make one remark, that when we on this side of the House were in Office, those sentiments were not so common as they are now. They are sentiments which I most cordially endorse; and I hope, in the few observations I am about to make, I shall say nothing that can in any way be deemed contrary to them. I am not anxious to say anything that can aggravate the crisis in which the country now finds itself, or to excite alarm. There can be no doubt that the power of England is amply sufficient to crush the man whom the Government speak of as a military adventurer, and the cause of all our troubles in Egypt. But, at the same time, there are questions looming in the future in regard to our relations in the East—questions that will arise in all probability out of the operations which we are now undertaking, and which I feel to be of the greatest moment both to India and this country. Therefore I, for one, would have been perfectly happy to have given a silent vote on this Vote of Credit, and not to have said a word about the policy of Her Majesty's Government, were it not for the speeches which have been made from the Government side of the House. I allude particularly to the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, and of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke). Those speeches have been made, and, considering that I represented the Foreign Office under the late Administration in this House, I might have been thought afraid, and shirking my duty, if I had not, notwithstanding the short time that remains to-day for a reply, risen to take part in the discussion. It has been very often said, both in this House and out of it, both by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government and by the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the present Ministry inherited the Control in Egypt from their Predecessors, that policy having been established and encouraged by us. Now, Sir, as a fact, I have not the slightest objection to that; but, as an innuendo, it is erroneous; because, not only do the Government desire to prove a fact about which there is no question, but, by way of innuendo, they desire to show that we are responsible for the present deplorable state of things. It is one thing to inherit a policy, and another thing by mismanagement, by imprudence, by vacillation, and by weakness, to allow that policy to lead you into the difficulties in which you find yourselves, and for which we say the Control is in no way responsible. I have no fault to find with the description of the Control given in the interesting speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I accept the statement made by the hon. Baronet on that subject—that the Control did bring us into political relations with the Government of Egypt. A Control, to be of the slightest service in Egypt, must bring us into relations with the Government of Egypt. That is an absolute necessity, and it has been proved over and over again, during the discussions which have taken place between the Controllers and the authorities of Egypt, that it would be perfectly useless to give two European officials the nominal power of control, unless you gave them, at the same time, power to bring before the Government the financial condition of every great institution in the country. What, for example, could be the value of giving a nominal Control over the Customs, the Excise, the railroads, or any other institution in Egypt, if, at the same time, you allow the Army, the Navy, or any other Department to fall into financial extravagance and disorder? After trying again and again a different course, the late Khedive admitted that it was absolutely necessary to give financial control to the European Controllers over the institutions of the country. But, Sir, the hon. Baronet went a great deal further than to say that the Control had been the cause of our present difficulties; because he asserted that our position in Egypt was imposed on us by necessity, by Treaty-right, and also by duty altogether beyond and beside. He showed that it was imposed on us by necessity, owing to our position in India and our relations with the Suez Canal; and he contended that it was also imposed upon us by Treaty-right, on account of the arrangements we had entered into at the time of the pacification of the Levant; and by duty, because we were bound to ameliorate the condition of the population of Egypt as much as possible. If that be the case with regard to our position in Egypt, it carries us much further than the most ardent supporters of the late Government say the question of the Control ever ought to have carried us, or ever did carry us. It has been proved over and over again, in the course of this debate, that there is ample authority for saying that the Control was not the real source or cause of the difficulty in Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), who has just addressed the House, and certainly my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Bruce), pointed out in what manner they considered the establishment of the Control had been of benefit to Egypt. I have also to acknowledge—and I do so with great pleasure—that part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) which deals with this part of the subject; because the right hon. Gentleman has stated that there is no connection between the Control and the difficulties that have arisen in Egypt. If that be the case, I hope we shall hear no more of the insinuations that have been made as to the Control having been the cause of the present embroglio. But here I would make one more observation, and it is, that if hon. Members will only recall the circumstances, it will be seen that the Egyptian difficulty, as far as this country is concerned, originated with the Consuls and Consuls General, and that the Control, whatever else may be said with regard to it, had a very small share in the creation of the troubles that have lately arisen out of our relations with that country. The fact of the matter is, that Her Majesty's Government, as far as they can be said to have inherited a policy from their Predecessors with regard to Egypt, inherited a peaceful policy. They inherited, not only a peaceful policy, but also a promising policy and a progressive policy; for the previous Government left Egypt a peaceful, a progressive, and a promising country, and for more than a year after we quitted Office, Egypt continued to be peaceful, progressive, and promising. Sir, Egypt had been saved by Her Majesty's late Government from a condition of national bankruptcy; and nobody can deny that this was one of the results of their action. The Commission of Inquiry which followed upon the mission of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) showed, in the most unmistakable manner, that Egypt was suffering from every species of bad government from which a country could suffer. There was no Department in the State which was not in a condition of disorder; and the arbitrary power of the Khedive was shown to be the cause—the despotic cause—of all the evils then apparent in the Government of Egypt. The arbitrary power of the Khedive of Egypt may, therefore, be considered to have been the cardinal cause of the abuses which prevailed in all the Departments of the State; and it was not until the Khedive, by an arbitrary act which all the Powers of Europe condemned and protested against—it was not until the Khedive, by that arbitrary act, displayed a determination to return to his old courses after the Control had been established, that Her Majesty's Government proposed to the Sultan that the Khedive should be deposed. Sir, I believe that the policy of the late Government in this respect was a righteous policy. I believe that if Her Majesty's present Government had exhibited the same firmness, if they had acted on the same lines as their Predecessors, they would not have found themselves in their present position. Such was the state of the Government of Egypt that taxes were levied against the law, and under no authority from the Government. In fact, the taxes were levied under no rational system that was ever heard of before, and sometimes were extorted from the people in the most illegal manner. Occasionally a whole village would be taxed *en bloc;* sometimes individuals would be taxed at the caprice of the tax-collector. The taxes were also gathered at irregular times and seasons, and forced labour was carried out in a most harsh and tyrannical manner; while, in the case of the Army, the recruiting was proceeded with in a most objectionable way, and by the most capricious mode of selection. Even after money had been given by the unfortunate fellaheen for exemption from service, and often after large and exorbitant sums had been paid to secure immunity from the liability to serve, those who had made these payments were, nevertheless, obliged to undergo Army service. Again, the Irrigation Tax, which is a tax absolutely essential to the prosperity of Egypt, was levied in the most unfair and unjust manner, especially upon the poorer taxpayers; and the Khedive—the late Khedive—announced his intention of appointing Mr. Rivers Wilson Minister of Finance; he also announced an intention to give up all personal control over the finances of the country, with a view, as he said, of incorporating Egypt in the European system. It was not until the word of the late Khedive had been broken to Mr. Rivers Wilson that Her Majesty's then Government adopted the strong measures which they took with regard to the Khedive. There is an idea abroad that the Marquess of Salisbury nominated Mr. Rivers Wilson as Finance Minister; but this was a mistake. In point of fact, the Marquess of Salisbury, on the contrary, did exactly the reverse with regard to Mr. Rivers Wilson. When the Marquess of Salisbury was first asked by the Khedive to nominate a European to take the post of Finance Minister, with a seat in the Egyptian Cabinet, the Marquess of Salisbury declined—absolutely declined —to do so; and it was entirely at the instance and by the action of the then Khedive that Mr. Rivers Wilson was appointed. Well, Sir, when the Minister was dismissed, the Control, which we have heard described by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), was re-established, and, as has been stated, proved most beneficial to the interests of Egypt. I say, therefore, with regard to that Control, that Her Majesty's present Government, so far from inheriting difficulties created by the Control, inherited, when they came into Office in 1880, a position of prosperity in Egypt which they would not have inherited had it not been for the establishment of the Control. The year 1880 was marked by progress, and in that year Her Majesty's Government inherited a peaceful policy; and it was not until long after they had come into Office that the calamitous state of things we are now discussing began to show itself. The incidents connected with these calamitous events have been fully detailed by previous speakers in this House; and I should be abusing its indulgence if I were to go into them again at any length. Therefore, I shall not allude to them beyond what may be necessary in order to explain my meaning with regard to the policy of Her Majesty's Government. From September last, down to the present time, Egypt may be said to have been in a position of rebellion; and all the events that have taken place in that country subsequent to that time have been, as a matter of fact, the consequences of the military rebellion which has there been going on. The incidents of that rebellion include the forced promotion of the officers at the instance of Arabi Pasha, the forced placing of Arabi himself in office, the convocation of the Chamber of Notables without the consent of the Khedive; all these were steps in that military revolt which I will not weary the House by describing. But, Sir, I may say that until a very short time ago no steps were taken by Her Majesty's Government which appear to have had the slightest effect on that revolt. Now, considering the position we have always held in Egypt, this must be regarded as very extraordinary. There was one striking and remarkable point of agreement between Arabi, the Khedive, and Mr. Cookson — namely, that the Sultan should be appealed to; and it was arranged that Arabi was to protect life and property pending the issue of an order from the Sultan. The Khedive applied to the Sultan for 20 battalions of soldiers, and Mr. Cookson said the only thing to be done was to ask the Sultan to send a Special Commissioner. Thus we have these three authorities concurring in the principle that an appeal should be made to the Sultan. The French Government then made a representation to the English Government with regard to the course that should be pursued, and it has already been pointed out to the House that the French Government set itself absolutely and entirely against any intervention, moral or physical. The British Government had no clear idea of the course that ought to be adopted. They said over and over again that all foreign intervention was undesirable, and determined, as far as they could, to prevent it; but, at the same time, they considered it to be without doubt that, if necessary, the influence of Turkey should be employed. I recollect very well the excitement that went on at the time, and which existed at the Court and the Palace, with regard to the course Her Majesty's Government were taking in reference to the Porte; and we see, by the Papers that have been published, that the Sultan was much mortified when he found that Her Majesty's Government were determined to take the French view of the matter. But there seemed to be some hesitation in the mind of Lord Granville as to the course that should be taken, because the French Government persuaded him to take a view which, I conclude, he was not at first inclined to take; for the French Chargé d'Affaires went down to Walmer, and succeeded, without the slightest difficulty, in turning Lord Granville round to the view entertained by the Government he represented. Well, Sir, there is also very good evidence of Mr. Malet's opinion when he went to Constantinople from this country, having been exactly in the position occupied by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen)—namely, that he went straight from Her Majesty's Ministry to the Sultan's capital. He described, in his despatch of the 21st September, 1881, to Lord Granville, his first interview with the Sultan on the position of affairs in Egypt. Mr. Malet, in that despatch, says—

> "I said that naturally the situation in Egypt had given rise to my being consulted by Her Majesty's Government as to the course to be pursued there in case the insubordination of the military should continue, and that I had expressed the view that the remedy lay with His Majesty as Suzerain of the Khedive; that I had expressed this opinion because it seemed to me to be the only one which could be in harmony with the general policy of England towards Egypt, which was distinctly not one of aggression; that our only object was to maintain tranquillity and good government in the country which was our highway to India; and, therefore, if armed repression should unfortunately become necessary, it seemed to me it ought to be employed by the Sovereign Power."

We can understand that it was very natural for the Sultan to be mortified and deeply hurt when, after hearing this from the Gentleman who had been sent out from England by Her Majesty's Government, and who had used the expressions I have read to the House, he found that the Ambassador at Constantinople was instructed to take the course then pursued. I think I can imagine what the Sovereign of Turkey must have said on the subject at this time. He doubtless asked himself whether he was Sovereign of Egypt or not, because if he were Sovereign of Egypt he had a perfect right to act in Egypt in the way he proposed to act; and, if he were not Sovereign of Egypt, the two Western Powers were acting towards him with bad faith. The French newspapers, as we know, were at this period full of the most harsh observations with respect to the action of the Turkish Government, and were swayed by an ambitious policy in North Africa. And this was the unfortunate time that the English Government went out of their way to ally themselves wholly with the policy of France. My hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) have each made reference to the subject of Tunis. I shall not attempt to repeat what has been said by my hon. Friend (Mr. T. C. Bruce), and shall only say that I agree with every word that has fallen from him in relation to that topic. Tunis was no affair of ours; but with regard to Egypt, if the French Government, fortunately or unfortunately, chose to embark in any adventurous policy in that country which had the effect of rendering them unpopular in the East, I think it would have been very easy on the part of Her Majesty's Government to have pointed out to the French Government that, with respect to Egypt at least, it would be impossible for us not to take into consideration the position which France had made for herself in relation to the Turkish population by her policy at Tunis, and to have told the French Government fairly and broadly that we could not, unless we saw very good reasons for it, follow her in the policy she had marked out for herself. Sir, I am as anxious as anyone can be for a good understanding with France. No one who has the slightest knowledge of foreign affairs can fail to see how desirable it is that this country should go hand-in-hand with France as far as it is possible to go, and that France should be powerful in Europe and continue to exercise that influence which she has always exercised. This is the opinion which I have always entertained; but I do not find in the Papers before us the slightest indication of any expostulation or remonstrance on the part of Her Majesty's Government with the Government of France as to the course she ought to pursue. On the contrary, they seem to have been perfectly satisfied with the course France was disposed to take. Whenever M. Gambetta asked for anything or expressed an opinion, Lord Granville immediately assented to it. Whenever Lord Granville made a suggestion, M. Gambetta accepted or rejected it. The Sultan, as we know, proposed at this time to send a Commissioner to Egypt, and accordingly a Commissioner was sent. The Egyptian Government was advised to oppose that Commissioner, who had gone there on a perfectly peaceful mission; they were advised to oppose any interference on the part of that Commissioner, or on the part of any Foreign Power, and our Ambassador at Constantinople was directed to urge upon the Porte the recall of the Turkish Commissioner, although the effect of his mission was admitted to be good. This procedure naturally mortified and stung the Sultan to the quick, and we have every reason to assume that if the Commissioner had been allowed to stay he certainly would have produced some effect in composing the state of things which had arisen before there was so strong a feeling of hostility to the Sultan acting under British influence as has since displayed itself. But not only did we take this course; we also said that if the Commissioner were not recalled ships of war would be sent by England and France. The impolicy of this proceeding, which was taken as a threat, was commented upon by Mr. Malet at the time. He said it produced a bad effect, and suggested that the sending of war vessels should be postponed, as it would tend to create alarm; and, Sir, although it has been said that the Fleet went to Egypt for the purpose of protecting life and property, it certainly performed its duty with regard to life and property in a very curious way, because it had only been there a few hours when Her Majesty's Government announced that it would be withdrawn if the Turkish Commissioner were withdrawn. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), in his speech of last evening, made use of these words:—

> "There is no inconsistency in our having said that we sent the *Invincible* to Alexandria to protect British life and property, and our having also said we would withdraw the *Invincible* as soon as the Turkish Commissioner was withdrawn."

But I ask, why withdraw the Turkish Commissioner at all? The Turkish Commissioner was doing very effectual work, and the impolicy of such an act was abundantly proved by later events. There is no mention whatever of Lord Dufferin's opinion; and I was very curious to see what was Lord Dufferin's report with respect to this point; but I cannot find among the Papers any despatch in reference to the subject. Well, Sir, we know that Her Majesty's Government are always speaking about the Concert of Europe, and I took an opportunity of gaining for myself at that time a knowledge as to what was the opinion of the Powers on the subject. The result was that I had no doubt whatever that there was not an agreement, or anything approaching to an agreement, on the step then taken by Her Majesty's Government. In fact, they could not see why that wanton and useless insult should have been thrown upon the Sultan, because it was to be looked on in no other light, and they did not understand what was the object of the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government. Well, Sir, at that time we know the Native Press became extremely hostile both to the Government of England and to the Government of France, and from that period the Sultan could no longer regard England as being friendly to the Porte. Lord Granville seems to have arrived at the opinion that it would be desirable to write a despatch such as would have the effect of calming the public mind. Consequently the despatch of November the 4th was written. I may here say that I have nothing to find fault with in that despatch as far as it goes; but the criticism I wish to make is that that despatch does not take duly into consideration all the interests we have in the East. I repeat, however, that I quite concur in it as far as it goes, and do not wish to express any hostility to it. I believe it had a good effect in Europe, and the effect it had in Egypt was also salutary. The Khedive was cheerful, we are told, about that time; and although he appointed Arabi Pasha Minister of War, we are, I think, under all the circumstances, entitled to say that the despatch of Lord Granville was a wise and politic one. But, Sir, an event took place in Egypt which is said to have had the effect of greatly disturbing the mind of M. Gambetta, and that was the assembling of the Chamber of Notables. M. Gambetta consequently sat down and wrote that famous document which is known as the Dual Note. This was accepted by Her Majesty's Government without the slightest hesitation. Now, what, I ask, was the use of that Dual Note? Her Majesty's Government say that there was no difference between that document and their own despatch. If this were the case, I ask again, what was the use of writing it?

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

TRUSTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*Mr. James Stewart, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, Mr. Crum.*)

[BILL 198.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. JAMES STEWART said, that, looking to the period of the Session, and in deference to the opinion expressed by the Lord Advocate that the Bill would require to be amended in Committee, he begged to move that the Order be discharged. He hoped, however, that perhaps the Lord Advocate would himself deal with the subject next year.

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution [July 25] *reported*, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That it be an *Instruction* to the Committee on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, That they have power to make provision in pursuance of the said Resolution.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—REPORTED LOOTING BY BRITISH SOLDIERS AT RAMLEH.

OBSERVATIONS.

LORD COLIN CAMPBELL: I gave Notice this morning of a Question which I proposed to ask on Friday, founded on a statement which appeared in *The Times* of this morning, to the effect that some British soldiers had been guilty of looting the Khedive's Palace at Ramleh; and I understand that it will be convenient to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War that I give him now an opportunity of saying whether that statement is correct or not.

MR. CHILDERS: Mr. Speaker, I am much obliged to my noble Friend for putting the Question to me now, and I will read a telegram on the subject which we have received this afternoon. It is in these words—

"It was reported to the Khedive yesterday that His Highness's Palace at Ramleh had been ransacked by our soldiers. General Alison at once proceeded to discover the truth. Major Harmer, who accompanied him, tells me this morning that he is convinced that there is no foundation for the statement. The Palace had been entered by a window, and turned upside down, before our men arrived. It must have been the work of some Arabs. Sentries were posted before and behind the Palace immediately after the arrival of our men, and yesterday officers searched the men, but without results."

It is quite evident, therefore, that the statement is entirely unfounded.

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 27th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) * (210).

Second Reading — Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (205).

Third Reading—Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns) * (194), and *passed.*

CRIME (IRELAND)—THE LATE ASSASSINATIONS IN THE PHŒNIX PARK —REPORTED ARREST OF ONE OF THE MURDERERS.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN: My Lords, seeing the noble Lord (the Lord Privy Seal) in his place, I beg to ask him, Whether he can give the House any information with regard to the alleged arrest of one of the Phœnix Park murderers at Puerto Cabello?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL), in reply, said, that he was unable to give the House any information on the subject.

THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE (RESERVE FORCES).

CONSIDERATION. MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Order of the Day for the consideration of the Queen's Message read.

Message *considered* accordingly.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her most gracious Message communicating to this House Her Majesty's intention to cause the Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty should think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, before the Question was put, he wished to ask for some explanation in regard to it. He did not wish to criticize the proposal of the Government in any adverse sense; but, at the same time, he did not think it was altogether satisfactory that in so comparatively small a military expedition as that about to be undertaken to Egypt, requiring, as it appeared, only an addition of 10,000 men to the Army, we should be obliged to rely upon a Force which was intended, after all, as a last resource. He trusted Her Majesty's Government had in their recollection, and had fully considered, the inconveniences and difficulties which attended the last calling out of the Reserve. The wives and children of many of the men had fallen upon the rates for maintenance, considerable distress was suffered, and difficulties arose in consequence of employers, in certain cases, declining to take back the Reserve men into their service when relieved from their duties with the Colours. He thought their Lordships would feel that there could be nothing so unfortunate, and nothing so calculated to injure the Reserve system, as any feeling of unwillingness on the part of employers of labour to re-employ the men when discharged from service; or, on the other hand, any feeling on the part of the men that they were likely to suffer from being called out. He wished to know whether these points had been considered by Her Majesty's Government; and he should also like to be informed whether the men who were to be called out were not the men who served in 1878? The men might, it was true, be required only for a very short time; but, on the other hand, complications might ensue which would render it necessary that their service should continue for a considerable period; and as the men would have to leave their wives and children unprovided for, it would be well if some arrangement could be made whereby they would receive some portion of their pay in advance, so that the worst cases of hardship might, in that way, be mitigated?

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, he wished to consider the matter from a military point of view. The fact that we had to call out the Reserves for an Egyptian expedition—for that which, under happier circumstances, would have been a comparatively small and short war—showed that having regard to our enormous Possessions and extensive commercial interests, our fighting Force was not only on a ridiculously inefficient scale as regarded numbers, but absolutely Liliputian. With regard to the management of military and naval affairs, we were more civilian in our notions than if we had no Army at all—than even our American cousins. The civilian element everywhere had the upper hand, and the consequence was that there was seldom, if ever, any military or naval undertaking on the part of this country managed on purely professional principles, neither were naval or military men selected to represent the Naval or Military Departments of the State; and naval or military subjects were not listened to in Parliament with the smallest degree of patience when there were other political matters pressing themselves on the attention of the Government of the day. He hoped that the present necessity for calling out the Reserves would be a warning to Her Majesty's Government, and that it was not true, as was rumoured, that there had been as many collapses in respect to the war we were unhappily about to undertake as there had been during the Crimean War, and that everything had been turned topsy-turvy when everything was to have been quite perfect. The taxpayers would prefer that naval and military officers should be held responsible for grave errors of judgment, the same as officers who committed themselves in the field. He would repeat that the Army was not proportionate to the magnitude of the interests of the country; and as to the Navy, our line-of-battle ships did not carry sufficient Marines on board, from the circumstance of insufficiency of space to accommodate them, notwithstanding the costly nature of them making any such defect inexcusable.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, he was not surprised that his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) should require information as to the calling out of a portion of the Reserves. He (the Earl of Morley) could not subscribe to the theory that the noble Earl had enunciated—namely, that it was only as a last resource that the Reserves were to be used. On the present occasion they served a very important purpose. He (the Earl of Morley) looked upon the question of the Reserves from a very different point of view to that of his noble Friend. He looked upon it from the point of view—as it was looked upon by officers of great distinction and experience—that it was desirable that the young and inexperienced soldiers of the Army should not be sent into the field. The object the Government, therefore, had in calling out the Reserves was that they would be able to leave at home all soldiers who had not been at least one year in the Service, and fill up the gaps by the well-seasoned men taken from the First Class Army Reserve. They had, accordingly, chosen those men of the Reserve who had been the shortest time absent from the Colours—namely, those who had joined the Reserve since the 1st of January, 1881. It happened that just at present there was a larger proportion of younger soldiers in the battalions which compose the First Army Corps than there would be next year, or at any future time. Under former arrangements it was supposed that there were always at the top of the Roster a certain number of battalions of high strength ready for foreign service, and that these should consist of 820 rank and file. Leaving at home the young and untrained and unfit men in these battalions would reduce them below their war strength; and, therefore, it was determined that in future the 12 battalions at the top of the Roster for foreign service should be maintained at considerably over their war strength—namely, at 950 rank and file, without including the depôts, which would be of varying strength, from 50 to 150 men. This system had been adopted last year; and to bring it into operation it had been necessary suddenly to raise the establishments of the battalions of the First Army Corps from a low to a very high strength. That, obviously, could only be done by recruiting rapidly for those battalions; and, consequently, there were now with the Colours a larger proportion of young men than there would be when the system was complete. There were two advantages in calling up the men who had most recently joined, for then the First Class Army Reserve men would have had the least time to lose what military instruction they might have received; and, from their having been a shorter time in domestic and civil life, they would find it a lesser hardship to be disturbed in their civil employment than those who had been for a considerable number of years engaged in civil occupation, and, being younger, they would be less likely to be married than those who had left the Colours at an earlier date. The Government had not overlooked the point alluded to by his noble Friend, as to the resumption of their employment by the men on their discharge. With regard to it, all he could say was that the Government could not bring any pressure to bear on the employers in England in regard to taking the men back into their civil occupations. They could only appeal to their patriotism in the matter; and he thought that the employers of labour, in the country's and even in their own interests, should take back into their service, at the termination of hostilities, the men who had done good service to their country, by serving it abroad, and who were disciplined and reliable. In so doing, they would not only be acting considerately to those who merited it for their past services; but they would be doing much to induce others to join the Reserves. It was, however, as he had said, a matter upon which the Government could not exercise any pressure or authority, and which must be left to the force of public opinion. With regard to the women and children, that was a subject of great importance. He might say that the wives and children of Reserve men would be treated in the same way as those of other soldiers, and would receive their separation allowance; but the Government hoped by taking the men who had last joined—that was to say, the youngest—men in the Reserve, that the proportion of women and children who would be affected would not be so large as the noble Earl expected. It could not be regarded as a hardship that the men should be recalled to the Colours. That recalling to the Colours was the very essence of the Short Service system, because, while the men were serving upon their Reserve engagements, they received pay at the rate of 6*d.* per day, which might be regarded in the light of a retaining fee. He thought he had now answered all the questions of the noble Earl. The noble and gallant Lord who had followed him (Lord Ellenborough) was rather severe in his criticisms upon their whole military system. He (the Earl of Morley) did not think he should be meeting the wishes of the House by embarking upon a general discussion of the subject of the efficiency of our Army; but he would content himself with saying that he was unaware in what manner the noble and gallant Lord could show that all the arrangements made by the Government for the Egyptian expedition had broken down. As a matter of fact, he thought the noble and gallant Lord would have great difficulty in proving that any arrangements hitherto made had collapsed in the manner indicated.

The Earl of LONGFORD thought the explanation of the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for War was scarcely satisfactory; and it was certainly most unfortunate that the Eastern Question had broken out again before the new arrangements of the War Office were completed. Yet he had no wish to oppose the Motion. It was, however, to be observed that the military operations proposed by the present Government under the moral law were somewhat differently viewed from those proposed by other Governments. He could not help remarking that what in the late Lord Beaconsfield was denounced as "Jingoism" was in the case of Mr. Gladstone described as righteous justice.

Lord ORANMORE and BROWNE said, that he understood the noble Earl (the Earl of Morley) had stated that no soldiers would be sent abroad who had served less than one year. He (Lord Oranmore and Browne) believed, however, that a regiment had been ordered on foreign service—namely, to Gibraltar or Malta, containing 300 men, who had only been in the ranks for three months. Was it so?

The Earl of MORLEY, in reply, said, that what he had said referred to the despatch of men on active foreign service. Men below the age of 20, and who had served less than one year, had been sent with the battalions which were to form the garrisons at Gibraltar and Malta, replacing the battalions which had proceeded from these places to the field. He saw no objection to this, for these young soldiers would not be sent into the field; but he did not see why they should not be trained at Gibraltar or Malta just as well as at Portsmouth or Plymouth.

Motion *agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No 205.)

(The Lord Privy Seal.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: My Lords, this is the second time within a few days that it has been my duty to ask your Lordships' indulgence while I explain to you the provisions of a measure of great importance relating to the condition of affairs in Ireland. That fact is not surprising. No one, I think, who rightly estimates the tremendous problem with which we have to deal in Ireland, and the gravity of the crisis through which that country is passing at the present time, can be surprised that Parliament should have been compelled to devote so large an amount of its time, its labour, and its thought to these matters, or at the variety of measures which the Government and Parliament have been compelled to adopt. There is a great contrast, in some respects, between the measure which your Lordships passed the other day and the present, while it resembles it in others. That was a measure for the severe repression of crime; this is a measure, the object of which is to remove or diminish the causes of crime. Its object is to improve as far as possible, in one important respect, at all events, the miserable, impecunious, discontented, and hopeless situation of a very large number of Irish tenants, and, at the same time, to relieve a large number of Irish landlords, not only from heavy pecuniary losses, but from the hard and painful necessity of resorting to the extreme measures of the law in enforcing their legal rights by means of the eviction of tenants. But, notwithstanding these great differences between the two Bills, there is, at all events, one striking likeness, and that is this—both Bills are measures which, under ordinary circumstances, in a healthy condition of the country to which they are applied, would be indefensible; but both are Bills which, in the present emergency, and in the diseased and dangerous condition of the country, become both a necessity and a duty for Parliament to adopt. Who would think of interfering, under any ordinary circumstances, with the relation of debtor and creditor in this country? Who would think, under any ordinary circumstances, of interposing, by the power and funds of the State, for the purpose of effecting a settlement of debt between two great classes? Yes, my Lords; but who would think of giving to the Executive and to the police the enormous powers which we gave them the other day? and what would justify the House in suspending the practice of trial by jury, except some over-mastering necessity? This Bill may be described as a measure for the compulsory composition of the arrears of rent in Ireland upon the smaller holdings in the country under certain rigid conditions which I will describe. The holdings must be under £30 valuation, and the Bill may be put into operation by either landlord or tenant. The Bill lays down certain preliminary conditions, which will have to be proved to the satisfaction of the Land Commission in Ireland, assisted by a number of properly qualified persons whom they are enabled to employ. The preliminary conditions are these—the tenant must pay the year's rent of 1881; he must pay that rent as a first condition before the 30th of November next. It must then be shown that the tenant owes antecedent arrears and cannot pay them; and upon these conditions being ascertained and fulfilled, the State comes in to the amount of half these antecedent arrears not exceeding one year's rent. So that, as frequently will be the case, when the tenant owes three years, the State will supply him with one of these years' rent; and thus the landlord will obtain, in such a case, two years of his arrears of rent out of three. This House not being peculiarly the guardian of the Public Treasury, I presume that I need not dwell on the financial part of the case; but it is well known that it is provided in the Bill that the necessary funds shall, in the first instance, be supplied out of the Irish Church Fund, to be supplemented, in case of need, by the Consolidated Fund of this country. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, after making use of every possible means of inquiry and investigation, has come to the opinion that it is very unlikely that any heavy demand will be made on the Consolidated Fund, and it is very possible that no demand at all upon it will accrue; but, for the purposes of the Bill, it is absolutely necessary that there should be no doubt whatever of the offer made to the landlords and tenants of Ireland being carried into effect; and, therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the resources of the Church Fund should be supplemented by the Consolidated Fund. It will be evident to your Lordships, from what I have said, that the plan of the Bill rests on the principles of compulsion, of a gift of public money, and of the inability of the tenant to pay the full amount of his arrears. We do not hide from ourselves, and I certainly shall not hide from your Lordships, the objections which naturally attach to a scheme of this kind. That those objections are easily overrated, and that they have been overrated, I feel sure; but that they do exist, the Government has not only always admitted, but has asserted. But we say that the necessity of the case, the stringency of the circumstances under which we act, the prospect of success, which is everything, in attaining the object which this measure has in view, the necessary vigour and efficacy which, as we believe, will certainly be attained by the scheme of this Bill, far outweigh the disadvantages, drawbacks, and risks on the other side. It is said that this compulsory settlement is, in itself, unfair to the Irish landlords; that the method of gift is unfair to those Irish tenants who have paid their arrears; that it is both discouraging and demoralizing; and, also, that the inquiry into the tenant's inability to pay will prove a fictitious and illusory inquiry. ["Hear, hear!"] I am glad to hear those cheers, as I presume that by them noble Lords recognize the fairness of my statement of the objections taken to the measure. I do not deny the existence of those objections, though I think they are exaggerated; but I ask your Lordships to fix your eyes, not merely on these attendant evils, but on the circumstances of the case with which we have to deal. We are, I think, apt to forget, or, at least, to underrate, the agricultural distress which prevailed in Ireland a short time ago. Many things have happened since then, and many persons appear almost to have forgotten its existence. But those bad seasons, coming on a very poor peasant tenantry, under what I must think was a very bad system of Land Law, did produce an amount of distress and misery which is the real and main cause—I do not say the sole and exclusive cause—of the arrears of rent with which we are now trying to deal. I shall not, I think, find the reality of that distress denied in this House, and certainly not on the Benches opposite; because it was recognized to the fullest extent by the late Government, who had recourse to the most exceptional measures—an advance of public money, so-called loans, at no interest or nominal interest, for the relief of that distress, and the provision of employment on a very large scale. And these measures were happily assisted by great efforts of private benevolence. If it had not been for those efforts, public and private, there can be no doubt that great disasters would have followed. You would have had, not only misery, but starvation in that country. But can it be supposed that the effects of such years as those on the poor, small peasant farmers of Ireland, and especially of the South and West, can now be extinguished? On the contrary, the small holders of Ireland have never, till this moment, recovered from the effects of that distress. It stopped to a great degree the payment of rent, and induced, mainly, the accumulation of the arrears with which we have now to deal. One result of that state of things has been that the landlords have been driven to the assertion of their rights, and, naturally, evictions have very greatly increased. They have steadily increased since 1877 or 1878; the increase has been going on in the present year at an alarming rate, and the fact is that the evictions to which the Irish landlords have had recourse during the first six months of the present year are more numerous than all the evictions which took place in the five years between 1873 and 1878. And these evictions are continuing, and undoubtedly will continue to increase in a most alarming ratio, unless some such effort as is attempted by this Bill is made. Unless we make some such effort to diminish, at all events, the causes of these evictions, to put the embarrassed small tenantry of Ireland in something like a solvent condition, there can be no settlement between landlord and tenant in numerous instances either in the Land Court or out of it. It is evident, as things stand at present, that a very large number of embarrassed tenants are now prevented from availing themselves of the advantages of the Land Act of last Session, and of the Land Court that was then created. It cannot, I am sure, be the wish of any noble Lord, however much he may have opposed the Land Act of last year, that a large class of Irish tenants should find themselves, in a great majority of cases by their misfortune, excluded from the doors of that Court; and I leave your Lordships to imagine what contentment and peace and good relations between landlord and tenant can exist, as long as you have a large class of tenants in that situation. I believe it is necessary to make a strong effort to save both parties from this deadlock which will otherwise ensue, and to give the tenants a fair start again in the cultivation of their holdings and the payment of their rent. This may naturally be represented as a boon to the tenant; but it is absolutely impossible to separate the interest of the tenant from that of the landlord in this matter, or, indeed, from that of all classes in Ireland. We propose this measure in the interest not of the tenants only, but in the interest of the landlords also, and in the interests of the peace and tranquillity of Ireland generally. It may be supposed that certain Gentlemen in the other House who, some months ago, brought in a Bill that contained some of the principles of this measure, were not specially desirous to promote the interests of the landlord; but they could not promote the interests of the tenants in this respect without also benefiting the landlords. We have come to the conclusion that the plan of this Bill is the only one that will enable us to deal effectively and certainly with the great evil that we have to encounter; and that nothing but a compulsory settlement, under the sanction of the State, by the power of the State, and with the assistance of the money of the State, would enable us to feel any certainty that the remedy will really reach the object in view. If it were to depend on the chances of private agreement, it would be most uncertain, and would most probably fail in its effect. If then, the measure is to be one of compulsory settlement, we hold that it must be one of gift on the part of the State, under the limitations and conditions of the Bill. I need hardly remind your Lordships that Parliament, and, above all, the present Government, have been committed to the necessity of dealing with this question of Irish arrears by the Act of last year; because we proposed, and Parliament adopted, a clause in that Act dealing with the subject, a clause most important in its principle, although it has proved inadequate in its machinery. No doubt, the difficulties of the case were underrated, and that section of the Act has proved inadequate; but from the time when the effect of that section lapsed, in the early part of the Session, the mind of the Government has been directed to this matter of Irish arrears; so has that of the Irish Government; and, above all, my right hon. Friend the late Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster) had his mind very full of the subject. The same may be said of other Members of the Government, among whom I may mention my lamented friend the late Mr. Burke, who, not long before his death, gave me the benefit of his views as to the necessity of dealing with the question of arrears effectually; and Mr. W. E. Forster also came to the conclusion that no other milder or weaker course than that proposed in the Bill—namely, that of compulsion and gift—could be relied upon for anything like a settlement of the matter in hand. Well, my Lords, this proposed settlement is compulsory, and open to all the obvious objections that may be brought against it when that word is mentioned. But that compulsion will impose very little sacrifice upon landlords in Ireland—certainly, in my opinion, no more than is well worth their bearing for their own interests, considering the great objects this measure has in view. I will now state what the compulsory provisions of this Bill are. In the first place, the tenant must pay one year's rent—the rent for the year 1881. It comes to this—that a landlord with an estate weighed down by arrears will be able to obtain, first of all, the rent of the present year from a tenant who had become entitled to the great relief given him by the operation of the Bill; and, in the next place, two years' arrears. From that it does not appear to me that very hard terms are imposed upon landlords in Ireland. I may point out that a landlord may, under the Bill, under certain circumstances, obtain a contribution from the State, even in cases where the tenant cannot pay one year's rent. I cannot tell how far that part of the Bill may operate; but I can conceive that in cases where, from various motives, a tenant cannot pay his rent for 1881, the landlord will be inclined, from the consideration of his own interests, and from good feeling towards the tenant, to give him a clear receipt, in which case he would then be entitled to apply to the Land Commission and obtain the amount of the one year's rent which the State offers under the Bill. Now, my Lords, I come to the question of the tenant's ability or inability to pay, and the means of ascertaining that inability. I hear it very often said that to ascertain that fact will be impossible. I cannot understand those statements. First of all, I will remind your Lordships that the problem will be smaller and less difficult this year than it would have been last year, because a very large number of rents have been paid during the earlier part of this year; and, under legitimate compulsion by the landlords, rents to a large amount have been recovered, and recovered from that class of tenants who had been lawlessly refusing payment. I cannot understand what enormous difficulty there will be in making inquiry into the inability of the tenant to pay his arrears. On the contrary, my belief is, that a properly qualified person, such as a skilled land agent—and that class of persons will, in all probability, be those most often employed—appointed to make such an inquiry, will very soon detect the parties who may falsely assert their inability, and whose real position would probably be notorious among their neighbours; and it appears to me that an inquiry conducted by an experienced man will, in the majority of cases, be effectual in defeating any attempt to obtain the benefits of the Bill on the part of tenants who are able to pay; moreover, very stringent powers are given to the Commission for the prosecution of these inquiries, and for the infliction of punishment in cases not only of perjury, but of suppressing evidence bearing on the facts to be ascertained. My Lords, as to the original cause of the tenant's present inability to pay, I confess I cannot speak in so confident a tone. I do not believe it will be possible, as a rule, to ascertain the causes which have led to the present inability of the tenant to pay his rent. There may be causes of various kinds in addition to the ordinary cause of inevitable misfortune; there may be a moral or a political cause, such as sympathy with the doctrines of the Land League; but I confess I think inquiry into the matter would be a hopeless task to undertake. That is one of the drawbacks which we have to encounter; but I do not think it is one of much magnitude. I must again remind your Lordships of one of the conditions under which the tenant is to obtain the benefits of this Bill. Your Lordships will remember that every tenant who wishes to avail himself of it must qualify himself by the payment of the rent of the "no rent" year 1881. That is the first condition that is laid down. The Irish tenant must repudiate the "no rent" principle of the Land League, and pay in full the rent for the year 1881. In the next place, I wish to point out that, whatever may be the success of the inquiry as to the inability of the tenant to pay, at any rate, the Bill bears on its front the condition that the help of the State is only intended for that tenant who is unable to pay the full amount of his arrears. The portion of the Bill dealing with gift and compulsion is intended only for that tenant. I need not trouble your Lordships further with that part of the Bill. I will now refer very shortly to a provision which has been inserted in the Bill since it was first introduced—a provision for payment of arrears by means of a loan. It is provided that in the case of any holding not exceeding £50 valuation, the amount necessary to comply with the conditions of the Bill may be advanced by way of loan on the joint application of the landlord and the tenant. I have no doubt that a considerable number of landlords and tenants will avail themselves of this provision. As to those tenants who have holdings above a valuation of £30 a-year, a loan will be the only mode of relief; but as to a tenant who has a holding under £30, and whose inability is not proved, this provision comes into play as an alternative; and I feel satisfied that it will be the means of setting on his feet many a small, struggling, and embarrassed tenant who has been unable to satisfy the Commissioners that he cannot pay the full amount of his arrears. Then, my Lords, I come to that part of the Bill dealing with the subject of emigration. I think this part of the measure will be accepted by both sides of the House with a large concurrence of feeling; and I am happy, for my part, to be able to propose it to your Lordships. An Act of some years standing in Ireland—that of 1849—enabled Irish Boards of Guardians to provide for the expenses of emigration either out of the rates, or by way of loans. Those Boards have done a good deal by way of assistance out of the rates; but have done nothing by way of loan, in consequence of the terms being so excessively stringent. The terms are that the loan shall be paid off by seven yearly instalments, and that requirement has made the Act inoperative. The Bill before us, on the contrary, offers loans to any Board of Guardians in Ireland upon terms of a very different nature, terms ranging from 15 years at the lowest to 30 years at the highest, according to the discretion of the Treasury, and such terms as we may fairly hope will often be made use of by the Guardians. In addition to that, we also propose to make a free grant to be applied to a certain number of the most over-peopled and miserable Unions in Ireland for the purpose of emigration. The amount of the grant is limited to £100,000, and it is intended not to meet the whole cost, but a large part of the cost, of emigration from those Unions. I will trouble your Lordships with a few figures showing the extraordinary condition of the district to which this grant is intended to apply. In five Unions in the counties of Mayo and Galway it appears that there are 20,000 holdings, of which 14,000 are under £4 Poor Law valuation; while, of the whole number, only 890 exceed £9 Poor Law valuation. These are the Unions scheduled in the Bill; but any portion of the grant may be applied to other distressed Unions in the West of Ireland. Let us take another test of the condition of these Unions. I find that in these five Unions the valuation per head of the population amounts only to 15*s.*; while, upon the average for the rest of Ireland, the proportion is as much as £2 12*s.* 6*d.* In fact, every test we can apply shows the miserable condition of things which exists in the

West of Ireland; and, if the remedy of emigration is to be applied, it ought to be applied in such districts, and at the present time. It may be said that the amount of the grant is a limited one; but we hold that a great deal can be done with such a grant, taking in the worst cases, and that a very good beginning may be made. We think, also, that it would be extremely unwise to force on emigration in any extravagant manner, which would excite the suspicions of a very suspicious people; and we believe that the worst thing that could happen would be the production of a feeling of that kind. There are many supplementary provisions of the present Bill of considerable importance, provisions by way of supplement, and by way of machinery; but I think it hardly necessary to trouble your Lordships with them at this stage, and I shall be happy to explain them when we go into Committee. I have only, in conclusion, to appeal to your Lordships, as I did when I began, not to fix your eyes exclusively upon the difficulties, the objections, and the risks which, in any bold attempt at a settlement of a most important and difficult matter such as is made by this Bill, are likely to engross your attention. I entreat you not to overrate or exaggerate those objections and those risks — a thing which it is so easy to do. I would ask you not to shut your eyes to the grave crisis and the formidable prospects in Ireland with which we have to deal; but, by adopting this measure, to join with the other House of Parliament in making a strenuous attempt to remove at least one of the great obstacles to the return of peace and tranquillity in that country, and the restoration of good relations between landlord and tenant. The noble Lord concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, it is pleasant to me to be able to welcome with hearty approval, at all events, the provisions which were the subject of the closing part of the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal's speech. That part of the Bill which relates to loans, I believe, proceeds upon a sound principle, one by which much good has already been done in Ireland, and which, if extended further, will confer still greater benefits on that country. Whether the terms of the loans are in every respect those which I should wish, I will not inquire; but I prefer rather to recognize in these provisions, introduced at a somewhat late period into this Bill, an acknowledgment on the part of the Government that the efficacy of the system of loans to distressed classes, and that at the sorest period of their distress, is one whose value has not been exhausted, and one to which the Imperial Parliament may with propriety and profit resort. Still less should I be inclined to cavil at the provisions, of which the noble Lord has spoken, with regard to emigration. He knows that on this side of the House the value of emigration has always been very highly estimated as one of the best palliatives or remedies for the distressed state of things which exists in Ireland. All the evidence that reaches us—and some of us have been in a condition to receive a good deal of evidence during the past Session—all the evidence that reaches us points out that, in many parts of Ireland, the problem caused by the poverty of the people is not one that can be solved by any legislation adverse to the landlords, however generous it may be in the view of the Liberal Party, and however prejudiced and unjust it may be in the view of the Conservatives. Even if you were to go so far—which I suppose is not yet contemplated—as to take all the property of the landlord, and give it to the tenant, it is evident from the evidence that reaches us on every side that, where the population is so vastly in excess of the resources of the country, you would scarcely produce any appreciable difference, any interval of mitigation in the misery of the people. No doubt, if emigration is to be carried on with anything like success, it must be—to use the language of the Government—on the principle of gift. It is of no use to ask the poor parishes to increase their poverty in the future, by pledging their resources for the purposes of getting rid of their surplus population. Nothing but assistance from without, nothing but assistance from the Exchequer of the community, can be efficient or effectual for the purpose. The evil to be met is two-fold. In the first place, the soil on which these people have gathered is not fertile enough to support the mouths that have grown up upon it. In the second place, owing to disturbances, owing to numberless historical causes, the increase of persons has exceeded in its pace, exceeded very far, the growth of capital by which those persons can be employed; and it is only by removing the congestion of population from those particular parts of the country that the equilibrium can be in some degree restored between capital and population. I, therefore, welcome this as an acknowledgment of a sound principle, however short the step may be on the part of Her Majesty's Government; and for that, if for no other reason, I should hesitate to move the rejection of the Bill on the second reading. Indeed, the principle appears so very valuable that, if the Bill can possibly be amended, I should earnestly wish to see it recorded in the Statute Book. But passing, my Lords, from these beneficent after-thoughts, which were introduced into the Bill at a late period, let us come back to the original skeleton of the Bill, the true product of the Kilmainham Treaty. Now, my Lords, the proposal of the Bill is to make a very large advance of money to the tenant. The noble Lord who has just sat down (Lord Carlingford) has told us that, in advancing money to the tenant, we must be equally doing so to the landlords, for it is impossible to separate the interests of the landlord and tenant. My Lords, I think it will be one of the greatest glories of this Administration in the eyes of posterity that they have contrived to make the interests of landlord and tenant absolutely antagonistic to each other. The sources from which it is proposed to make the advances to the tenants are three. In the first place, there is be a large draft upon the Irish Church revenues; in the second place, there is to be a draft of an uncertain amount upon the Consolidated Fund—that is to say, upon the English taxpayer; and, thirdly, there is also a draft of an uncertain amount upon the unhappy Irish landlord, who has been so frequently the subject of similar operations during the last few years. Now, as to the application of the Irish Church Fund. I will not say absolutely that I assent; but I recognize that in any mere dealing with that Fund, there would not be of itself matter to induce your Lordships to interfere very decidedly with the proposals of the Government. It is a purely exceptional Fund; it has arisen in a not very creditable manner. It was originally assigned by Parliament for the relief of undoubted cases of distress; and anything that is done with this Fund, whether it is given to this man or to that man, or whether it is applied to this purpose or to that purpose, it cannot create a precedent or establish a principle, for it is, for obvious reasons, perfectly impossible that any such Fund should ever again arise. In that respect, it differs very widely from the other two Funds—the Consolidated Fund, which furnishes a practically inexhaustible supply; and the other, the property of the landlords, of which, although it is not so entirely inexhaustible, yet there is still a good deal to be consumed. Now, the noble Lord rested very much upon the principle of the Bill, that its aid was only to be extended to tenants who were absolutely unable to pay the arrears of rent which they owed upon their holdings, and which weighed upon them. My Lords, if that boast—if that principle really were the principle of the Bill, if that claim could truly be substantiated, it would be very difficult for anyone on either side of the House to object, at least, to the principle upon which the noble Lord proceeds, for it is a very old principle of our law, and one to which we are giving expression every day—that where it is found that a person is absolutely unable to discharge his debts, those debts shall be discharged, and he shall be allowed to begin the world again free from those debts. If this Bill were nothing but a huge Insolvency or Bankruptcy Bill, there would be little more to be said; but, in the first place, how are you to prove insolvency? In other and ordinary cases you prove insolvency by the debtor giving up all his property. But there is no intention of proving the insolvency in that way now. I listened with very great interest when the noble Lord came to that part of his speech. He treated with scorn and astonishment the objection that there would be any difficulty in proving, on the part of the tenant, his inability to pay his rent. I then listened with some curiosity to the mode by which he established this confident conviction. He relied upon two tests. One was, he said, that the agent of the landlord would always be able to know whether the man would be able to pay his debts, and the other was that the neighbours would always know it

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): I beg your pardon. I did not mean that. I did not mean the agent of the landlord. I meant the person employed by the Land Commission to inquire and report; he would probably be an experienced person—such as a land agent, and not the agent of the landlord.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Exactly; a person selected after the fashion in which the Sub-Commissioners have been selected, and selected, no doubt, for the same qualifications, and with the same absolute impartiality. It is quite certain that whoever may be appointed to do this work, whether by the Government or by the Sub-Commissioners, he will not be a harsh agent; he will not be a person who has any prepossession in favour of the landlord, and he will not be a person inclined to bear hardly in ascertaining the poverty of the Irish tenant. As to neighbours, I should like to know what neighbour would like to risk his life by telling what he knows of the poverty of his fellow neighbour. It is well known that there is nothing in the administration of justice more difficult than to ascertain the absolute poverty of a man who tries to conceal what he has. It is difficult even in our highly complex and artificial society, where money is easily traced. It is difficult where you require a man to prove his insolvency by giving up all he possesses. But when a man has every facility to conceal, when he can put all his money into notes, which he can hide in the ticking of a bed, or in a stocking, or under the thatch of his dwelling, or deposit it in a bank, in the name of some friend, and when he is not required to prove the sincerity of his insolvency by giving up all he possesses — the holding on which he dwells, or the means by which his industry is sustained—it will be absolutely impossible, even for the most impartial and severe tribunal, to ascertain whether he is destitute or not. My Lords, we have always been met, by those who know Ireland, with a statement which I always felt must be unjust. We have always been told that we cannot believe anything we hear in Ireland. I am sure that cannot be the case. Still, it must indicate to us a certain tendency to romance, a certain facility of imagination through which it is difficult to penetrate, and which certainly will put off the scent the severest Sub-Commissioners Her Majesty's Government are likely to send there. But I will not argue the question of the inability of the tenant. Supposing, as has been said, that he stood in the position of an ordinary debtor in insolvency. You say that he is to show that he is unable to pay his rent, and then, in the same clause, you insert two special provisions. He is to be unable to pay his rent without the sale of his holding, and without the sacrifice of the means necessary for the proper cultivation thereof. Now, what are the means for cultivating land? Well, I believe £10 an acre is required in this country. I do not know whether an Irish tenant requires £10 an acre; but it is obviously a matter upon which a very wide difference of estimate may be held as to whether a man has or has not a sufficient amount of money to enable him to pay his rent and properly cultivate his land. He will come before the Sub-Commissioners, and say—"I have 30 acres of land, and the rent is £30, and I am two, three, or four years in arrear, I have got the money to pay"—supposing the tenant to be possessed of unusual candour—"but the cultivation of my land costs £6 per acre, and I must keep the money to cultivate my land." It will depend in this case whether the landlord or the State are or are not to be forced to assist the tenant, and whether the landlord's rent is to be thought of when the tenant is in this condition. I do not say that I should rely upon a provision of this kind for the entire protection of the landlord. I believe he requires much more complete protection. But for the protection of both the landlord and the taxpayer, and more especially the latter, who may possibly, though not certainly, be involved in the operations of this Bill, it appears to me to be an absolute necessity that, in some form or other, the true value of the holding, and of the other property the tenant may be possessed of, should be brought into account in determining whether he is or is not capable of paying his arrears. We well know that the value of a holding in many parts of Ireland rises to an enormous figure. I will not take fabulous cases of tenant right, or where it actually rises above the fee-simple of the land; but I have heard of cases where the value of the holding is 10, 11, 12, or

13 years' purchase of the land. In those cases, of course, the landlord has trusted to the value of the tenant right as a security for the payment of the rent; and it is precisely in these cases that the Act will inflict the greatest injustice upon him, as well as on the English taxpayer, by allowing the tenant to take money from the landlord and from the State on the ground that the tenant is in a destitute condition. Of course, the noble Lord will tell me that the Sub-Commissioners will be able, under the Act, to bring the value of the holding into account, if they think it reasonable. I confess that whatever solution of this difficulty your Lordships may come to, I earnestly hope you will not make any more drafts upon the wisdom and impartiality of the Sub-Commissioners. Last year we thought these Sub-Commissionerships were to be judicial appointments, made in a judicial spirit. We have, on more than one occasion, had an opportunity of considering what was to be said against them, and what was to be said in their favour. We have had a very striking and able speech from the noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Brabourne), which, I think, commended itself very much to the approval of this House, showing the kind of men who have been appointed by the Government, and the qualifications and the antecedents of those men; and we heard what the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal was compelled to advance by way of answer. It was justly described by the noble Duke behind me (the Duke of Abercorn) as "a lame and impotent conclusion." I never heard a defence which more absolutely avoided the main topics which were urged in the attack. But, at least, we know of the Sub-Commissioners that they have been appointed —not from men who took little part in politics, not from men who have abstained from expressions of contested opinions as to landlord and tenant, but they have been appointed from men who have fought in the front ranks of Party contests, waged upon the principal questions that are litigated between landlord and tenant; and we also know—or, at least, those who sat on the Select Committee of your Lordships do—that no one was able to give the slightest information as to the principles upon which their decisions were based. They entirely abstain from any attempt to do so. If their decisions were so righteous and so just as is pretended, it would be very easy to point out the principles upon which, and the philosophy by which they arrived at them; but no such attempt has been made by the Treasury Bench, no such attempt has been made by any advocate in the witness chair, and everything that has come out with respect to their decisions leads to this conclusion—that they have been rather seeking a political end, which very possibly they may think a laudable and desirable one, than acting in a judicial spirit, and deciding as to what is right between man and man. I do not say that the decisions of the Commissioners are necessarily immoral or unjust, or that this conduct on their part exposes them to censure. It is easy to see that it is possible that in the present state of Ireland they may have misconceived their duty; but the decisions to which they have come, and the entire want of principle which underlies them, and the peculiar antecedents which preceded their appointments, are very ill-fitted to increase the trust which ought to be reposed in judicial officers, and certainly ill-fitted to induce your Lordships to extend the amount of confidence to be reposed in them under this Bill. Now, my Lords, I have spoken of the insolvency test, and I have spoken of the protection which ought to be afforded to those from whom the subsidy to the tenants is to be drawn; but, in my opinion, a much more stringent and effective protection is required in this case for the interests of the landlords. The noble Lord spoke of this Bill as one of gift and compulsion, and I think in the other House it was said that gift and compulsion were the pillars of the measure. It does not seem to have occurred to the noble Lord that compulsion is not usually necessary in the case of gift—that is, if you give a man something, he does not require to be compelled to accept it; and what is the truth in this case is, that the compulsion is addressed to one set of men, and the gift is addressed to another. Some landlords, no doubt, have a great quantity of bad debts, and they have arrears which it is impossible for them to recover. To them the gift may, no doubt, come in very welcome guise. They may be very glad that Her Majesty's Government is willing to dispose of the funds at its command, for the purpose of wiping off

those bad debts, of which they could themselves obtain nothing under any other condition. But, on the other hand, there are other landlords, and, I believe, in considerable numbers, who, by kindness, have allowed their tenants to fall into arrear; but knowing that their tenants were possessed of resources which would, in the end, enable them to pay, did not conceive their arrears to be bad debts at all; and it is to them that the compulsion is addressed, and the Government think they have done absolute justice, because they give a gift to one set of men, and force another set of men to abandon their rights. They meet two men on the roadside, one possessed of a great coat and the other of none. They give a coat to the man without one, but take away that which the other man has. And this is what they call a generous policy. But it is not only the landlords who possess arrears that are good who will suffer by this process of relieving their more desperate brethren at their expense. Remember that the right to much of this property in arrear is often vested in different persons. Let us take an instance which is very common—the instance of land settled on the eldest son, and personal property divided among the other children and legatees. The landlord dies in 1879. There are a good many arrears perfectly recoverable upon the property. These arrears belong to the younger children. The eldest son will receive, in respect of 1880, one year's rent; and, by way of compensation for that gift of the Government to the landlord—that is to say the heir—the younger children will go without the arrears upon which their fortunes depend. That is a specimen of the confusion into which you fall when you interfere with the ordinary law of debtor and creditor. The noble Lord opposite seems to be rather proud of the peculiar conduct of the Government. Ordinary Governments do not interfere with the law of debtor and creditor; but this is a great Government, a Government of especial excellence, and it despises all such petty considerations, and does not mind taking money away from the creditor in order to give it to the debtor. But the unfortunate thing is that such proceedings cannot be taken without inflicting injustice and confusion far beyond the view of those persons who have betaken themselves to such anomalous legislation. I can imagine a crisis of great public difficulty—a much severer crisis than any which we have seen lately—and can suppose that it justifies or extenuates this violent interference with the rights of property. But having imagined even such a crisis as that, such interference ought only to be undertaken after due consideration and after careful inquiry. You should know exactly what you are doing; you should not go and promise to certain prisoners in Kilmainham that you will strip one important class in order to clothe another, without knowing how many are the men whom you will have to strip, and how many those are whom you will have to clothe. I object to this proposal that we should confiscate the property of unknown men in unknown proportions, under conditions which are absolutely strange to us, without any preliminary inquiry; and that we should satisfy our consciences, after doing that, by presenting money belonging, some of it, to the taxpayers of this country, to other people, with whom those who have suffered have necessarily no connection. There is, it seems to me, a simple test whether the Government are sincere in their professions that they do not wish to invade the rights of landlords, or to injure their property by this proposal. Let them make the operation of the Bill optional to the landlord, as it is to the tenant. Men do not refuse gifts. Men do not decline to receive 10*s*. in the pound for debts that are certainly bad, for arrears that are absolutely irrecoverable. There are undoubtedly in Ireland such debts, and such landlords who would not make any such refusal; and if you go to them and say, "Cancel your arrears and we will pay you 10*s*. in the pound," do not tell me there are any men so absurd and Quixotic as to refuse the proffered gift. It was said in the other House—the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal has not repeated it here, however—that there are some Irish landlords of so peculiar a kind, and so eccentric that they do not care for money—that what they care for is power—and that they will keep these debts hanging over their tenants, and refuse the offer of 10*s*. in the pound, merely to keep a hold over their tenants, and exercise power over them. I believe that class of landlords has been invented for the purposes of this Bill. They are as unreal and mythical as a dragon or as a griffin. Let us have some kind of proof that they exist. Let us have an inquiry to show that there is such an unreasonable and insane class, before you commit a great public wrong—a great act of public plunder — merely on account of the danger which this class may cause you. I think anybody who has watched the recent course of affairs in Ireland has seen what the relation in actual and practical life of landlord and tenant really is, and has noticed how far the tenant defers to the wishes of his landlord in any position of life, will treat with ridicule this idea that any landlord conceives that by allowing a certain amount of arrears he can exercise powers over his tenantry. That is a theory, an imputation, which belongs to a long past time of Irish history, and which would be no justification whatever for interfering with the plain and ordinary rights of creditors, or disregarding the laws of common honesty when adjusting the pecuniary relations between landlord and tenant in that country. This injustice ought to be remedied before your Lordships consent to the passage of this Bill. I think that you ought to take care that the tenant's interest in his holding is, in some form or other, brought into account in determining whether he is destitute or not, whether he is incapable of paying his just debts or not; and I think that you ought to insist that the landlord shall be as free as the tenant is to enter into this arrangement for cancelling past arrears in exchange for a gift of public money. If you do not do so, you will be inflicting great injury upon the class with whom you are dealing; and it is very possible, if this measure takes a wider range than that contemplated by the Prime Minister, that you may be pledging the taxpayer of England, at a moment of great public pressure, to very much larger obligations than those which your representations now lead him to think he will have to bear. This is not a moment to increase his burdens, or to ask him to bear that increase of burden, for the sake of a class who have distinguished themselves in the history of their country in the manner in which large portions of the Irish tenantry have lately distinguished themselves. There are other evils connected with this legislation. You are warning every owner of property, not only in Ireland, but in England also, not to allow arrears to exist. Are you quite sure that that is a wise, or a just, or a generous policy? The Prime Minister spoke of the system of arrears as an irritating, a wretched, and a vicious system. He seems not to have taken into account the fact that the system is, to the poorer class of farmers, the inevitable concomitant of the circumstances of agriculture. Agriculture is eminently a pursuit which does not yield identical or uniform produce every year. It is an industry interrupted by great intervals of serious depression, and attended by serious losses; and those losses can only be met, in the case of the poorer farmers, by a willingness on the part of the landlord to give time, and to accommodate his demands to the circumstances of the hour. But if you declare that such kindness on his part shall be a penal offence to be used against him; that if he allows arrears to accumulate, he runs the danger of a Liberal Government coming in and declaring those arrears cancelled, you will be proclaiming widely that a landlord must not give this accommodation, or allow this time, and you will be causing serious hardship to deserving men, and placing difficulties in the way of the prosecution of the most important industry in the country. The recent legislation of the Government has too much tended to preach this maxim to owners of property—"Whatever you do, do not be good-natured." Irish landlords allowed tenants to remain upon their land, who were little calculated to improve their estates, and to educe the greatest value from them. They allowed those tenants to remain year after year out of kindness and good feeling, never dreaming that in consequence of that kindness their rights would speedily disappear. But suddenly came down the Liberal Government, and first by maintaining the principle of compensation for disturbance, and afterwards that of fixity of tenure, they have turned that act of good nature to the prejudice and loss of hundreds of landlords, and now they repeat that lesson. Landlords have allowed arrears to accumulate, when seasons were bad and poverty stalked through the land, in order that they might not drive their tenants to desperation, and because the enforcement of their rights might have produced great human misery; but now you come down upon them, and say that those who have been thus merciful shall suffer because of their good qualities, and that Parliament will take away from them for ever the right of receiving the money of which they have for a time allowed the tenantry to delay the payment. This, surely, is the worst lesson that the Government can possibly teach. The object of a Government should be to encourage all classes to show mutual forbearance and mutual regard for each others' rights, and a mutual desire not to push their special rights to extremes. But the lesson taught by the Government is exactly the reverse. According to their teaching, all men who would be safe must not allow a single one of their rights to fall into disuse or abeyance, and must not allow the delay of a single hour, or the temporary withholding of a single shilling. And that is not the only lesson that will be taught the Irish people by the policy adopted by the Government in relation to this question. In what way does the present crisis in Ireland differ from the many crises that have repeatedly occurred in that country? Is it altogether a new thing that there should be for two years in succession bad harvests in Ireland—in this country we have had six successive years of bad harvests — two years of bad harvests which have been followed by two years of singular prosperity? Such an event, in our changeable climate, must happen again and again; and do you think that when it does occur the Irish tenant will not remember what that event did for him in 1882? What is there in this juncture to separate it in any degree or any respect from occasions which will arise from time to time? In the history of the country, no doubt, the time will come when the seasons, now fair, will change again, and there will be bad harvests for two or more years in succession in Ireland, when the Irish tenant will again be unable for the moment to pay his rent; and then what lesson will be drawn from the present action of the Government? Instead of addressing himself by industry and thrift to repair his losses and to meet his just debts, in some future years, he will remember that a short time before the English Government was induced, partly out of his landlord's pocket and partly out of the pocket of the taxpayer of this country, to pay his debts for him—debts which had accumulated during bad seasons. And, moreover, he will remember how that complaisance on the part of the Government was brought about. He will remember that he has not obtained this indulgence by the exercise of all the virtues, but rather by the exercise of all the vices. It has been by agitation, by disturbance, by cruelty to dumb animals, by acts of incendiarism, and by cruel and causeless murders, that the mind of the Government has been so impressed that they have departed from the policy which, last year, they openly and strenuously avowed their belief in, and have been induced at this moment to bring in this measure for the relief of the tenant at the expense of the landlords and of the taxpayers. These are the lessons which the tenants of Ireland will learn from the course which has been followed by Her Majesty's Government, a lesson which, your Lordships may depend, they will not learn in vain. Again and again we have had to protest against the policy of Her Majesty's Government, because by rewarding disturbance and crime they have made them more probable in the future. If you allow this measure to become law in its present form, I fear that, far from putting an end to dissension and healing the sores of Ireland, you will only be giving occasion for new and more extravagant expectations to be enforced by fresh and more atrocious means, and you will have to come and ask in a future year for new and more dangerous concessions, to be followed in due course by new and more dangerous disturbances. My Lords, I do not feel that this Bill, containing, as it does, some provisions that are useful, and which we may heartily approve of, can properly be made the subject of rejection on its second reading; but in assenting to its second reading I earnestly protest against the view that I assent to those dangerous principles which some parts of it include, or that I could undertake at any future stage to join in passing the Bill into law, unless those dangerous provisions are removed.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE said, that he did not, in any way, underrate the considerable *primâ facie* objections to the Bill which the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) had pointed out. As a matter of fact, the noble Lord in charge of the measure (the Lord Privy Seal) had candidly admitted that they existed; but the question was whether those objections were not far outweighed by the considerations which had been put forward by the noble Lord. He (the Marquess of Lansdowne) could not shut his eyes to the political nature of the remedial provisions of this Bill, nor to the fact that their operation was not likely to be in all respects complete, and that they would, perhaps, have the effect of demoralizing the minds of a large portion of the tenantry of Ireland; and, regarding the measure from a financial aspect, he did not think it was very much more satisfactory. He had not come across a single individual, who was conversant with the internal affairs of Ireland, who had not been bound to confess that it would be almost impossible to restrict the advantages which this measure offered to persons properly deserving of them. It was also true that the Bill involved the appropriation of a Fund which might have been used for more advantageous, and certainly for more elevated purposes; and it was equally true that it involved in indefinite liabilities the taxpayers of the country, who were called upon to back the Bill. Neither was it possible altogether to disregard the view that had been put forward in the public Press and elsewhere—that the supposed surplus of the Irish Church Temporalities Fund, which was to bear this charge, might, in fact, prove to have no existence, and that, at all events, the accuracy of some of the assumptions upon which the calculations of the Government were founded was open to considerable doubt. But to all that mass of argument there was one answer, and one only, that the supporters of the Bill could put forward, and that was that some settlement of the Irish Arrears Question was indispensable, and that, upon the whole, the settlement suggested by Her Majesty's Government was the most favourable, and the only one likely to be effectual. Moreover, this Bill did not come before them entirely on its own merits, or as a completely fresh proposition. He did not wish to misrepresent or to exaggerate what had taken place last year, when the Land Act was passing through that House; but when they passed that measure, containing clauses dealing with the question of arrears, they did commit themselves to the view that a fair trial should be made of the principle embodied in those clauses. Her Majesty's Ministers now came to them and stated that the Arrears Clauses had proved to be an absolute failure; and they proposed that further steps should be taken in the direction of the principle contained in those clauses. In those circumstances, he did not see how they could refuse the request of the Government, or recede from the position which they had taken up last year. The noble Marquess opposite, however, had pointed out that the present proposal differed from that of 1881 in two important points—that the measure of last year proposed to proceed upon the lines of "option" and loan, while that of this year proposed to proceed upon the lines of "compulsion" and gift. With regard to the question of compulsion, he (the Marquess of Lansdowne) thought that he should not be wrong in imputing to most of their Lordships the desire that, if this question of arrears were to be dealt with at all, it should be dealt with under conditions which should be as likely as possible to insure the success of the attempt; and what prospect of success would there be for it, if the settlement were left to the option of the parties? If it were, the Bill would certainly not succeed. Did any noble Lord believe that, in the present position of agriculture in Ireland, any measure which depended upon the cordial co-operation of the landlord and the tenant would be effectual or successful? If the Optional Clauses of the Bill of last year had proved a failure, he saw no reason why similar clauses in the Bill of 1882 should prove successful. If their Lordships turned the Bill into an optional one, they would be told six months hence that, just as they thwarted and outwitted the operations of the Act of 1870 and the Act of last year, so had they thwarted the Act of 1882; and not the least important or the least advantageous of its proposals was the fact that the Bill deprived the agitators of Ireland of the grounds upon which they based their operations, and an excuse for exaggerating and misrepresenting the conduct of Irish landlords; and, in his opinion, therefore, public policy, as well as the interest of the landlords, required that the clauses of this Bill, if the settlement was to be effectual, should be compulsory. Next, as to the question of gift. Looking at the question whether this advance should partake of the nature of a gift or a loan, he put aside all those suggestions which thinly disguised a gift under the name of a loan, a disguise through which everybody saw, and which was open to the double objection that a loan would be disadvantageous to the tenant; while a gift would involve a loss to the public. The Government proposed to say to the creditor—"You shall, whether you like it or not, accept a composition of 10*s*. in the pound." That might be a violent proposal, but it was not so violent to his thinking as to say to the creditor—"You shall accept only 10*s*. in the pound, and you may recover it, principal and interest, as best you may." No doubt, it might be possible for the Government to recover from the tenant; but their doing so would involve the admission that the security was so bad that it could not in common decency be foisted upon the landlord. That appeared to him to be an untenable position. The great difficulty of recovering small loans seemed to him to condemn the loan principle; and he should vote for the second reading of the Bill, therefore, on the understanding that it proceeded strictly upon the lines of compulsion and gift. The Government, it appeared to him, had very much weakened the Bill by appending to it the Loans Clauses, especially as the arbitrary limits laid down for loans would probably aggrieve many deserving tenants. Arbitrary elements were always open to objections; and he thought, in that case, it would have been better not to have limited the Act to holdings under £30, and that any kind of tenant who proved his inability to pay should have been allowed to share in the advantages of the Bill. Those who were excluded by it would be subjected to hardships, and the limit might be dispensed with, as there were few above the £30 who would be able to prove their inability to pay their arrears; but if there were any, as he had said, they might be allowed to come in. He hoped their Lordships, when they had accepted the Bill, which was nothing if it was not a violation of the principles by which they had hitherto been guided in legislation, would not endeavour to make peace with their conscience by inserting Amendments designed, no doubt, to satisfy honest scruples, but likely to sacrifice or impair the efficiency of the Bill, and, in that way, to divide between the Government and the House the responsibility, which must rest on someone, if the measure stopped short of success. In so saying, the Amendment which he had before his mind was that clearly indicated by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), which he intended to bring forward in Committee—namely, an Amendment to compel the Court to deal with the tenant's interests as an available asset in considering his inability to pay. He (the Marquess of Lansdowne) hoped the Government would oppose to the utmost such an Amendment, or any other in the same direction, and that they would not allow the test of the tenant's inability to pay to be that of giving up his holding. The main object of the measure was to place these persons in a position which would enable them to take advantage of the privileges of the Act of last year; and he could not see why those privileges should be restricted by making available the saleable interest in the farms. It would be inconsistent to take away with one hand what they gave with the other. It was perfectly true that this attempt to secure immunity to the tenant was a strong justification to those who, last year, were a little incredulous as to the advantages to be derived by the landlord from the general introduction of tenant right. They had been told by advocates of the Land Bill that tenant right would furnish the landlord with unfailing security for rent and arrears of rent; but if, at that time, they had known of this Bill, and that tenant right would be left for other persons, while to the landlords it was said, "Hands off," that argument would have lost some of its weight, and they would probably have reconsidered the matter. The question they had now to consider was, did this Bill bring them any nearer, and, if so, how much nearer, to that ever-receding goal which they had been pursuing with "wandering steps and slow" during the past few years? He frankly admitted that it would give real and much-needed relief to a considerable number of tenants who, from no fault of their own, were in a condition of dire distress; but, nevertheless, he was inclined to agree with the noble Marquess opposite that the great mass of the Irish tenantry were beyond the reach of these legislative doles. It should be remembered that of the 600,000 people who occupied the soil of Ireland, 300,000 possessed holdings of less than £4 Poor Law valuation. Now, what was the position of those people? He maintained that for every shilling due in rent to the landlord, the tenant owed a great deal more to his other creditors. Their Lordships had probably read a very valuable Paper by Mr. Tuke, in which he gave two instances—in the one case, the tenant owed his landlord £332 and his other creditors £372; and, in the other case, £230 to the landlord and £178 to other creditors. Professor Baldwin, in his discoveries, went considerably further, for he went so far as to state that many small tenants owed their general creditors four, five, six, and even 10 years' purchase of their rent; while they paid exorbitant rates of interest, ranging from 10 to 43½ per cent. It was unfortunately the case, moreover, that those people depended almost entirely upon the potato, a most precarious root, though some improvement had been made in the sorts planted. As to the Act of last year, let them assume that, on a rent of £5, it was reduced 25 per cent. That would be a reduction of about 6*d*. a-week during the whole year. He mentioned these things because of the extreme importance of looking these matters in the face, and he did this because of the clauses inserted in the Bill at the last moment dealing with emigration. Those clauses were an important step in the right direction; but they would be administered under enormous difficulties, not the least of which was the, to Irish ears, hateful sound of the very word "emigration." He regretted the way in which those clauses had been pared down in the other House; and he was also much afraid that the Poor Law Guardians, upon whose cooperation the Government relied for the purpose of carrying out the clauses, would, in many cases, be either actively hostile or indifferent to the working of the emigration scheme. He should have preferred to see the duty intrusted to some other body of persons—perhaps the Commissioners mentioned in the Bill. He had said enough of what was in the Bill, and now he would turn to what was not. There was a question which he thought they had a right to ask the Government before the debate closed, and that was, how did they stand with regard to Irish land legislation? Was the present proposal merely an instalment, or was it the conclusion? There were three questions of great interest in connection with that question—the Purchase Clauses, the question of dealing with existing Leases, and the Prairie Rent theory. With regard to the first, he believed it was the intention of the Government to propose further legislation; but they had heard nothing of the attitude of the Government towards the Prairie Rent theory, except the most vague and shadowy announcements. They had been told that the Land Commission had made recommendations. If so, he wished to press upon the Government that nothing could be more unfortunate than to leave these matters in suspense for an indefinite period. Let them make a clean breast of it; and if the Land Commissioners had made recommendations, let them say what they were, and whether the Government meant to adopt them or not. With the prospect of the coming winter, nothing could be more mischievous than to keep these promises hanging over the heads of the tenants. They would never put an end to the chronic restlessness of the country in this matter until they were able, in plain and unmistakable language, to say—"Thus far we mean to go, and no further." They ought to make up their minds to say that and adhere to their resolution; and he urged them, at any rate before the Session closed, to make a definite statement upon the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that he also should be glad to hear from the Government how far they were going. He never remembered to have heard such a lukewarm support given to any Bill in the whole course of his experience as that which the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Lansdowne) had just given to the Bill before the House. In his (the Marquess of Waterford's) belief, the Bill was, as the noble Marquess had said, demoralizing; it was the most dangerous and demoralizing measure which had ever been introduced, and it was a fact that that would be its only effect. It was useless talking to Her Majesty's Government about principles of political economy, because they had, ever since they came into Office, thrown all theories of that description to the winds. The only arguments that had been used in support of the measure were, that it had been rendered necessary by the exceptional condition of Ireland; but he would ask the Government who it was that had created this exceptional condition, and whether they did not think that in adding wrong to wrong, and demoralizing measure to demoralizing measure, they were not more likely to increase than to diminish the dreadful difficulties with which they were menaced at the present time? The noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition (the Marquess of Salisbury) the other night pointed out, in the clearest way, how agitation and murder had been fed by concession and weakness; and he (the Marquess of Waterford) did not think that, as long as wrong-doing and dishonesty were successful, there was much likelihood of law and honesty being restored. Over and over again the Government had deplored the dishonest advice tendered to the Irish tenants by the agitators of the Land League. They suppressed the Land League, in consequence of the "no rent" manifesto; and now they had issued a much more effective "no rent" manifesto themselves. The Land League told the tenants of Ireland to pay no rent, and to show their patriotism by submitting to lose their holdings; and, in many cases, their unfortunate dupes had submitted to ruin and disaster for what they wrongly believed to be the public good. But the Government had brought in a "no rent" manifesto, with no ruin or disaster attached to it. On the contrary, instead of telling the tenants to pay no rent, and submit to being evicted, they told the tenants, under £30 valuation, to pay no rent until this Bill was settled, and until their own particular cases came to be adjudicated upon—which might take a long while—and that the Government would prevent their being evicted and have their arrears paid for them, partly at the expense of the State and largely at the expense of their landlords. The honest tenants who had paid their rent, who had been "Boycotted," mutilated, and shot in the legs for having done so, were to gain nothing under this Bill; but the men who had, in some instances, carried out with impunity these "Boycottings" and mutilations were to have their debts cleared off at the expense of their landlords and of the State. What must be the feelings of a man who, but lately in the pride of health and strength and conscious honesty, now lay a helpless cripple upon the bed of sickness and suffering—and there were many such in Ireland—in consequence of that honesty, when he knew that the very men who had been concerned in his mutilation were to be rewarded by the State for their conduct? Was that not enough to prevent the possibility of rent being paid in the future? Was it not a premium upon dishonesty and assassination? And how could they expect Ireland to return to a state of quietude when they placed a premium on agitation like that? It was said by the Prime Minister that that was a Bill for the purposes of stopping eviction, of relieving distress, and of enabling the poorer class of tenants to enjoy the advantages of the Land Act and have their rents fixed. But in cases where the arrears had been caused by real inability to pay there was no protection for the tenant under this Bill; because he was bound to pay a year's rent now, or to have paid it between November, 1880, and November, 1881. It would have been impossible to have made any other proposition; but, at the same time, he (the Marquess of Waterford) could not help seeing that they were not dealing with the real cases of distress at all, nor preventing eviction in such cases, nor enabling the poorer class of tenants to come into Court; because it would be impossible for the very men who were being evicted, or who were, as they said, prevented from coming into Court to meet that particular obligation. From his own experience, he could say that, at the present time in Ireland, there was hardly such a thing as a landlord who would evict a tenant when that tenant, no matter what his arrears might be, was prepared to pay him a year's rent within a year. And, therefore, at the present moment, there were only two classes of tenants being evicted—either those who could pay and would not pay, or those who could not and did not pay a year's rent, and the latter class could hope to gain no advantage from the Bill whatever. Noble Lords opposite might say that they had no wish to keep such men upon the land; but that did not prevent Her Majesty's Government from holding up to condemnation landlords who evicted in cases of that description. An eviction was the same in their eyes, and, in the words of the Prime Minister, was a sentence of death, whether the tenant was able to pay any rent at all or not. The landlords had been appealed to by the Government not to press their tenants during the bad years; and those who had acted as the Government implored, and as humanity dictated, were to be punished by the compulsory loss of a great amount of the money which was due to them—which money was allowed to remain out, without interest, upon the security of the tenant right of their holding, and which would inevitably be repaid upon the first sale of tenant right which took place. But now that was to be swept away, and the tenant was to be cleared of all his debts due, if he had paid a year's rent since November, or would pay one up to December, 1882, and could, if he so wished, step into the market the very next day and sell his tenant right for five, seven, or possibly 15 years' purchase, putting the whole of the money into his pocket, without any deduction whatever for the arrears which his landlord had been obliged to forgive him, or any deduction for the money advanced him by the State. More than that, if his landlord should wish to be the purchaser of his holding, he would have to pay him the full market price, notwithstanding that he might have lately had to forgive him two or three years of the rent that was due. Then, if proceedings had been taken, and costs were due by the tenant to the landlord, were those costs to be wiped out?—because he could not make out that there was any clear provision made for the payment of those costs under this Bill. As an Irish landlord, he was in a most difficult position with regard to this measure. He knew it was the most monstrous proposition which had ever been made; he knew that it was most vicious in principle, and that if their Lordships gave it a second reading they would be charged with accepting the principle. He knew that its initiation was utter destruction to the country, and would go far to prevent the payment of all rent in future. And on the very face of it, whatever the Government might say to the contrary, it was no settlement of any question, and would absolutely increase agitation, because there were two classes of tenants, who had both been, in different ways, the life and soul of the agitation from its outset, who were entirely left out in the cold. The first of these were the larger tenants, who were almost as much in arrear as the smaller ones; and the second class were the broken men, unable to pay any rent at all, and thus bring themselves under the operation of the Bill, and who, the Land League leaders had stated, had terrorized the other tenants, and got up most of the "Moonlight" and other outrages. There was an idea abroad that the landlords of Ireland were receiving a great boon under this Bill, and that two years' rent would be paid to them, which, under other circumstances, they could not recover. But he thought that was a great fallacy, because, in many instances, where proceedings had been taken, or even without proceedings, the landlords had received a year's rent between November, 1880, and the present time; and, therefore, instead of receiving two years' rent as was supposed, they would merely receive half of the arrears due, which in no case would exceed a year's rent, and have wiped out what in some instances might be perfectly good money, and which would be recoverable. It was not, therefore, in the interests of the landlords of Ireland that this Bill should pass—at any rate, in its present form. He looked upon the introduction of the Bill as utter destruction to them, because it was a premium on dishonesty, and would prevent the payment of rent in future, giving very little in the present, and that upon such terms that it would make that little dangerous to accept. But, at the same time, it would be unfortunate if the Bill were thrown out upon the second reading, as its initiation had excited such hopes among the tenantry of Ireland, and would throw the whole responsibility of anything which might take place in that country—and he feared much would take place, whether the Bill passed or not—upon their Lordships' House; and, in addition, in the present unfortunate condition of affairs, both at home and abroad, he was sure their Lordships would have no wish to force a Dissolution upon the Government. But he thought they were bound, in justice to all concerned, to amend that measure in Committee in such a manner as to preserve, so far as they could, the interests of the British taxpayer, and to prevent the confiscation of the landlords' recoverable property which would take place under it; and if Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to accept reasonable Amendments, on their heads—and their heads alone—would remain the responsibility if that Bill should be lost and a Dissolution take place. He said this the more as the Bill was drawn in such a manner as to lead him to believe that its real effects were little understood by the Government. It inflicted great and, he believed, unintentional injustice upon the landlords, and forced the British taxpayer to find in some cases large sums of money which were totally unnecessary, and which would go to tenants who did not require their assistance at all. As he read the Bill, there was one section that would inflict the greatest injustice upon a deserving class of tenants who were intended to come under the operation of the Bill, but who, to do so, must pay a year's rent more than some of those who deserved nothing at all at anybody's hands. There were two ways in which the Bill might be amended—one was by adopting the lines of the Act of 1881, and a clause in this Act itself, dealing with tenants between £30 and £50 valuation, in so far as to render it optional; and, by so doing, to protect the interests of the British taxpayer by obliging the landlord to protect those interests in protecting himself, by not allowing tenants who were perfectly able to pay their arrears to come under the action of the Bill; and, in addition, by clearing up a few of the ambiguities contained in it, so as to make clear the utmost both parties had to expect, and which no one could hope to arrive at at present; also to see that any tenant who had assets sufficient to meet his liabilities should not become a charge upon the British taxpayer, at the option of the Commission; or, on the other hand, to amend several of the clauses in the Bill, for the purpose of rendering a measure which was compulsory, not one of compulsory confiscation—confiscation which he believed, to a great extent, was unintentional; but the Bill, as it was at present worded, would inevitably have the effect of taking away a large part of the landlord's property, and, at the same time, of absolutely robbing the British taxpayer. If it was rendered optional, they must suppose that the landlords, who were likely to know whether their tenants were solvent or not, better than any Court which could possibly have to decide upon this question, would not agree with any tenant who they knew was well able to pay, and, therefore, would save the taxpayer from finding money for those for whom the Bill was never intended, but who would certainly come under its operation if it was not amended in the way suggested; and their Lordships must remember that the Bill was now optional to the tenant, because he had only to refuse to pay a year's rent to prevent coming under its operation. He should like to point out a few of the effects of its clauses, both upon the interest of the landlord, of the taxpayer, and of the tenant, if it was passed in its present form. In the first place, in Clause 1, in the case of a tenant owing a year's rent to November, 1881, but having paid a year's rent since November, 1880, the year's rent paid would be taken as representing the year's rent due November, 1881; and that would throw the year 1880, for which the rent was paid, into antecedent arrear. In many parts of Ireland, a tenant was accustomed to pay a year's rent after harvest; and if there was a hanging gale on the estate, the tenant in October, 1882, by paying a year's rent, as usual, would be clear up to his hanging gale, and, therefore, there would really be no arrear upon his holding. But if the Bill became law, that tenant would be taken as owing a year's rent at the present time, half of which would be wiped out, and half of which would be paid by the State, inflicting a grievous injury upon both the landlords and the State, because the money he referred to was good money, and need be lost by neither; and he doubted whether the Government, in making their estimate, had taken that class of antecedent arrear into account at all. Then, again, there was a point which acted directly against the more honest tenants; but the whole Bill seemed to be drawn in favour of the dishonest tenant, and to the prejudice of the honest tenant. In Clause 1, Subsection 3 said—

> "All payments on account of rent made by the tenant to the landlord in or subsequent to

the year expiring as aforesaid, but before the 30th day of November, 1882, shall be deemed to have been made on account of the rent payable in respect of that year, to the extent to which the rent for that year had at the time of such payment accrued due."

And perhaps their Lordships were not aware that rent did not accrue due until the gale day; and supposing the gale days were May and November in 1881, and a tenant had paid a year's rent before the 1st of May, 1881, that could not be, according to this section, counted in this year's rent at all, as none had then accrued due — therefore, that tenant would have to pay another year's rent to bring him under the operation of the Bill; and what he had paid would go merely to the credit of the antecedent arrears. But if the tenant had paid a year's rent after May, 1881, and before November, 1881, he would only have a half-year counted to his credit, because the other half-year would not have accrued due, and therefore that half-year would go to cover the most antecedent arrear; and a deserving tenant of that description, who had paid his rent, would not be in half as good a position as a man who had held his rent and simply refused to pay it. He did not know whether that was the intention of Her Majesty's Government; but, at the same time, as far as he could understand it, it was the clear reading of the Bill. In the same sub-section, the paragraph intended to save the hanging gale, to his mind, had the contrary effect; and when they remembered the extraordinary decisions given in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath," upon a clause in the Act of 1881—which was clear as daylight compared to that sub-section—in which the different learned Judges in the High Court of Appeal in Ireland almost all arrived at different decisions by different lines of argument, one might have some fear that in so complicated a sub-section as this the Sub-Commissioner, possibly without any knowledge of law, and strongly biassed in favour of the tenant, might arrive at a decision entirely opposed to the intention of the framers of this Bill. He believed the end of this sub-section might be read in three opposite ways, and he thought it absolutely necessary that its real meaning should be clearly defined. The Government stated it was for the purpose of saving the hanging gale. Let, then, words be put in to make it clear that it did save the hanging gale, in the interest of the tenant as well as of the landlord; because, if this Bill was made optional, he believed that the landlords would be prepared to take advantage of it in every case which it was intended to cover, and the only cases that would be left would be either those not intended to come under the action of the measure, or those which, by the effect of a section like this, the landlords would be prevented from compounding with, because of the great loss—unintentional, he believed, on the part of the Government—which compounding with the tenants who came under this sub-section might inflict upon them. The end of this sub-section said—

"If the rent of such holdings has usually been paid on some day after the day on which it became legally due, the usual day of payment shall be deemed, for the purposes of this sub-section, to be the time at which it accrued due;"

there being generally a hanging gale of half-a-year, and in some cases eight or ten months, one reading of this paragraph would be that, instead of the gale being saved, the legal date of payment would be shifted to the date at which the rent was usually paid, and all antecedent arrears compounded for or wiped out, thereby clearing the tenant, not only up to the date the rent was due, but up to the date, after that, at which the rent was usually paid. It might be said that this was not the meaning of the section; but he believed that the tribunals with which the landlords had to deal—strongly biassed as many of them were in favour of the tenants—would place that meaning upon it; and in the future, when a landlord served an ejectment—which he could only do when a full year's rent was due—he would be told that, as the rent due in November, 1881, was usually paid in May, 1882, or possibly July or August, 1882, the tenant was cleared up to that date. Their Lordships would see that if this took place no rent would be collectible in Ireland until either May, or possibly August, 1883. But if Clause 10 was read in conjunction with Sub-section 3 the matter was made even worse, because it was there stated that the tenant could make application up to December, 1882, or, in certain cases, up to the end of April, 1883. Therefore, if he paid a year's rent at any time between November, 1880, and November 30, 1882, he might have his arrears compounded and wiped out, as he had shown, up to May or August, 1882, and he was given three harvests—the harvests of 1880, 1881, and 1882—to pay one year's rent. Then there was another point in respect of which the Bill, if it was not made optional, required careful amendment. A man who died generally left his arrears, which were part of his personalty, to pay his debts, and the residue to his legatees, and his successor in title generally made this money good and collected it from the tenants; and he would like to know from noble Lords opposite, if this Bill passed without being made optional, who was to be the loser? Would the executors have to compound for so much in the pound of these arrears, having a very much larger sum of money due to them as a charge upon the estate; or would the successor have to pay them out of arrears which by this Bill would be wiped out? He saw that in Clause 16 the advances for arrears were to be divided between those who were entitled to them; but that did not clear up the other point. The Prime Minister gave as one of the justifications for this measure that it was very usual in Ireland for arrears to be sold, especially under the Encumbered Estates Court. He (the Marquess of Waterford), unfortunately, had had a good deal of knowledge of what took place under that Court, as his father bought a great deal of property through it; and was he satisfied from his personal knowledge that the Prime Minister was misinformed, and that the sale of arrears was one of the most rare occurrences which ever took place, either in that Court or anywhere else in Ireland. If noble Lords opposite doubted whether he was correct in what he stated, he was satisfied to abide by a Return of the arrears which had been sold under the Encumbered Estates Court since it was established, if the Government would produce such a Return. There were many other questions with which he could deal. For instance, there was the question of appeals. The Sub-Commissioners, with an appeal to the Chief Commission alone, had to decide upon points of law of the utmost importance, the very points which rendered it necessary that there should be an appeal to the Court of Appeal in Ireland under the Land Act, such as whether holdings came under the Act of 1881 or not. And, again, there was the fact of the unfortunate tenants who were to be saved from their cruel and rapacious landlords, and who were in consequence to be left entirely at the mercy of other creditors, such as the gombeen men—men who were really cruel and rapacious, and from whom this actual debt to the landlord had often saved them. But he would pass from these questions and merely say, in conclusion, that if the Church Surplus was large—as the Government said it was—or small—as he believed it to be—he was satisfied that the expense that would be incurred would be largely in excess of the estimate of the Government, and would come, with the other increased taxation which they had lately heard of, as an oppressive drain upon the English taxpayer. He had attempted to show some of the faults and effects of this most extraordinary Bill; and he thought their Lordships would agree, if he was right in what he had pointed out—and he had arrived at these conclusions by dint of personal experience in the management of Irish property, and with the advice and assistance of some of the most able and experienced lawyers and land agents in Ireland—that it was an absolute necessity that this Bill should be amended in Committee; and, upon the understanding that it would be so amended, he should vote for the second reading.

Earl COWPER said, that having, in view of the position he lately held in Ireland, carefully considered this Bill, he could assure their Lordships that he was of opinion that it was, upon the whole, a wise and beneficent measure, though it was unnecessary for him to say that he did not like the circumstances which led to its introduction, for it was most unfortunate that it should be regarded at the time as a sort of sop and concession to induce agitators, who might not otherwise have supported the Government, to do so. Having, however, on a former occasion fully expressed his opinion on the matter, he thought that all that ought now to be put on one side. In his opinion, it was impossible to feel that the measure before the House was not closely connected with the Land Act of last year. That Act, of course, was passed when he (Earl

Spencer) was in Office, and of its provisions he heartily approved. No doubt it violated general principles, and it was supposed at the time to be a concession to agitation. He would, however, remind their Lordships of the general principle that governed the Land Act, which was that the Irish tenant should not be considered in an independent position and able to take care of himself, but that his rent should be ascertained for him by a tribunal appointed for that purpose. Not only was the Government responsible for the Act of last year, but the House of Commons had approved it by a large majority, and their Lordships, after having proposed a large number of Amendments, gave way, and passed the measure. Having, then, accepted that Act and adopted the principle it advocated, those whom it was intended to benefit should not be prevented from taking advantage of it; and it would not be wise or expedient to turn round now and say they must be governed entirely by political economy, and that they would not in this instance go out of the beaten path. That was an impossible and untenable ground on which to oppose the measure, and he was glad to see that such a course was not to be adopted. If they had abandoned the principles of political economy, they had better not return to them until the objects were all gained for which they had been abandoned. A good deal had been said, and forcibly said, in regard to the objections to the Bill; but, perhaps, they were not altogether as strong when they came to look at them as they at first sight appeared. As had been said, it was a difficult matter, no doubt, to make out whether these tenants were or were not able to pay their rents; but it struck him that when men were two or three years in arrears, the landlords allowing them to be in arrears during that time was *bonâ fide* evidence they were not able to pay. It should be borne in mind that most of these men were men of small property, men who were only able to live from hand to mouth at the best times; and, therefore, in most cases they might safely assume that they were not able to pay, and that those cases in which they could pay and would not were exceptional. He was not aware whether any Amendments would be proposed in Committee with reference to the decision of the tenant's ability to pay. A great deal had been heard against the Land Commissioners. He was not going to defend them; but, perhaps, even angels from Heaven would not have given entire satisfaction. It should be remembered that the Commissioners were already intrusted with a far more important function than that of deciding a tenant's solvency—namely, that of fixing rents for 15 years. Another point to which he would refer was the alleged injustice to the tenants who had paid their rents, by giving their arrears to their neighbours who had not. A great deal had been made of this objection to the Bill; but he did not think that, practically, it would be found to be a great injustice. When they had numbers of tenants hopelessly in arrear who were utterly unable to pay, what was to be done with them? One of two courses would have to be adopted, whether the Bill passed or not; either they must be allowed to go on with the rope of the arrears hanging round their necks —and this would be a harsh and cruel way to leave them—or the uttermost farthing must be exacted from them and they must be evicted. He was sure that very few landlords in Ireland would adopt the latter course, and that the great majority would rather follow the example of English landlords, and deal generously with their tenants by forgiving them their arrears and allowing them to go on. He did not think that those who had paid their rents would feel it an injustice that those in arrear should receive the benefits of the Bill, because whenever evictions occurred, whether just or unjust, the evicted tenants had the sympathy, not only of those in arrear, but of those who had paid their rents. In reply to the objections of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Waterford), he would point out that the Bill would only affect those tenants who had paid the last year's rent. It had been argued that the introduction of this Bill had led to the stoppage of the payment of rent; but he thought they must look for another reason for that. People had found that deductions in their rent had been offered to them, and they thought that, having got so much by being obstinate, they should get more by refusing to pay altogether. The new departure in the release of the Irish "suspects" must also be considered as having more to do with the stoppage of rent than this Bill. The injustice was also dwelt on of asking the British farmer, and the British public in general, to pay the debts of the Irish tenant. As one of the British public, he was willing to pay his share, and he did not think it was so great an injustice as it was usually made to appear. Was it not advantageous to this country that Ireland should be united to us, and be peaceful and prosperous? These things were so necessary to us that we should be willing to pay anything that would tend to the peace, well-being, and tranquillity of Ireland. Moreover, their Lordships were not the guardians of the public purse; and the interests of the taxpayer, being their especial care, might safely be left with the other House of Parliament. He was very glad—and he felt sure also that their Lordships generally were equally pleased—that the question of emigration had been introduced into the Bill. Almost everybody who knew anything of the district felt that in the West of Ireland it was absolutely necessary; and people who formerly were most opposed to it—even the priests—were now altering their views and seeing the necessity of emigration. One of their objections had always been the deterioration in the condition of their flocks when no longer under their eyes. He believed that that objection would be met by the care with which emigration was to be conducted. The noble Marquess behind him (the Marquess of Lansdowne) had objected to emigration being carried out by the Boards of Guardians. He (Earl Cowper), however, hoped that Boards of Guardians were now becoming alive to the necessity of emigration; their objections should be overcome when they found that for £50, which it cost to keep a family for a year, they could get rid of that family altogether. With respect to the compulsory nature of the Bill, he might say that when the Land Act of last year was passed, a clause was inserted enabling the landlord and tenant to obtain a loan charged on the tenant's holding; but making the landlord's consent necessary before the arrears should be so dealt with. A good deal was expected of that provision; but nothing came of it, in consequence of that consent being necessary, the jealousy existing between landlord and tenant being an insuperable bar to the clause being taken advantage

of; and if they now required the consent of the landlord the Bill would remain as dead a letter as the clause of the Act of last year. He was glad that the question of tenant right was to be taken into consideration; but he would not go into those questions now, as they would be better dealt with on the next stage. He was also glad their Lordships were going to give the Bill a second reading, because he thought it would be a most unfortunate circumstance if that Assembly of landowners were not particularly tender to the interests of those to whom their own were supposed to be antagonistic; it would be most unfortunate that they should think it their duty to interfere and put a stop to the further progress of the Bill. He also thought that, in the present condition of Ireland, it would have a very bad effect upon, and have been a tremendous shock to, the large class of men who had their expectations aroused, to suddenly reject the Bill; and he should himself have been prepared to vote for the second reading, even without those considerations, as he considered it a measure that was absolutely necessary under existing circumstances.

Viscount BURY said, he wished their Lordships would look at the question in an English point of view, for it affected England as well as Ireland. No doubt, Irish landlords were mainly concerned in it; but he thought it should be looked at more than it had been from an English point of view. The noble Earl who spoke last (Earl Cowper) hit the nail on the head when he said this legislation was a mere continuation of the legislation of last year. The noble Earl also made use of a very singular argument, for he said because they had gone astray long ago they were to resist all attempts to go back into the right path—that having abandoned political economy it would be the height of folly to attempt to go back again.

Earl COWPER: I said we had better not go back to political economy until we had accomplished the object for which we had left it.

Viscount BURY said, his objection to the Bill was this—that it was a continuation in an evil way that we entered upon years ago. No one contended that the Bill was otherwise than grossly unjust. It was not only unjust, it would fail in its immediate objects. He agreed with his noble Friend behind him (the Marquess of Waterford), that the Bill would not touch the very people whom it was primarily intended to relieve. It was unjust to the British taxpayer. Many of their Lordships were landowners, not only in England, but in Ireland; and what would they be able to say to their tenants in England, who, in consequence of bad seasons and bad times, were in arrears, when these tenants said to them—"Did you not, in this last Session of Parliament, pass a Bill which was to put one year's rent into your pocket as an Irish landlord at the expense of us, the taxpayers of Great Britain? Why did you do this? Why did you receive it? Why did you take it out of our pockets?" The noble Earl who spoke last said it was important to retain the Union between England and Ireland, and that we ought to be willing to pay the price proposed by this Bill for retaining the Union. But those of their Lordships who were English landlords and who owned land in Ireland could not rely upon that argument. It would be no argument to the English tenant in arrear to say they were so interested in maintaining the Union between England and Ireland that they agreed to vote out of moneys of the taxpayers of Great Britain part of their rents, because that was what it really amounted to. The noble Marquess who spoke second in the debate (the Marquess of Salisbury) said the Bill was saved from absolute badness by the Emigration Clause. He (Viscount Bury) could not altogether agree with that. For some years he lived in Canada, and saw a good deal of emigration, and he found the wind taken out of his sails with regard to emigration when he remembered the magnificent men that used to come over in emigrant ships. They were, no doubt, capital people for emigrating to America or Canada, or for breaking up a new country; but they were the bone and sinew of the manhood of Ireland that the Government were going to get rid of, instead of the old and infirm who, if any, ought to be out of the country. The legislation on which they had now embarked in Ireland would touch England to-morrow; and, so far as he was concerned, he was sorry the Bill was not to be divided upon. He, however, washed his hands of it, and protested against it altogether.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN said, with reference to a remark of the noble Earl opposite (Earl Cowper), he (the Duke of Abercorn) wished to state his belief that the failure of the Land Act of 1881, as regarded the small number of cases of arrangement between landlords and tenants, was caused not by distrust between landlord and tenant, but in consequence of distrust in the action of the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners in the valuation of farms that were burdened with loans.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, he entirely disagreed with the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury). The procedure, by compelling a man to accept a gift, was somewhat novel; but he (the Earl of Dunraven) thought the case justified that. Likewise, he considered that if the Bill practically compelled the tenant to pay a year's rent, under penalty to pay up the whole of his arrears, the same principle of compulsion ought to be applied to the landlord, for a voluntary principle would be of no value. As the Bill was framed, it would confer great benefit on Irish landlords generally, both great and small, for the small landlords could not get on without the money due to them. It would also be useful to the small tenants, who could not possibly get rid of their arrears, or wipe them out, without its aid. If the taking of the tenant's interest in his holding into account meant that he should be obliged to realize that interest before he could come within the Act, the measure would, he believed, be useless; and it would be better to reject the Bill at this stage, on the ground that its principles were wrong, than to accept it, and then introduce a provision compelling a tenant to sell his interest in his holding. If such a provision were introduced, the Bill would practically be inoperative. He did not agree in the prediction of the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition (the Marquess of Salisbury) as to the demoralization of the tenants; and he was certain that solvent and honest tenants who had paid their rents were sick of agitation, and wished the country to settle down, and did not for a moment regret their honesty. Those men understand their position sufficiently well to know that unless by some means or other they could get rid of the large number of small and broken men whose interest it was to keep up agitation, the country never could obtain that peace which was so desirable. If the farmers who had paid their rents could be polled, it would be found that they were unanimously in favour of the Bill. It had been said that the measure was nothing more than a further concession to violence and agitation. He could not take that view, holding, as he did, that the Bill was but the necessary complement of the Land Act of 1881. In fact, the measure might be considered part and parcel of that Act, inasmuch as it made that Act operative, and extended to a larger number of men for whose benefit it was originally intended. When passing it in 1881, the Legislature made a sacrifice of principle; but as their Lordships had swallowed the camel before, he did not see why they need now strain at the gnat, seeing that the swallowing of the gnat now might possibly relieve them from the violent fit of indigestion which followed the swallowing of the camel. He did not wish to defend the Land Act or its administrators; but if the Act worked badly, it was the duty of Parliament to try to neutralize its bad effects, and unless it were supplemented by the present measure they would be hampered in their endeavours to amend it. The present state of things in Ireland, he maintained, was altogether exceptional. If it were not, he should not vote for the present Bill, which could only be defended on the ground that it was an exceptional measure, called forth by exceptional circumstances. He would conclude by urging upon their Lordships to consider whether it would not be better to throw the Bill out at once upon the second reading than to agree to it, with the intention of afterwards altering it in Committee in such a way as to make it useless and utterly unacceptable to the people of Ireland, for whose benefit it was intended.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE said, the answer to the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dunraven), who had asked why their Lordships, having swallowed the camel in 1881, should not now swallow the gnat, was very simple. It was this—that when their Lordships swallowed the camel, they did not know what they were swallowing. It had been said that the Bill was one which treated the Irish landlords with liberality; but he did not think that any Bill which had been drafted in Kilmainham would be one which was likely to be characterized by liberality to the Irish landlords. He wished to point out that by one part of the Bill it was proposed to root an insolvent tenant to the soil, while by another it was proposed to give him facilities for emigration. The two principles involved were antagonistic. With regard to emigration, he approved of it, for he thought that it was a mistaken policy to fix a pauper in his holding. He did not, however, think the Poor Law Guardians were very likely to be of any assistance in promoting the success of that operation; and it was the more to be regretted that that was the case, for, in his opinion, it was the proper remedy for the evils which existed in Ireland. He did not agree that the small shopkeeper was the best friend of the Irish tenant, because he had a strong interest in keeping him in the country. He considered that the application to the Court ought to be made jointly by landlord and tenant; because the landlord was much more likely to know the real circumstances of his tenants, than a number of Sub-Commissioners sent from various parts of the country, and having no local knowledge. He took exception to the Bill as another step in the direction of confiscation. Under the Act of 1881 there had been great confiscation of the landlords' property, and under this Bill there would be further confiscation, as, in many cases, tenants owed some four or five years' arrears.

Lord VENTRY said, it was easy to see that Her Majesty's Government had not evolved this measure out of their own minds, but had adopted the proposal of the Home Rule Party. He believed that its introduction was due to the action of their Lordships' House, in throwing out the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, the rejection of which had never been forgotten; and he thought the present measure should be passed in some shape or other, if only to cut the ground from under the feet of those who were constantly saying that this and the other would not have happened if that particular Bill had been passed. At the same time, he believed the present Bill would operate in many cases with great injustice, for it treated the landlords harshly as regarded the hanging gale.

Lord **DENMAN** thought that it would have been better to throw out the Bill on the third reading than to endeavour to amend it in Committee. In 1836 he had been from Cork to Dungarvan and back in 22 hours, and he would not fear to go over again soon. It had been then said that small tenants whose farms were thrown into larger ones at first regretted the loss of the old roof tree, but had afterwards been convinced that it had been for their good. He had given to the Library of their Lordships' House *The Irish in America*, by Mr. Maguire. He found in that book that, before 1875, an Anti-Rent League had gained their ends in Prince Edward's Island, and that an act of their Legislature had passed an Agrarian Law, of which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had been a Commissioner. His late father, in 1832, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Merivale, stated that—

> "Such is the nature of property that you can lay your hands on no accumulation, however exorbitant, without introducing an agrarian law at the end of every year, month, and day—in a word, without endangering the rights of property altogether. These distinctions may be just and reasonable in the abstract, yet they would be no barrier against the inroads of excited passions, in the form of political unions, public meetings, unanimous resolves, &c."

At present, a Land League had obtained too much sway, and it was the duty of the Government to use their power, now so enormous, to break up secret associations by day and by night. He was surprised that the son of one of the most distinguished statesmen who had ever sat in that House should have sold that property in Tipperary which was made so valuable by the forbearance and generosity of his noble Predecessor. He (Lord Denman) reserved to himself the right, when the Bill came before their Lordships with Amendments (which had already been condemned as fatal to the Bill), to move its rejection on the third reading.

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 27th July, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—*Report*—Railways (Rates and Fares) [No. 317].

Supply—*considered in Committee*—£2,300,000, Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit); Army Supplementary Estimate, Vote A.

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Parcel Post [254].

Select Committee—Agricultural Tenants' Compensation) (Nos. 1 and 2) [26 and 80], Sir Thomas Acland *discharged*, Mr. Acland *added*.

Committee—*Report*—*Third Reading*—Conveyancing (*re-comm.*) * [121-246].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

DOVER HARBOUR BILL.

RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That, in the case of the Dover Harbour Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be taken into consideration To-morrow, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

General Sir **GEORGE BALFOUR** said, this Bill dealt with a really most important public measure, though it was put forward as a limited municipal work. It contained proposals of considerable magnitude affecting our national interests. He thought it was too much to ask the House to take it into consideration suddenly at 2 o'clock to-morrow. That could only be done by suspending Rules of the House which appeared to have been framed for preventing hasty legislation for works of the kind now before the House. He urged this objection with great reason, because he had served upon a Committee some years ago to which the question of Dover Harbour had been referred; and he thereby knew that there were most important public interests bound up in the question. He strongly deprecated the loose and uncertain manner in which this subject was now being dealt with; he submitted that the consideration of the Dover Harbour Bill ought to be deferred until such time as the House had had an opportunity of seeing the Amended Bill, and of studying the proposals of the Municipality of Dover.

Mr. **FRESHFIELD** supported the proposal of the hon. Member for Walsall

(Sir Charles Forster). The hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour) was a Member of the Committee which sat upon the Bill of 1875; and he (Mr. Freshfield) was unable to discover that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had any other objection to the scheme than that the Harbour was not large enough. The Harbour it was proposed to construct by the present Bill was of the size originally intended, and the nature of the proposal had been well known for the last 30 years. The hon. and gallant Member seemed to be of opinion that the Harbour, instead of covering an area of 500 or 600 acres, should inclose a space of 25,000 acres.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is simply the suspension of the Standing Orders in reference to this Bill; and upon a Motion of that kind it would not be regular to discuss the merits of the Bill.

Mr. FRESHFIELD expressed his regret if he should have unwittingly committed a breach of the Rules of the House. He only intended to say that the Harbour it was now proposed to make was that suggested many years ago, and that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had been upon one Committee which had inquired into it, and reported in its favour. It had been brought forward now under peculiar circumstances, and the suspension of the Standing Orders was necessary in order to enable it to go through its necessary stages at so late a period of the Session. He submitted that the circumstances under which the measure was brought forward justified an exceptional course being taken with regard to it. He had thought he was in Order in making one or two observations in reference to the Bill; but after the direction he had received from the Speaker, he would bring his remarks to a close by simply expressing a hope that the House would not do anything on the present occasion to stop the progress of the Bill. All that was asked was that the Standing Orders of the House should be suspended in order that the Bill might be considered; and seeing that the matter had now been thoroughly threshed out, and that it came forward under such circumstances as to justify the Motion which had been made, he hoped the House would consent to the suspension of the Standing Orders.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

SCOTLAND—THE HIGHLANDS—VIOLENT LANGUAGE TO A LAND LEAGUE AGENT.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Lord Advocate, Has the Government observed the language used by Anderson, Laird of Lochabber, at a meeting of magistrates, officers, and landlords, in Inverness, about two weeks ago, where Lochabber is reported to have said—

> "An Irish fellow called M'Hugh had been going about lecturing, and he would deal very summarily with him. He would take him down and drown him;"

and, the language of Provost Ross, of Dingwall, at same meeting, who said the people of Forres were prepared to dip the Land League agent in the sea, if he set foot on the island, and if the Government is prepared to give Mr. M'Hugh protection?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I did not observe the language here referred to until my attention was called to it by the hon. Member's Question. As the result of inquiries made, I am informed that some such expressions were made use of in after-dinner speeches. But I think I can assure the hon. Member that the person named in the Question will not be in any risk in the Highlands of Scotland if he does not himself violate the law.

STATE OF IRELAND—PARTY DISTURBANCES IN TYRONE.

Lord ARTHUR HILL (for Mr. Macartney) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that, on the 12th of this month, at Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, green arches were erected by the Roman Catholics in the streets through which it was known the Orangemen must pass when proceeding to and returning from the Orange Hall, and the Orangemen, who went quietly into the town in the morning, and returned quietly in the evening, were assaulted with stones, and had one of their party wounded by a pistol shot; whether it is the case that, although a procession of Roman Catholics, bearing green flags with disloyal mottoes, and accompanied by a band playing disloyal tunes, had been allowed to parade on the roads near Donegal and Ballintree, on the 5th of this month, without interference on the part of the Constabulary, the Orangemen of the same district were prohibited from marching on the same roads on the 12th instant, although it was their only route to their place of meeting; and, if it be true, whether any notice has been taken by the Government of such one-sided action on the part of the Donegal Constabulary?

MR. TREVELYAN: I find that one green arch was hung across the street in the Roman Catholic quarter of Omagh on the 12th instant. The members of two Orange Lodges going to and coming from the rendezvous at the Orange Hall had to pass through this street. When returning stones were thrown at them. They retaliated with sticks and stones, and fired several shots. One of their party was wounded by a pellet in the leg; but it is thought possible that the wound may have been inflicted by one of his own party in the confusion. The disturbance was quelled by the police, who rushed in between the two parties. The police inform me that there were two arches erected in other parts of the town by the Orange Party, a proceeding quite unknown for many years past. With regard to Donegal, there was no procession of Roman Catholics on the 5th instant; but on the 7th instant the Railway Company gave an excursion from Derry and intermediate stations to Donegal, which was largely availed of. The Derry contingent came with a band and banner. The conduct of the excursionists was most orderly, and there was nothing to call for the interference of the police. On the 12th of July the action of the Constabulary was determined at a meeting of the magistrates of the district, seven being present. Sworn informations were submitted to them that a serious disturbance might be anticipated if the Orange Party were permitted to march in procession through Donegal. Last year, for the first time for a great number of years, there was an Orange procession through Donegal on the 12th of July, and it led to serious rioting.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—LORRHA PETTY SESSIONS.

MR. REDMOND (for Mr. DILLON) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the resident magistrate at Lorrha Petty Sessions, on the 7th July, in the case of a cross summons, bound all the parties to keep the peace, without postponing the case, in the absence through illness of a principal witness; and, whether Larkin, one of the parties so bound over to keep the peace, has been granted a licence to carry a revolver, and whether this will now be revoked?

MR. TREVELYAN: There was no Resident Magistrate at Lorrha Petty Sessions on the 7th instant. There were two local magistrates on the Bench, and in the case referred to they bound all the parties to keep the peace. On the 14th of June last, Larkin, one of the parties, was granted a licence to have a revolver. The Resident Magistrate informs me that he is a respectable man, with a large stake in the country; and he is strongly of opinion that his licence should not be revoked.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — RELEASE OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT.

MR. REDMOND (for Mr. DILLON) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, as Mr. William Russell, of Golden, has now been in gaol since 18th April, and his presence on his extensive farm is much required at this season, the Government can see their way to his release; and, whether the cases of P. Hillery and John O'Brien, of Milltownmalbay, have been reconsidered?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant ordered William Russell's release on the 22nd instant, and Messrs. Hillery and O'Brien were discharged from custody on the 22nd and 19th instant respectively.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

MR. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in view of the legal complications which may arise as to the right to tunnel under the foreshore or sea between England and France, Her Majesty's Government will set the question at rest by bringing in a short Bill rendering it illegal to construct, or attempt to construct, any tunnel at all under the Channel, unless sanctioned by Parliament?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: In answer to this Question, I do not anticipate, at present, that any legal complications will arise in the manner referred to; and it seems to me that it would be undesirable to attempt any fresh legislation until we had become satisfied that the existing law was insufficient to protect the rights of the Crown and the interests of the public.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—PETTY SESSIONS CLERKS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it a fact that the recently appointed petty sessions clerk for the districts of Dubek and Julianstown, in the county of Meath, H. D. O'Callaghan has been disqualified by His Excellency on account of his being over the age for applicants to fill such appointments; is it true that His Excellency, immediately on making this disqualification, issued a circular extending the limit of age of the candidates to such positions to fifty years, so that H. D. O'Callaghan may be qualified to again compete for the vacancy; has he any objection to lay this circular upon the Table of the House; also copy of letter sent Mr. O'Callaghan with it; is this H. D. O'Callaghan the late sub-inspector of police in Drogheda who was identified in the recent Rue perjury case as having bribed Rue to become informer, as was proved in case tried at Dunleer Petty Sessions, but dismissed on account of uncorroborated testimony, and for which Rue, on his ultimately being prosecuted for perjury, was, at the late assizes held at Dundalk, awarded nine months' imprisonment; did H. D. O'Callaghan resign, on pension, his position in the Force in order to compete for the position of petty sessions clerk; will he also state what pension he now enjoys as a retired officer of the Police Force; and was he not also, before he resigned, a candidate for a resident magistracy?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. O'Callaghan was elected by the magistrates to the Clerkship of Petty Sessions for the Dubek and Julianstown districts; but His Excellency declined to confirm the appointment, as he was over 40 years of age. At the same time, His Excellency thought it advisable, with a view of securing the services of persons calculated, from their previous occupation, to possess a special knowledge of the duties of the office of Petty Sessions Clerk, that, under certain circumstances, the recognized limit of age should be extended to 50 years in the cases of magistrates, barristers, solicitors, and their clerks, and of retired Sub-Inspectors of Constabulary and Head Constables; and, accordingly, he issued a Circular on the subject to the magistrates in Petty Sessions throughout Ireland. I shall be happy to show a copy of the Circular to the hon. Member if he wishes to see it; but no copy of it was sent to Mr. O'Callaghan, nor was he written to on the subject. As Sub-Inspector of Constabulary, Mr. O'Callaghan was concerned in the case of the man Rue, who has recently been convicted of perjury at the prosecution of the Crown. Mr. O'Callaghan did not resign his office as Sub-Inspector; he was discharged; he had been non-effective since the 29th of March, and was pronounced by medical certificate to be no longer able to discharge the active duties of his office. His pension is £150 per annum. So far as I can ascertain, no application was made by Mr. O'Callaghan for a Resident Magistracy; certainly none has reached Lord Spencer.

CHINA—CHEFOO CONVENTION.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any Papers relative to the Chefoo Convention, or any information thereon, to lay before Parliament; whether he has any information of negotiations with the Chinese Government for the alteration of duties levied on opium under the Treaty of Tientsin, or of the "Li-kin" duties, which he can lay before Parliament; whether, in accordance with his expectation expressed on the 4th of June 1880, he received by the French Mail, which left Shanghae on the 19th of May, a compromised agreement between Sir Thomas Wade and the Chinese Government in which the representatives of other Powers had concurred; whether, on the 15th of July 1880, he did not state that he expected to receive, on the 18th of July, Despatches, and then would consider whether any further Papers could be presented to Parliament; whether, on the 27th of August 1880, he stated that Despatches had not reached the Foreign Office at the end of July, and that Sir

Thomas Wade had replied, in answer to instructions, that the Report was not completed; whether Sir Thomas Wade, in a Despatch to the Marquess of Salisbury dated the 19th of January 1880, having stated—

> "I shall submit to your Lordship some observations on this subject (Chefoo Convention) in a separate Despatch;"

whether such a Despatch has ever arrived; whether in January 1881, he stated that negotiations respecting Opium were now pending, that discussions had been opened, and were still proceeding, between Her Majesty's representatives at Pekin, and the Chinese Government, in relation to Inland taxation and other matters, and whether these discussions are still proceeding; whether, on 12th August 1881, he did not state that Her Majesty's Government have received information of an increase in the Inland Tax on Opium being under the consideration of the Chinese Government, and whether such deliberations have been brought to a close; whether, on the 28th of February 1882, he did not state that, until negotiations are concluded between the Governments of England and China, it would be inconvenient to produce further Papers; whether, on the 24th of April 1882, he did not state that Sir Thomas Wade telegraphed on the 9th of February 1882, that he was reporting fully, and that Her Majesty's Government were then awaiting his Report, and whether that Report has been received; whether, on the 14th of April 1882, Lord Granville did not write a Despatch to Sir Thomas Wade on the subject of Opium duties, to which his Lordship asked a direct reply by telegraph from Sir Thomas Wade, and whether such a telegraphic reply has ever been received; and, whether, in view of this constant delay, he will explain to the House what course Her Majesty's Government intend to take?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Papers on the matters referred to in the first two Questions of the hon. Member are being prepared, and will shortly be laid on the Table of the House. The expected Report by the French mail from Shanghai of the 19th of May, 1880, was not received by that mail, and it referred to a proposal which had not been submitted to the Representatives of the other Powers. With regard to Questions Nos. 4 and 5, I did make the statements therein mentioned. The despatch alluded to in Question No. 6 was dated the 31st of January, 1880, and a preliminary Report was afterwards received. The negotiations referred to on the 18th of January, 1881, which had been opened between the Chinese Government and the French Representative respecting Inland taxation and other matters have not as yet led to a definite result. Her Majesty's Government do not know whether those negotiations are still proceeding. I did make the statement mentioned on the 12th of August, 1881; but Her Majesty's Government do not know whether the deliberations of the Chinese Government on the point referred to have been brought to a close. With reference to Questions 10 and 11, I did make the statement mentioned, and Sir Thomas Wade's Report has been received. The despatch of Lord Granville to Sir Thomas Wade referred to asked for a telegraphic reply to a particular inquiry, and that reply was received accordingly. Papers are about to be laid before Parliament, and, in the meanwhile, Her Majesty's Government are considering the course they will pursue.

DOMINION OF CANADA—IRISH EMIGRATION.

MR. BLAKE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government contemplates, in the instance of suitable persons availing of the offer of the Canadian Government to provide settlers with 160 acres of land each, on condition of the Imperial Government conveying the immigrants from Ireland, and making an advance for the erection of dwellings and preparing for crops with seed a portion of the land, all cost incurred to be secured on the settlers' land, and repaid by annual instalments, so as to save the Exchequer and Irish Poor Law Unions from loss?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that His Excellency was now in communication with the Colonial Office in regard to the question of emigration to Canada and other Colonies; but it would not be possible to reply fully to the inquiry of the hon. Member, inasmuch as the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill, he was sorry to say, had not yet become an Act.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: If it should become an Act, will the right hon. Gentleman then consider the advisability of availing himself of the offer?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Most certainly.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. MORRIS READE, R.M.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the statement in the "Galway Observer" that Mr. Morris Reade, R.M. who has been a resident magistrate for twenty years, has sent in his resignation; that the ground of this resignation has been Mr. Reade's unwillingness to be under the control of Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and, if there be any foundation for this statement?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Morris Reade, R.M., has sent in his resignation; but there is no foundation for the statement in the next paragraph of the Question. Mr. Reade expressed his desire to take advantage of the favourable terms of retirement offered by His Excellency with the sanction of the Treasury, and His Excellency accepted his resignation.

STATE OF IRELAND—CRIME IN GALWAY.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Judge Ormsby, at the recent assizes in Galway, congratulated the grand jury for the county of the town on its immunity from crime; whether the cases brought before the learned judge were about six in number, and all of a comparatively trivial character; and, whether, under these circumstances, the Lord Lieutenant will re-consider the proclamation of the county of the town of Galway?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am aware that the Judge at the recent Assizes did express satisfaction at the present state of the town of Galway. There were only two Crown cases for trial. His Excellency has no present intention of revoking the proclamation.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Am I to understand that districts are to be proclaimed in which no crime exists?

[No reply was given to the Question.]

PRIVATE BILLS—STANDING ORDER 167.

Mr. H. R. BRAND asked the Chairman of Ways and Means, Whether, having consideration to the late period of the Session, and the present state of Public Business, he intends to press the Motion which stands in his name, having reference to the amendment of Standing Order 167?

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR, in reply, said, that Bills involving capital amounting to almost £20,000,000 had been introduced this Session, and were now in suspense, asking for powers to pay interest out of capital during the construction of works in contravention of the Standing Order 167. The Select Committee this Session had recommended that, with certain precautions, the powers should be allowed, and had suggested that an Act should be passed in respect of them; and after consultation with the Board of Trade it was thought advisable that the Standing Order mentioned should be modified in the sense recommended by the Select Committee. Although the pressure of Public Business at present prevented the House from giving attention to this subject, he was unwilling, considering the magnitude of the interests involved, to abandon the hope that the House might find an opportunity of reconsidering the Standing Order, and he accordingly intended to put down his Motion for Tuesday week.

NAVY—PROMOTION—DEATH VACANCIES.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the Board of Admiralty will so far re-consider the arrangements for promotion in the Navy as to enable a Commander in Chief to fill up at once by promotion vacancies caused by deaths in battle, from deserving officers under his orders at the time?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the House will, I feel sure, be pleased to learn that on the 18th of July, on hearing of the unfortunate occurrence of two deaths among the officers of the Fleet at Alexandria, Lord Northbrook telegraphed to the Admiral Commanding-in-Chief asking him to recommend two officers to fill the vacancies so caused. This course can always be followed at the discretion of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and there appears to be no sufficient reason to alter the general regulations regarding death vacancies which were laid down by the late Board of Admiralty in November, 1874.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—THE RETURN.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Return, lately ordered, of Evictions under Magistrates' orders will be laid upon the Table?

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. and gallant Member alludes, I presume, to the Labourers' Dwellings Return, for which he obtained an Order on the 27th of June. I am informed that the Return is now complete, and will be forwarded for presentation immediately.

MR. HEALY asked when the Government expected to receive the recommendations of the Land Commission on this subject, and when they would be laid on the Table?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would see to the matter at once.

NAVY — ROMAN CATHOLIC SAILORS AND MARINES — PROVISION AS TO CHAPLAINS IN THE FLEET.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any provision has been made for the spiritual need of Her Majesty's Roman Catholic Sailors and Marines now serving in Egypt?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the rule laid down and the practice followed by the Admiralty in regard to the subject of my hon. and gallant Friend's Question are expressed in a Minute of June 7, 1878, a copy of which was laid before Parliament. The Minute runs thus—

> "My Lords direct that when a large number of ships forming a Squadron are sent on any service that would keep them for a considerable time away from a port where the services of a Roman Catholic priest would be available, arrangements are to be made for one to accompany the Squadron."

In accordance with this Minute, we inquired a day or two ago of Sir Beauchamp Seymour whether there are at present any Roman Catholic clergymen available for the seamen and Marines at Alexandria or Port Said, and we have received a telegram from him saying that Roman Catholic priests are available.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether there would be an English Catholic priest stationed at Aden? He understood that the present chaplain was hardly able to speak English at all.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Member had better give Notice of that Question.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—CLAUSE 31 — LOANS TO IRISH TENANTS.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, in view of the comparatively small number of occupiers of land in Ireland who come within the conditions laid down by Treasury Minute of 21st December 1881 for loans under Clause 31 of the Irish Land Act, 1881, namely:—That they must borrow at least £100; that the sum borrowed must not exceed five times the rateable value of the holding; thus excluding all rated under £20 absolutely, he will take into consideration the reduction of the minimum to £50 (while maintaining the second condition), so as to allow the system to be fairly tested?

MR. COURTNEY: The working of the Minute of the 21st of December last has been too short to allow any conclusion to be formed as to the expediency of modifying its conditions; but my attention is directed to the subject, with a view to seeing how the intentions of Section 31 of the Land Act may be best fulfilled. My hon. and gallant Friend must not, however, understand me to admit that any definite alteration will have to be made.

MR. HEALY asked when the monthly Return promised by the Prime Minister two months ago, showing the loans granted under this section, would be laid on the Table?

MR. COURTNEY said, he would furnish the Return up to a recent date.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA.

MR. GORST (for Earl PERCY) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to extend the training of certain Militia regiments to a period of fifty-six days this year; whether he is aware that in some regiments at present assembled for training the recruits have been already three months with the colours; and, whether, under the circumstances, he would consider the propriety of granting separation allowance to the wives and families of the volunteer non-commissioned officers and privates in the event of the period of training being extended?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to the noble Earl, I have to say that separation allowances have never been given to the families of Militia men, and I am not disposed to establish a precedent which would be open to grave objections. I certainly could not recognize the fact of recruits being out for more than three months as any reason for this grant, inasmuch as Militia recruits are rarely, if ever, married. If a Militia battalion is embodied they will be then treated in this respect like the Line.

VACCINATION—ALLEGED DEATH OF CHILDREN AT NORWICH FROM EFFECTS OF OPERATION.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has received any report in reference to the vaccination fatality at Norwich; and, if so, if he proposes to have it printed; whether he has ascertained the description of lymph used upon the occasion; and, whether he has forbidden the use in future of similar lymph?

Mr. DODSON: I have not received the Report of the Inspector who has been appointed to inquire into the alleged vaccination fatality at Norwich; and, therefore, I am unable at present to afford the hon. Member the information for which he asks.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—POLICE SUPERANNUATON BILL.

Mr. PELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, having regard to the very general opposition expressed to the Police Bill, he can assure the House that the measure will not be proceeded with this Session?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am not aware that there has been that very general opposition to the Police Bill which the hon. Member seems to assume. Some of the Corporations thought that the Bill unduly interfered with their authority over the police; but the Government are prepared entirely to remove that objection. The measure is of such consequence, and of so much justice to the police, that I am not disposed to let the responsibility for its falling through rest on the Government.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES—REGISTRAR'S REPORT, 1881.

Mr. W. H. JAMES asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1881 will be presented; and, if he can state the reason of the great delay in its publication for 1880?

Mr. COURTNEY: The Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies informs me that the first part of his Report on the year 1881 will be ready for presentation to Parliament by the middle of August, which is the usual date, or even earlier. The first part of his Report for 1880 has long since been presented and circulated; the publication of the second part is delayed by the nature of its contents, and in particular by some additional matter which is being inserted in it to meet the wishes of persons interested in the subject.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—BANDS AND PARTY TUNES.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the sub-inspector of the district has informed the committee of the Millstreet brass band that they cannot assemble in their band room to receive instruction between 8 and 10 p.m. (as they have been accustomed to do) on account of a Clause of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act; and, whether he approves of the conduct of the sub-inspector? In putting the Question the hon. Gentleman remarked that "the editors" had considerably altered it. As originally framed, it asked whether the playing of a musical instrument was a crime under the Act?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I find that the local Constabulary look upon this band as a source of much disorder in the Millstreet district. The Sub-Inspector informed the committee of the band that the members were liable to be arrested if found out of their abodes one hour after sunset.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Under suspicious circumstances.

MR. TREVELYAN: Under suspicious circumstances. I have also obtained a Report from the special Resident Magistrate confirming the necessity for the action taken.

MR. HEALY: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether playing instrumental music is a suspicious circumstance within the meaning of the Act?

[No answer was given to the Question.]

MR. HEALY: I beg to give Notice that on the first opportunity I shall call attention to the ruffianly manner in which the police are using this Act.

EGYPT — RIOTS AT ALEXANDRIA — ARREST OF THE PLUNDERERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any of the "convicts," whom it is stated were let loose on Alexandria after Arabi's retreat, were caught by the British and punished for burning and pillage; if so, how many; what number are supposed to have been engaged; and, if anything is known as to what has become of the remainder?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The Foreign Office have no information as to the number or fate of the convicts released after the bombardment of Alexandria. Any Question of this nature would more properly be addressed to the Naval authorities.

MR. HEALY said, that his Question had not been answered. It was whether any of the convicts had been caught by the British?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: A number of people were shot for looting on the first day when our sailors entered the town; but really these are questions which can only be properly answered by the Naval authorities. I do not know if any of the people shot were convicts.

MR. HEALY intimated that he would question the Secretary to the Admiralty on the subject.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he hoped that the hon. Member would postpone it for a few days, because the detailed despatch had not yet been received.

MR. HEALY: I will put my Question this day week.

CRIME (IRELAND) — THE ASSASSINATIONS IN THE PHŒNIX PARK—REPORTED ARREST OF ONE OF THE ASSASSINS.

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any official confirmation has been received of the reported arrest in Venezuela of one of the murderers of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke? The hon. Member also asked whether there was any confirmation of the confession said to have been made?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It falls more properly to me to answer this Question. The only reply I can give to it is, that I do not think it right or prudent to make any statement on the subject. I can only regret the amount of publication which is given to particulars of these matters, and state that the insatiable indiscretion in matters of this description tends to defeat the detection of crime. Any information the Government might have on the matter I should not think it right to publish.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACTS—EDUCATION OF PAUPERS.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the Vice President of the Council, If he will be good enough to state on what conditions, as to payment of school fees, can a board of guardians claim that the indoor pauper children of their union shall receive education in the elementary school (whether Voluntary or Board School) of the parish in which their union workhouse is situated?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Board of Guardians can claim the admission of indoor pauper children to any public elementary school, whether voluntary or denominational, on tendering the ordinary fee payable at the school, provided such fee does not exceed 3*d.* per week. The experience of the Education Department proves that it is a distinct advantage to the indoor pauper children to receive their education with other children at the ordinary elementary schools.

RETURN OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he would cause to be laid upon the Table a Return showing the Papers, Reports, Returns, &c. to be presented to

Parliament under the various Acts of Parliament, and the dates or periods of the Session on or at which they should severally be so furnished?

Mr. COURTNEY: Such a Return is already printed, and a copy is supplied to the Library of the House. I shall be happy to supply the hon. Member with another copy should he wish to possess one.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When the Government would lay upon the Table the Report of the Scientific Committee on the Channel Tunnel; and, whether they would also give the Memoranda of the military authorities upon the said Report?

Mr. CHILDERS: My hon. Friend cannot have been in the House when on two occasions I have answered this Question on behalf of my right hon. Friend the First Minister. The Report of the Scientific Committee and the Memorandum of the military authorities will be shortly laid on the Table, with the decision at which Her Majesty's Government hope to arrive, in a few days. The Papers are very voluminous, and are still with the printers.

JURY LAWS—SUMMONING OF JURYMEN.

Mr. BIDDELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, before next Session, he will consider the state of the Law (with the view to improve it) under which thirty or forty jurymen are sometimes summoned to attend at quarter sessions, when there is nothing whatever for any of them to do when there?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he would consult with the Attorney General on the subject. He had not had this inconvenience brought under his notice.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—INFECTED AREAS.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD asked the Vice President of the Council, in respect of foot and mouth disease and to pleuro pneumonia, What results have attended the plan of declaring smaller districts than petty sessional divisions "infected areas;" what has been the effect of the steps taken by the Veterinary Department in January last to check the spread of disease from Norwich Market; whether the circular letter addressed to local authorities in March last, urging them to a more vigorous exercise of the powers conferred upon them by the Act and Orders in Council, has had the desired effect in diminishing swine fever; and, what is the present condition of the country in respect of the three diseases referred to?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Early in the present year the Privy Council adopted the plan of declaring a small infected area round every infected place. The result of this system has been generally successful, as my answer to the next Question will illustrate. With regard to Norwich Market, I cannot do better than read extracts from a letter which I have received this morning from Mr. Clare Sewell Read, the Chairman of the Committee for the county of Norfolk—

> "We have in Norfolk now only one infected place of pleuro and one of swine fever, and no other case of any sort of contagious disease. We have not had such a clean bill of health in Norfolk for 30 years. Since the markets were stopped we have only had one fresh outbreak of foot-and-mouth, and telegraphing up to your office, you promptly declared an infected district and the disease did not escape from it. Norfolk has been entirely free from that disease for some months."

With regard to swine fever, I regret to say that, notwithstanding our circular letter, that disease has continued to increase. We have, therefore, felt it necessary to impose further restrictions on the movement and sale of swine in diseased districts by an Order, which came into force a few days ago. Pleuro-pneumonia has steadily decreased since 1877, in which year there were over 2,000 outbreaks. Last year these fell to 729, and the first six months of the present year show a steady and continuous decline. The outbreaks reported are only 290, against 410 in the corresponding period last year. There is very little foot-and-mouth disease in the country. Ireland and Scotland are entirely free; and the comparatively few cases remaining in England are principally confined to one district.

INDIA—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA —OPIUM CULTIVATION.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether the time has now arrived when he can properly lay upon the Table of the House his Despatch to the Government of India relative to the cultivation of Opium in India and the trade with China, and the reply of the Government of India to that Despatch, and any Minutes that may have been made on these Papers by any members of the Council of State for India; and, the Correspondence between the Government of Bombay and the Government of India on the question of Opium cultivation, and especially of the introduction of that cultivation into Sind?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had promised to lay on the Table several important Papers connected with this subject; and, in these circumstances, he could have no objection to lay on the Table his despatch and the reply of the Government of India. As to the Minutes of Members of Council, he was not aware of the existence of more than one. Personally, he had not the slightest objection to produce it; but he was not sure whether it was in accordance with the usual practice to lay on the Table the Minutes of Members of Council upon a matter as to which no final decision had been arrived at. He would make further inquiries on that point. As to the Correspondence between the Government of Bombay and the Government of India, the India Office was in possession of only one letter of the Government of Bombay. There was nothing in the nature of a Correspondence, and it would be premature to lay such Papers as these were on the Table.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT—CLERKS' LEAVE OF ABSENCE — THE BELFAST TELEGRAPH CLERKS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, If it is a fact that telegraph clerks removed from Belfast to Dublin since 1878 and 1879, and discharging night duty in that office, are given three weeks' annual leave, whereas some of their brethren in the Belfast Office, discharging precisely similar duties, are only accorded a fortnight's leave in the year; will he be good enough to explain the cause of this marked distinction in treatment of clerks in these offices in respect of annual leave; will he be good enough to take such steps as will extend to those in Belfast, who do not now enjoy the privileges accorded to their brethren in Dublin and other large offices in respect of leave; and, does the term "future entrants" mean clerks newly appointed to Belfast since 1879, or those who held appointments, but were only removed to Belfast from provincial offices since that year?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that in the case of telegraphists the rules with regard to annual leave are uniform throughout Ireland. A telegraphist at Dublin, therefore, should have no longer leave than one at Belfast discharging the same duties and to the same extent, and I am not aware that any difference is made. As stated in reply to a former Question put by the hon. Member on the same subject, the exceptional privileges which some of the Belfast telegraphists now enjoy in the matter of leave will not be extended to new entrants, by which term is meant all persons joining the Belfast Post Office since 1879, whether they have come from other offices or not.

INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT—GRIEVANCES OF EXCISE OFFICERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the great discontent which prevails among the officers of the Inland Revenue Department, as evidenced by the sentiments expressed at meetings held by those officers in the various Excise Collections throughout the Kingdom, he is prepared to appoint a Committee of independent persons, unconnected with the Treasury, to inquire into the constitution of the Board of Inland Revenue and the system under which that Board's business is conducted, and into the grievances put forward as regards office accommodation, salary, &c., in their recent Petition to the Lords of the Treasury; and more especially with respect to the statement that, in the bonded warehouses throughout the Kingdom, officers of Excise and of Customs who are of the same rank, and who are employed side by side on exactly the same work, are paid on widely different scales of salary?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that the Board of Inland Revenue, upon the recommendation of the Treasury, had allowed seven days' additional leave to Excise officers of a certain number of years' service. He could hold out no expectation that the Government would be able to accede to the suggestion made in the Question.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE STANDING ORDERS.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE asked the Prime Minister, Whether he thought that at this time of the Session, and in the present state of Public Business, it was expedient to discuss the proposed alterations of the Standing Orders at the time of Private Business on Tuesday, the 1st of August?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, the authorities of the House were better judges than himself of the time when an important change of this kind might, with advantage, be taken into consideration; but he saw little prospect of their getting into Supply for effective purposes much before Tuesday, the 1st of August. He thought the House would justly be most unwilling, except for some very good public purpose, to interrupt the course of Supply when they had entered into it. He was not sanguine enough to suppose that even on so late a date as the 8th of August they would be in a condition to spare time for considering the proposed alteration of the Standing Order. That was all the answer he could give on that point. It was with very great regret that he had to make a further statement in anticipation of a Question of which Notice had been given from the other side. Reluctant as he was to admit the total failure of the Session for legislative work, he did not think he could any longer cherish an expectation of being able to proceed effectually with the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill. It was with extreme regret that he acknowledged that, considering the very active opposition directed against the Bill from certain quarters, they were not able to proceed with it without imposing upon the House sacrifices for which they were scarcely prepared to call.

Mr. MARRIOTT asked whether, after the statement of the Prime Minister with regard to the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, it was the intention of the Government to go on with the Police Superannuation Bill?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not see any connection between the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill and the Police Superannuation Bill.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked whether it was the intention of the Government to move that the Order for the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill be discharged, or whether they could not continue the Bill to the Autumn Session? He asked the Question particularly for the purpose of eliciting from the Government whether there was any truth in what he hoped was a false rumour, that the Government had abandoned their intention of holding an Autumn Session.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am afraid that it would be contrary to the distinct pledge given to the House if we were to say, however much we may wish it, that we should at the Autumn Sitting propose to go on with the Corrupt Practices Bill. The hon. Member is quite right in supposing that there is no truth whatever in the rumour—if he has heard the rumour, which I have not—that we have had any intention at any time of abandoning the plan of having an Autumn Sitting.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—TELEGRAPH CLERKS—PAYMENT FOR OVERTIME.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Postmaster General, If it be true that telegraph clerks in provincial and other offices have, since the promulgation of the scheme purporting to improve their position, been called upon to work for twenty, thirty, and forty minutes daily over their established hours of duty, and without being paid for those periods at the specified rate per hour; if it is a fact that clerks who have such extra duty to perform would not be permitted to claim at the end of the week, and that, in such instances where they did claim for the total number of hours worked at this rate in the week, the claim was disallowed; and, whether it is with his approval that this system is carried out; and, if not, whether he will allow all fractions of an hour overtime to be paid for at the ordinary rate per hour?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to point out that any system of payment for overtime needs to be very carefully watched, in order to prevent its encouraging dilatoriness in work. It has been a long-established practice in the Department not to pay for overtime under one hour, and I think it would be undesirable to alter this practice so as to allow a fraction of an hour to be counted for overtime. I shall be glad if the hon. Member will give me the instances in which overtime is daily required in the manner indicated in his Question.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—RELIEF OF HIGHWAY RATES.

MR. ANDERSON asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he has yet decided what proportion of the amount he is allocating to the relief of highway rates will be given to Scotland?

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he was able to state the amount of the subvention to be paid from Imperial funds in aid of main roads, and the manner in which it is to be allotted among the various highway authorities?

MR. DODSON: In answer to both my hon. Friends, I can only say, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and I have said in answer to former Questions of a similar character, that the Government are not prepared to make statements piecemeal as to the proposed distribution of the provisional grant in aid, but must wait till they have the opportunity of submitting their scheme of distribution as a whole. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, in his Budget speech, that the total amount of the proposed subvention was £247,000, or, in round numbers, £250,000.

COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—TORY ISLAND LIGHTHOUSE.

MR. LEA asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the works in connection with the proposed improvements of Tory Island Lighthouse, and the establishment thereat of gas instead of oil as the illuminant, have yet been taken in hand, and why they were not commenced in the spring of this year, in accordance with the expectation stated in reply to a question on the 15th August 1881; and, whether the delay is still attributable to the want of strength in the Engineering Department of the Board of Irish Lights; and, if so, what steps have been taken to remedy this defect?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am informed by the Commissioners of Irish Lights that the pressure of work caused by the gales of November last has hitherto prevented the carrying out of the proposed improvements of Tory Island Lighthouse. During those gales some 43 lighthouse stations sustained damage, which required immediate attention, and the destruction of the Calf Rock Lighthouse rendered necessary the erection of a temporary light on Dursey Head with as little delay as possible. These works have now so far progressed that the Commissioners inform me that they purpose instructing their engineer to enter forthwith upon the question of the improvement of Tory Island Light.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—CONFLAGRATIONS AT ALEXANDRIA.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Prime Minister, in view of the interest taken by him in the authorship of the conflagration at Alexandria, Whether he had seen a letter from the Correspondent of *The Times*, in which a resident in that city stated that, during the bombardment, shells went over the town, and sometimes fell into it, and that he himself saw 10 Natives killed by a shell that fell at one of the city gates; whether he would procure a copy of the report made by the captain of one of the vessels of the Messageries Maritimes, in which it was stated that most of the fires were caused by the fire of the English Fleet, the shells pouring into the town for several hours; and whether he would order an impartial inquiry to be made into the facts of the case?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not seen the correspondence to which the hon. Member refers; but I may say that when we have stated that the fires were not caused by the shells of the Fleet, we proceeded on the assurance of the Admiral in command. Until that information is superseded by something more definite we accept his assurance.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Prime Minister whether he had any news from Alexandria or Ramleh?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; no intelligence has reached me to-day, and I do not think that any can have reached the Foreign Office, or I should have been in possession of it.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he had received any official communication to the effect that the abolition of flogging had had a serious effect on the discipline of the British troops in Alexandria; and that the officers now found themselves perfectly powerless to inflict any punishment short of death?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir; I have received no such communication.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE VOTE OF CREDIT—THE INCOME TAX.

Mr. RAIKES asked if there was any precedent for obtaining a Vote in Ways and Means for the purpose of which that Vote was intended?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Gladstone), in reply, said, in his opinion, there was a great multitude of precedents. In point of fact, augmentations of the Income Tax were constantly voted by the House at a period when the House had only sanctioned a portion of the expenditure of the year; and, consequently, it remained uncertain whether the expenditure would reach such a total as to make the augmentations of the tax necessary.

EGYPT — TRANSMISSION OF LETTER OF ARABI PASHA TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Will the Prime Minister tell the House from what source the letter that was published in the newspapers as coming from Arabi Bey to him was received?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have no objection to state the source from which I received this letter. It was received under a covering letter from Mr. Blunt, and I have no doubt my hon. Friend understands his connection with the Egyptian Question. I may say that I do not understand the language in which the letter purports to be written; but it was sent to me with a translation in the same handwriting as the letter accompanying it.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CORK ASSIZES.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it was true that inconsiderate delay was being used in bringing on the trial at the Cork Assizes of the 80 or 90 persons charged at the instance of Connell, the original "Captain Moonlight," and now an informer, with various offences near Millstreet, in the county of Cork? He (Mr. Healy) had received a letter from the solicitor for the defence alleging that the police were arresting the principal witnesses for the defence under the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, because they could disprove the charges against the prisoners sustained by the evidence of the Government assassin, Connell.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am sorry that my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland is not here, for this is the first I have heard of the matter; but, as the earlier part of the Question appears to be pressing, if the hon. Member will give me a copy of his information I will make inquiries.

Mr. HEALY said, that he had several times communicated with the Attorney General for Ireland on this point. The lives and liberties of nearly 100 of his countrymen were at stake. ["Order!"] If necessary he would conclude with a Motion. Men had been arrested over six months ago on the evidence of a man named Connell, a deserter from the Army, himself an assassin, as there were witnesses to prove him the murderer of Daniel Leary, the son of the President of the local branch of the Land League. Since then the men had been brought up at the Assizes, entailing an attendance of over 300 or 400 witnesses. The solicitor for the defence had informed him that of these the principal were being arrested day by day, and lodged in gaol one after another. This was the third example of such a proceeding. The first was the police assassination at Bodyke, and the second that at Ballyragget. What was the nature of the evidence? The Crown knew that Connell was himself an assassin, and, no doubt, the reason for the postponement of the trial was lest Connell might be condemned for Leary's murder in the county of Cork before alluded to. By such procedure the Government were allying themselves with traitors and informers, and they could not so retain the respect of mankind. This was the way the new Act was to be worked. This was the unfairest playing with loaded dice. This was how law and order were to be obtained in Ireland. Law and order! The people despised such law; and as for order, it was such order as was procured in Sardinia, or perhaps under the First Napoleon. The Government were only humbugging.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is using language which is not Parliamentary.

MR. HEALY said, he was using the phrase "humbugging" in reference——

MR. SPEAKER: I have told the hon. Member that he is using language which is not Parliamentary.

MR. HEALY said, he withdrew the expression. He did not use it in reference to the Attorney General for Ireland—he should be sorry to accuse the right hon. and learned Gentleman of any such conduct—but to the local Crown prosecutors, who were trained jury-packers. Why were not these men put upon their trial at once? Why were the witnesses in their favour got at and doctored by the police, sent home, or put into gaol, so that the accused might be unable to bring forward witnesses in their defence? What the Government were now doing in Cork was producing a rankling sore. Unless the Attorney General for Ireland sent peremptory orders at once to put these men on their trial the greatest injustice would be done. If the police knew that those they were now arresting were criminals, why did they not take them up months ago? Were not the 30 or 40 men that were in gaol enough to glut the vengeance of the Government? He moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he had to apologize to the House and the hon. Member for not having been in his place when this subject was brought forward. Not having expected any Question of the kind, he had left the House for a few minutes on private business. He could not quite understand the excitement of the hon. Member in this matter. As Attorney General for Ireland he was the director of prosecutions in Ireland, and he had directed the prosecution of these men at these Assizes; they would be prosecuted, and, for aught he knew, they might at that moment be on their trial. But he had no power, and would not undertake to interfere with the arrangement of the business of the Assizes, which must depend upon circumstances over which he had no control. If the circumstances of the case were such as to require specific directions from him, communication would be made to him, and directions given according to the exigencies of the occasion. He would ask the House, however, whether it was reasonable or proper, or even consistent with the administration of justice, that while a case was pending every officer connected with the administration of the law in Cork, and with the prosecution of this case, should be stigmatized and held up, as far as the hon. Member could do it, to public odium as corrupt?

MR. HEALY: They tried to pack my jury, for one instance.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that was hardly so, since the hon. Member had himself stated in the House that he was saved by an accident from going before what he called a jury prepared to try him. As to the charge against the Crown Solicitor for Cork that he was a "trained jury packer," that was incredible. He had known him for most of his life, and he had not the least hesitation in vouching for his (the Crown Solicitor's) character to the House. For personal honour, private worth, and public capacity, there were but few men his equal, and no one whom he (the Attorney General for Ireland) knew to be his superior. Nor were the Crown Counsel at all open to impeachment. They were his personal friends; he had been often engaged with and against them in civil cases, and after an experience of nearly 30 years he could vouch for their honour as for his own. The hon. Member had referred to the informer Connell with every kind of abusive term that could be applied to him. He was not going to vindicate Connell; it was no business of his. On the contrary, he had directed his prosecution, and declined to do anything else. The man pleaded guilty to a barbarous outrage, in which he was accompanied by others. He recollected a time when an Irishman's blood would boil at the thought of such an outrage. These persons broke into a farmhouse, where a woman and her daughters were dragged out of bed, and one of the daughters was barbarously treated: to subject her to humiliation they tried to cut her hair off, while her mother and sister were trying to save her. He put it to the House whether, while this prosecution was pending, it was proper or decent to reflect in any way upon one of the witnesses? The value of his testimony would be estimated by the jury, and he deprecated any further discussion of the subject. It should be remembered that the reports of what was said in that House were not confined to the London Press. They were given at great length in the local papers, and probably all that was said on the subject that evening would be read to-morrow morning in Cork.

Mr. HEALY asked whether the men could not have been tried at the Winter Assizes?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he could not direct them to be tried at that time: it was then just possible that a more complete case might be made for the prosecution by further evidence being obtained. It should be recollected that in these cases the Crown had all the odds against it; and he, as Attorney General for Ireland, would have betrayed his duty if he put men upon trial on insufficient evidence, which he believed could be afterwards supplemented. He deprecated further discussion on the subject, and hoped the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion.

Mr. NEWDEGATE remarked, that the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) seemed to have watched until the Attorney General for Ireland had left the House before he made this gross attack upon the judicial arrangements in Ireland. The hon. Member said that he had given the Attorney General for Ireland private Notice of his intention; but these private Notices mattered nothing to the House. The House had a right to expect that Notice should be given to itself, and within its walls, otherwise the House had a right to consider that an attempt had been made to take it by surprise, and to render the House an arena for libellous imputations upon which, under the present lamentably deficient order of proceeding, the House had no opportunity whatever of expressing an opinion. The practice of putting a Question, and then moving the adjournment of the House, before, as in this case, the Question could be answered, was altogether an abuse. No vote or division could be taken; no expression of the opinion of the House could be given upon topics thus started. There had been no more marked instance of the absurd position in which the House was placed by those practices than the present. He (Mr. Newdegate) begged emphatically to call the attention of the First Lord of the Treasury to this occurrence. Since the right hon. Gentleman had undertaken to reform the Procedure of the House, it was to be hoped that he would not overlook the present illustration of the absolute necessity for effective action.

Mr. O'DONNELL urged that the gist of the Question of the hon. Member for Wexford had not been answered—namely, the charge that while the Government were delaying the trial, the principal witnesses for the defence were being picked up and lodged in gaol.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he had forgotten to answer it. So far from the charge being true, he had given express directions that sufficient notice of trial should be given them, and that the attendance of all the witnesses necessary for the defence should be provided for.

Mr. HEALY pointed out that many of them had been arrested.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): I know nothing about that.

Mr. O'DONNELL gathered that the Attorney General for Ireland was only an agent in the matter, which was most serious, as the people believed the arrests were made to defeat the defence of the prisoners; while some of those in gaol at the present moment were prepared to identify Connell, the informer, as the assassin of the young farmer Leary near Millstreet. They had those arrests of witnesses going on, and the trial of the accused men delayed, while the source and the spring of the Government case was as foul as it could possibly be—namely, that of an assassin and an expelled deserter. Yet the Attorney General for Ireland wondered at their complaining of such proceedings while the case was still pending. It was not the fault of the Irish Members that the case was pending. He must say that when the Attorney General for Ireland believed he had cleared the character of the Crown Agents who superintended the trial of his hon. Friend (Mr. Healy) by stating that, as a matter of fact, his hon. Friend was not tried by a packed jury, while, at the same time, he admitted there was no time to provide the packed jury, the right hon. and learned Gentleman failed to meet the point of his hon. Friend's objections. It was only by an accident that his hon. Friend was tried by an ordinary jury instead of a packed jury. He was confident that the Government would look into this matter, for nothing could be more detrimental to the cause of law and order than the toleration of the circumstances that surrounded this case.

MR. DALY said, that in the city of Cork a very strong distrust had been created in the minds of the people, owing to the way in which these trials were being conducted. Beyond all doubt, a great injury had been done by the conduct of the Crown prosecutions. He would remind the House that it was of the first importance that the men now standing at the bar of justice and accused of serious crimes should get a fair and impartial trial. The hon. Member proceeded to denounce the action of Crown prosecutors in a recent case, when——

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) rose on a point of Order, and reminded the Speaker that the hon. Member was quite irrelevant in his observations.

MR. DALY, continuing, said, he rose to address the House in the interests of law and order, and to show how the Crown prosecutors had conducted those cases. Many men of most reputable character in Cork were told to stand aside from the jury-box, simply because they were known to have Nationalist aspirations. As far as regarded the informer Connell, he would mention a most noticeable case concerning him. Connell was a man who was well known in his district as one of the persons referred to by the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and who was described as belonging to the gang of "midnight marauders and village ruffians" against whom the Protection of Person and Property Act was intended; yet the police knew him to be engaged in disseminating his pernicious doctrines in Millstreet, and they did not arrest him. He believed it to be true, and that it could be proved, that men had been arrested in Cork whose statements would be most damaging to the Crown informer. The manner in which those prosecutions were being conducted would, in his opinion, be the means of provoking angry feelings, and preventing the restoration of law and order. He sincerely hoped that the words of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had induced the Attorney General for Ireland to warn his subordinates to have a little less zeal and more discretion in the conduct of those trials.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR also referred to the present system of Crown prosecutions in Ireland, of which, as the rule, English Members knew less than they did of the condition of Egypt. The other day, in the Queen's County, there occurred a notable instance of the manner in which those trials were conducted. A terrible murder of an old man was committed, and the Crown proceeded to arrest a number of persons against whom they had not one single tittle of evidence. Nevertheless, they remanded them from Assizes to Assizes, until at last the Judge told the prosecution that he would stand that thing no longer, and that if the Crown could not proceed with the prosecution he would discharge the prisoners. Thereupon the Crown prosecutors produced a most infamous character, who deliberately swore, over and over again, that he was standing within a short distance of the scene of the murder, and saw the five accused men actually commit the crime. He also feigned ignorance of the reward that was offered for information; but it was conclusively proved that the witness had grossly perjured himself. That was not the only incident in the case, for the driver who discovered the body asserted that he was sought by the police to extend his evidence so as to convict the prisoners, and he was even promised by a Sub-Inspector of Police a sum of £1,000 if he would do so; but he refused, and the Crown failed to show that the men were guilty. That was the way in which guilt was sought to be brought home to those five persons. Under these circumstances, it was perfectly impossible that the people of Ireland should do otherwise than regard the law as their enemy.

Mr. HEALY, in asking leave to withdraw his Motion, said, that he should not have intruded a pending case upon the attention of the House if the case were legitimately pending. He was determined, however, to watch these proceedings very carefully, if he was not arrested himself.

Question put, and *negatived*.

EAST INDIA (EXPENSES OF MILITARY EXPEDITION TO EGYPT).

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he proposed formally to move his Resolution that night relating to the charging to the Revenues of India the cost of the transport of Indian troops to Egypt, with the object of the debate being immediately adjourned, the Motion be made an Order of the Day, and be placed first or second on the list of Orders of the Day, or, as his right hon. Friend suggested, immediately after the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. That would be the most convenient course to adopt.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE presumed that those who had Notices of opposition to the Resolution would not lose their power of bringing them forward. The only thing to be desired was that the Resolution should occupy an early place on the Orders, and should not be brought forward at an inconvenient hour.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the Resolution would come within the terms of the Rule exempting Money Bills from the operation of the Half-past 12 Rule?

Mr. SPEAKER: It appears to me that the Resolution would not come within the operation of that Rule, and might be brought forward after half-past 12 o'clock.

Mr. O'DONNELL gave Notice that to-morrow he would ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he had seen a telegram in one of the daily papers stating that a body of British troops, on the ground of searching for supposed plunder, blew up with gunpowder a house in a village in which a number of women and children had taken refuge; and whether such proceedings were approved by the Government, or any steps would be taken to prevent the recurrence of such an outrage?

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (VOTE OF CREDIT).

[THIRD NIGHT.]

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Question again proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. BOURKE: Sir, at the conclusion of the remarks I was permitted to make yesterday afternoon I was alluding to the despatch of Lord Granville, dated November 4th, and I was remarking that there was nothing to criticize in connection with that despatch, except there was no mention contained in it of British interests in Egypt. That despatch had, at first, a quieting effect; but the assembling of the Chamber of Notables shortly after that despatch appeared seems to have had a disquieting tendency upon the French Ministry. Attempts were made at this time to draw closer the relations between the two Governments of England and France with a view of action in the matter, and the famous Dual Note was written by M. Gambetta and accepted without hesitation by the British Government. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at that time was in Paris, engaged in a very laudable, but ill-starred, endeavour to conclude a Commercial Treaty between France and England. The making of that Treaty was no doubt a matter of considerable importance both to England and France; and, from a political point of view, it was of very great importance to the British Government. Whether the anxiety of Her Majesty's Government to conclude that Treaty had or had not any effect in their desire to conform in every respect to the wishes of the French Government in regard to Egypt I am, of course, unable to state; but there is no doubt that that is the general impression both in this country and in the diplomatic world. The Dual Note was no doubt the turning point of the whole of these transactions. It fell like a thunderclap upon Egypt and upon the whole of Europe. With regard to Egypt, it was looked upon as ignoring altogether the Sultan's authority, and it treated the Khedive as a puppet in the hands of the European Powers; and the consequence was that it invoked a very strong protest from the Porte. I do not think there could be any doubt whatever upon the mind of any ordinary reader that that Note certainly implied material intervention on the part of both England and France because England and France were united, it was said, to oppose the pretensions of Arabi Bey in Egypt, and they declared that the two Powers would be found united in preventing those pretensions being carried into effect. It was looked upon by the Powers as the first step to action; and as a first step to action on the part of England and France it was unanimously rejected by the Eastern Powers, as we see by the French Yellow Book. Well, Sir, the British Government, through Lord Granville, endeavoured to explain away the impression that was made upon Europe by this Note. I do not think that explanations generally are of much use in a matter of that kind. I think they generally leave the question where it was, or, if possible, lead to further misunderstanding. But when this question of explanation was suggested by Lord Granville to M. Gambetta, he declined altogether to enter into negotiations as to the matter of any sort or kind. Of course, he gave his reasons for that decision. He said that any explanation would encourage the arrogance of the enemies of France. Now, I do not know to whom the eminent French Minister alluded when he mentioned the enemies of France; whether it was some of the Powers, or Turkey, it is impossible to say. But that was a very remarkable answer. In the meantime there was not one single line from our Ambassador at Constantinople in these Papers; there is not a single trace to be found of any despatch of Lord Dufferin upon the question of the Dual Note, although it is the turning point of the whole of the negotiations. The Government have kept back Lord Dufferin's opinions upon this vital question. It is quite clear that from that moment England had lost all her influence with Turkey upon the question. The whole of the Mussulman population were alarmed, and Mr. Malet suggested that, in the serious condition of affairs, the only solution of the difficulty was a Commission from the Porte. That met with the same reception at the hands of the French Government as all other suggestions of the same character. They refused to allow the Porte to interfere in any way. About this time a change took place in the Government of France, and, at the suggestion of the British Government, an appeal was made to all the Powers; and from that moment, it may be said, that the joint action of England and France was at an end. After the new Ministry came into Office, the Powers generally were made acquainted with everything that passed, except one thing, which I will mention hereafter. But there can be no doubt that the impression left upon Egypt with respect to the Joint Note was still more unfortunate as time went on, because, although at first it had a bad effect in Egypt—the people imagining that a holy war against them was going to be proclaimed—they felt that, as nothing was to be done under the Joint Note, and that as England and France were only threatening, they were really to be regarded, to use the words of Sir William Gregory at that time, as being "nothing more than a pair of blusterers." At this period M. Tissot arrived in England as Ambassador from France. Everybody who knows M. Tissot is aware that he is a most accomplished and able diplomatist; but it will be as well for us to remember that, up to this time, he had been the French Ambassador at Constantinople, so that he came to England permeated with the views of M. Gambetta, although representing the Ministry of M. Freycinet, and pledged, as much as a diplomatist could be, to forward the views of M. Gambetta with respect to the nón-intervention of Turkey in Egypt, and intervention on the part of England and France. Before many days elapsed, M. Tissot called Lord Granville's attention to the very serious state of things which had now arisen in Egypt, and he asked Lord Granville if any suggestion could come from the British Government. Lord Granville's answer to this very important communication from France was one of the most remarkable, I think, ever made by any English Minister; and I must say that I think there never was a more foolish proposition made by a Minister. It was made in these words—

> "I then," said Lord Granville, "said that an idea had occurred to me that I should be glad if he would mention to M. de Freycinet, but simply as a personal suggestion of my own. It was that the French and English Governments should each send to Egypt some person of financial knowledge and experience, who might act as advisers to the Agent and Consul General in drawing up the details of any proposals for settling the future basis of administration."

Now, anything more futile I cannot imagine could be proposed. There was nothing in the financial administration of Egypt at that time which required such a remedy, and the reception which this suggestion met with by the French Government was the only one it could naturally receive. It is curious to observe the irony with which the suggestion was treated. It was summed up in one or two words by M. de Freycinet in Paris—

> "That the suggestion made by the English Government would take away the only institution left that they look to for keeping anything like law and order."

The next suggestion was made about a month after, and it was of a still more remarkable kind. It would appear that Lord Granville was applied to, whether he could suggest anything as to the affairs of Egypt, those affairs having been going on from bad to worse. After stating that affairs were considered by Lord Granville to be more gloomy and alarming, he says—

> "It would have a great moral effect in Egypt if the English and French Governments were able to announce to their respective Parliaments that not only were they prepared with the concurrence of Europe to take a step at once towards an arrangement with the Egyptian Government, but that they were also agreed as to the policy to be pursued in case of matters coming to a crisis, which they still hope may be averted."

Now, Sir, what is the proposition? Recollect that we have heard very often in this debate that the moral effect likely to be produced by the interference of Turkey was much to be deprecated. Yet this was the proposition—

> "The procedure to be resorted to in case of necessity might, in my opinion, consist in asking the Sultan to send a General, with full powers to restore discipline in the Egyptian Army with a well-defined agreement, that he was not to exercise those powers in any way without the concurrence of an English and a French General who would be associated with him. Care must be taken so to frame the arrangement that the functions of the three Commissioners should in no way detract from the position, or trench upon the duties of the French and English Representatives. I thought this plan was not likely to meet with objection on the part of the other Powers, and it seemed to me to be calculated to prevent the necessity of a resort to armed intervention, which might, perhaps, ultimately become inevitable, but which, as both Governments agreed, presented great difficulties, and was open to grave objection in every form."

I imagine that no person who knows anything at all about the opinions of the Sultan, or the views which he, or any other person connected with the Porte, entertains, would suppose that he would do otherwise than scout such a proposition as that. The idea of these two Generals being sent to Egypt, and that the Porte was to give all its influence to them—that they were to be sent there without any authority, and without a single armed man—and that the Turkish General was to conform in every respect with the opinions of the French and English Generals, was absurd. The French Government saw at once that that was not a proposition that could receive support, and they treated it in the same way as they had treated the previous suggestion. But affairs grew more gloomy at Constantinople, and Consul Cookson and Mr. Colvin wrote at that time very serious despatches calling attention to the grave events which were occurring. Mr. Malet reported that—

> "It was impossible to regain influence until the military supremacy was broken."

Another suggestion was now made by the English Government. This time they seemed to have plucked up their courage, and they went so far as to threaten. The threat assumed a peculiar character, because they threatened that they would use a force over which they had no control whatever. "On our part," said Lord Granville to Lord Lyons—

> "We were ready to consider, with every wish to accede to it, any proposal that might be made by M. de Freycinet; but as regarded any proposal of my own, I have nothing better to suggest than the plan I had already mentioned of sending three Military Commissioners, Turkish, English and French. Under the present urgent circumstances, I should have been ready to accompany it with a threat of Turkish intervention."

After offering every slight it was possible to offer to the Turkish Government, the British Government supposed that they had the power of offering a threat of Turkish intervention. Lord Granville adds—

> "I believed that such a threat would be the most likely means of preventing the necessity for any intervention, and I repeated my wish to avoid such intervention, if possible."

That threat, of course, was not put into execution, because it met with exactly the same reception from the French Government as the other two propositions from the British Government. At this time the French Government seemed determined to become more energetic, and they proposed to the British Government to send the English Fleet to Egypt. That proposal was accepted, of course, at once, but no notice whatever was given to the Sultan; and the Fleet was sent to Egyptian waters, and, consequently, to Turkish waters, without the slightest intimation to the Sultan. The consequence was that it met with the most energetic protest from the Porte; and it must be remembered that at that time Lord Dufferin was not even allowed to suggest Turkish intervention, although the British and French Fleets were sent to Alexandria. Things at Cairo grew worse and worse. Preparations for war were made by Arabi Pasha; insults were heaped upon Christians of all kinds, and all these events were attributed to the policy of the two Powers. It was clear then that Arabi was the only power in Egypt who had any influence whatever; he was the only power that had force at his back, and, notwithstanding this, the next proposition that was made was even still more absurd than the others, because it was proposed to the Khedive that he should banish Arabi, who was the only man who had any power in Egypt. How he was to carry out that advice was not stated. Of course, the advice itself, when it became known, irritated all the partisans of Arabi and the whole Military Party, and hastened the crisis. At this period there was a sharp difference of opinion between England and France. Lord Granville suggested, as he had done often before, that it was desirable to send Turkish troops to Egypt. M. Tissot spoke of the uselessness of such a proposal upon that occasion. I think the sharpness of the difference between the two Governments was extremely remarkable, for, certainly, the "uselessness of the proposal" is not language often employed by one diplomatist towards another. I am glad that the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is in the House at this moment, because I wish to call the attention of the House to an answer given by him to a Question asked by my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) on the 15th of May. My right hon. Friend asked whether the hon. Baronet could give any information as to the present position of affairs in Egypt; and after making a statement similar to that which was made by Lord Granville in the House of Lords on the same day, the hon. Baronet ended his statement by saying—

> "In March certain differences manifested themselves in the views of the English and French Governments; but the divergences which then existed are wholly at an end."—[3 *Hansard*, cclxix. 669.]

Now, I fail to find in the whole of these Papers that the divergences were at an end. The hon. Baronet, however, immediately added—

> "During the present month the unconstitutional steps taken by the Ministers of the Khedive resulted in a most critical situation. This became the subject of an active interchange of views between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic, with the happy result that the two Powers are now in absolute accord as to the steps to be taken in view of future eventualities which it is now hoped may not arise. The two Governments feel confident that the course agreed upon will meet with the assent of all the other Great Powers and of the Porte." —[*Ibid.*]

He went on to say in answer to another question—

> "The Porte had been informed of the steps that had been taken. He had already stated that the English and French Governments were of opinion that the course they had taken would meet with the assent of the Turkish Government."

Now, at that moment there was a sharp difference between the Porte and ourselves.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What I then said was that an agreement had been come to in view of future eventualities. I said that I was quite sure that what had been done would be approved by the Porte.

MR. BOURKE: Steps were not agreed to by the Porte.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: They were not known to the Porte at the time.

MR. BOURKE: But the hon. Gentleman stated that the steps taken would meet with the assent of the Turkish Government.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes; it was our opinion that they would.

MR. BOURKE: The hon. Gentleman said that the English and French Governments were of opinion that the course taken would meet with the assent of the Turkish Government; but that course never did meet with the assent of the Turkish Government so far as I know. In regard to the ships going to Egypt, the Sultan was perfectly ready to send a ship alone by himself; but he was told he must not do anything of the kind, and something more which ought also to be considered, and which almost amounted to an insult. He was actually told that if he sent a ship to Alexandria it was likely to be kindly received by the ships already there. Now, that was a decided insult, seeing that the waters were his own. I wonder what course we should have taken if we had been placed in the same position—if we had been told by two Powers that our own waters were in their occupation, but that we were welcome to send a ship of our own which would be kindly received. I think we should have considered the whole matter a great and gratuitous insult. Shortly afterwards a Conference was proposed. Now, in the first instance, I cannot see that there was any necessity for a Conference whatever, because at Constantinople the Ambassadors of the different Powers are in the habit of meeting continually; and if it was a desirable thing that the English and French Governments should bring their views to the notice of other Powers through their Ambassadors at Constantinople, it was a perfectly easy matter to bring them under such notice without any Conference at all. As to the meeting of the Conference, it was against the will of the Sultan, and it added, I think, another gross insult, still worse when it was said, as it has been in one of the papers, that the Sultan ought to be pleased at the compliment. I am not surprised that the proposal was regarded in the light of an insult, not only by Turkey, but in other quarters as well. The proposal to meet in the capital of the Sultan was analogous to half-a-dozen gentlemen meeting in a private drawing-room without the consent of the occupier of the house. The first thing the Conference did was to propose a military intervention. After preventing the Sultan from exercising his authority, we called upon him to exercise that authority to put down a military revolt, when it had risen to such a crisis that it was very dangerous and almost impossible to do so without the employment of a very large force indeed. The terms were not only hard, but insulting; and at that time Germany came forward and said that she considered the terms offered to the Porte in regard to military intervention as being far too hard. And then what did you do? Why, you turned round, and, having failed to obtain Turkish intervention, you endeavoured to obtain a mandate from Europe on behalf of the English and French. It is quite clear that the Powers had very different views upon that question, and they refused to grant a mandate for that purpose. They declined to make themselves enemies of Turkey; and they did not take the same view we had taken of the friendship of the Sultan. It was of the utmost importance to them to remain on good terms with the Sultan, and they entertained different views from those of the present Government of this country with regard to the friendship of the Sultan. In that way I am afraid they have shown a very great contrast to the policy of the other Powers, a contrast which other Powers will endeavour to accentuate, and which hereafter may have a very prejudicial effect upon England. I believe the justification for the bombardment of Alexandria is a sound one, and I do not propose to enter further into that matter. I believe that it can be vindicated on the grounds of necessity, self-defence, and International Law. Of course, I deplore the policy which led to that bombardment, and the necessity of that disaster; but I shall offer no hostile criticism on the act itself. I have nothing to say in regard to it upon a diplomatic and international point of view. I would wish, at the same time, to bear my humble tribute to the gallantry of the officers and men engaged in that action, and I think it must have given great satisfaction to the House to find that our Fleet was in such a perfect state of efficiency. They had no mean enemy to contend with, and I think that the Egyptians fought with a courage and with a perseverance that entitled them to the admiration of all candid and generous men. I have stated the points upon which I differ with Her Majesty's Government, and I will now sum up in a very few words. I think they have made a mistake in ignoring the authority of the Sultan, in offending the religious feeling of the Mahomedan population, both of Egypt and of Asia, and in showing, by their changing and shifting policy, that they were ready to suit that policy to the ephemeral circumstances of another Power whenever they were asked to do so. The result has been that we have been left to act alone as far as Europe is concerned. We are told that we have the good wishes of certain Powers; but good wishes are generally accompanied by "Good bye;" and if we are to go to Egypt in conjunction with Turkey, I fear very much, after what has passed, that we shall not now be able to go there with that cordiality which is required, and which is necessary when military operations are to be carried on by two Powers acting in conjunction. But, at the same time, I wish to guard myself against being in the least degree disposed to follow Turkey blindly, or in allowing for an instant that there should be any change in the relations that exist between Turkey and Egypt. I do not think it would be for the interests of the world, or for the interests of Turkey herself, that the relations between Egypt and the Sovereign Power should be modified. At one time I should have been disposed to allow Turkey to go to Egypt alone—that is, to go there with her moral influence—but I should never have allowed her to go alone with an army. Now, of course, the time has passed for allowing her to go without an armed force at her back. It is necessary, if she goes at all, that she should go with an army. Such a proposition will require, I think, very grave consideration, and it is quite a different thing asking Turkey to have gone some months ago and asking her to go with us now. I should like now to say a word or two in respect of those who are in favour of non-intervention altogether. Independently of the reasons stated by the hon. Baronet on the 7th of June—namely, our duty to India, the capital we have invested in Egypt, and our Eastern commerce generally—I should like to ask those who are in favour of non-intervention, if we left Egypt to-morrow, do they think the other Powers would do the same? Can they point out for a moment that free institutions would have the slightest possibility of being instituted in Egypt? Do they think the other Powers, if we leave Egypt, will be kinder to the Natives than we are; and if the other Powers are left in Egypt, and we go away, do they think those other Powers will employ more Natives in the administration of the affairs of the country? The Committee may take it from me that it is the fact, if any persons will go over to the offices where we have an official establishment, either at Cairo or Alexandria, they will find a larger number of Egyptian officials employed than in any analogous establishments belonging to any other Power. That is a fact which is notorious, and which I have seen myself. It is perfectly certain, therefore, that, as far as the rest of Europe was concerned, the Natives would suffer rather than benefit by our withdrawal. It has been mentioned several times in the course of the debate that an agreement has been arrived at with France as to the Suez Canal. I hope, before the debate closes, that we shall have some information about that agreement. It is an agreement of the greatest possible importance, not only for the present, but for the future. I trust the Government will tell us exactly what the terms of the agreement are as to the protection of the Canal. I want to know whether it is a permanent or a temporary arrangement, and what arrangement has been made in detail for the protection of the Canal. With regard to the arrangement for the future, I shall defer the observations I have to make until I hear what it is. The hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State went at some length into the subject of the future government of Egypt. I think it is too soon to speak of that question. The first thing we have to do is to restore order and reduce the anarchy which now prevails. In the meantime, I hope we shall apply ourselves with energy to the task before us, and that we shall not ask ourselves too critically who are our allies. I think it is a very bad way of obtaining allies to be continually asking ourselves who are going to be our friends. If we follow a straightforward course, especially when we are dealing with an Oriental nation, we shall always find that allies will come to us with the greatest alacrity, without entering into any agreement or stipulation which may embarrass us in future. There is one other reason why I think we ought not to hamper ourselves with unnecessary alliances. English diplomatists have no special genius for intrigue, and if we embark in courses of intrigue we shall certainly be defeated. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) spoke with some severity of the intrigues which, he said, had been going on between Paris, Constantinople, and Arabi Bey; but the right hon. Gentleman cannot deny that until a short time ago these communications were perfectly legitimate. In fact, it was the very thing we had been asking the Sultan to do. How was the Sultan to exert his moral influence in putting down disturbances without communicating with Arabi Bey? Of course, Dervish Pasha went openly from Constantinople to Egypt and put himself in communication with Arabi Bey. It cannot, then, with any degree of justice, be said that these were intrigues. But when the history of these events comes to be written, it will be found that there were other intrigues going on with Arabi Bey which had no justification whatever. It is not necessary to say more on that subject now, because I am quite sure that Her Majesty's Government are perfectly alive to the fact, and that agents—not Turkish agents—have been very active in their intrigues with Arabi Bey. I hope, also, that Her Majesty's Government, before this debate concludes, will tell us something about the "Self-Denying" Protocol. How do we stand with regard to it? I hope the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Childers) will be able to tell us. It was made upon the understanding that other Powers were to co-operate with us. If we are to act alone I think it is a matter for serious consideration whether that "Self-Denying" Protocol should be allowed to bind us as to its terms any further. I am, as much as any Member of this House, in favour of pursuing an unselfish policy in Egypt; but, at the same time, do not let us be hypocritical about it, or imagine for a moment that the Powers will believe us if we say that we are not going to Egypt mainly for our own interests. Having undertaken this gigantic work, I hope that we shall not stay our hands until it has been thoroughly completed. I hope the British Government will rely upon British power, moral and physical; and that, if necessary, they will not hesitate to call forth all the power of the nation, and all the power of our Indian Possessions as well. If they do so, I believe they will do much to condone, in the minds of those who differ from them, the weakness of the past, and if they do not, I believe they will add very considerably to their difficulties. I hope they will not think lightly of their duty, because the more difficult they think it, I am quite sure the more easy it will be of accomplishment. So long as they are bold and true to British honour and British interests, I think I am not presumptuous in assuring them that they may rely upon the support of the Tory Party both in this House and in the country.

Mr. CHILDERS: I do not propose to trespass upon the attention of the Committee at any length; but it would not be right for me, as the Minister who is charged with a considerable portion of the duties represented by the Vote of Credit, not to address some remarks to the Committee, and perhaps the present would be the most convenient moment. We have heard, during this debate, a considerable number of very interesting and able speeches; but I think I shall be doing no injustice to other speakers if I allude specially to those of my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce), who sits on the other side, and of my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), all of whom contributed largely to the information that will enable us to discuss the question. The speech of the Under Secretary of State, if he will allow me to say so, in his presence, formed a most admirable summing up of the history of the question, not only of the earlier history, but also of the details of what has passed during the last six or nine months, with an accuracy which has never, I believe, been equalled in a statement of so laborious and, at the same time, of so interesting a character. The hon. Member for Portsmouth I am sorry not to see in his place;

but he brings to the question extraordinary knowledge from his position as a banker largely interested in the East, who knows the whole systems of the finance of the Eastern world, and of whom it may be said that he pre-eminently, *mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes*, contributed to the debate a most remarkable amount of knowledge, and who put it before us in such a way that, in spite of our reading for the last two years upon this important English question, he told us in the course of his speech as much as many of us could acquire after many days' or months' study. It was a most interesting speech, and must have contributed much information to the Committee. It was a most fair and impartial speech, and although my hon. Friend is a good partizan in his way, it was without a trace of Party feeling; and I may say of it that, except as regards one point in which he differs from us in his estimate of the value of a French alliance, and the manner of dealing with the French Ministers in foreign affairs, we might rest upon it a great deal of the defence of the conduct of the Government. He introduced into the debate the consideration of the difficulties which have attended the question in consequence of recent occurrences at Tunis. No more fair statement could have been made in many respects, and none that could have more completely justified the conduct of Her Majesty's Government. The speech, too, of my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), who sits behind me, was a speech of which the Committee must be proud, as coming from one who, not only officially, but personally, has been connected with this question for some time past, upon whose recommendation the late Government acted to so large an extent, and whose knowledge of the whole question, during the time he had connection with the financial affairs of Egypt, must be admitted to be not only extensive but accurate. My right hon. Friend may, perhaps, be thought to have spoken out rather plainly and frankly with respect to the right manner of dealing with Oriental Powers, and especially as to the proper mode of transacting financial business. He used strong language, which some may say went too far; but still he exposed the weak side of our transactions with Eastern Powers, and especially with the Porte, and in that respect his warning deserves to be taken into serious consideration by the House. My right hon. Friend struck the very keynote of the controversy in which we are engaged when he asked hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, who dispute the conduct and the line taken by Her Majesty's Government, with which horse they proposed to win—do they propose to win by attacking Her Majesty's Government because their action has isolated them in regard to European affairs, or do they propose to win on the ground that their line of policy has hampered and entangled us in alliances with other Powers? I watched with great interest the answer which would be given to that question by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke). He said—"We want to know what you are going to do, but we will not tell you what your fault has been." But the temptation to argue from the point of view which he had adopted was too much for the right hon. Gentleman. Afterwards, and in a few sentences, he said, after some words about the Concert of Europe, that he was against sacrificing the interests of England to the Concert of Europe, and that we ought to co-operate with France, but ought to have told her fairly and broadly that we could not follow her policy. I take these words of the right hon. Gentleman to mean that he thinks our fault has been rather that we have been hampered by arrangements with other Powers than that we suffered in the direction of isolation. Taking that as the view which he adopts, I should like to address a few words to the Committee to show how it was that we were in a position to pursue the line of policy we first adopted, and which I think I can show we have consistently followed ever since. I would like the Committee to consider, first, whether we have acted consistently with the conditions which were laid down when we took Office two years ago? On this question of the policy of the English Government in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, the despatches of 1876 and 1878 show that in this respect the late Administration arrived at an understanding with France which is perfectly plain, and appears on the face of the Papers presented to Parliament. The late Government said to France—

"We claim to do what we like with Cyprus, and we leave you to do what you like with Tunis. But, with respect to Egypt, we agree jointly to use British and French influence." That was the step taken by the last Government. Well, we inherited that policy in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and we have often done our best loyally to act up to it. I do not say that we approved of it, or that we disapproved of it. We found it the policy of the Government which we succeeded, and we worked up to it loyally and faithfully and, I think I shall be able to show, with success. But, although that may be the general outline of the policy of his Government, I do not think the right hon. Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) described accurately the situation of public affairs in that part of the world, and especially in Egypt, when we succeeded to the administration of the foreign affairs of the country. He said we inherited a peaceful policy in Egypt, only broken by the first military riot which took place a year ago. He said, with respect to the last arrangement made by Lord Salisbury for the exercise of British influence in Egypt, that when Lord Salisbury was urged to nominate a European Minister he declined, and that it was entirely by the action of the Khedive that the Minister was appointed, and that when the Khedive was dismissed the Control was established. He said the Committee would see that Lord Salisbury adopted no new policy in 1879, and that after the small revolution which took place in Cairo we re-established the Control on its former footing. But nothing can be more inaccurate than that description of what was done in 1878-9. The first military riot was not in 1881, but in 1879; so that the difficulties with the Army began not in 1881, but in 1879; and that riot, to use Lord Salisbury's own words, had the effect, by a military tumult, in which the officers of the Khedive were really the rioters, of overthrowing an independent Ministry with two European officials attached to it. Therefore, the difficulties with the Khedive really began, not in 1881, but a few months before we took Office. They began with the military riot at Cairo.

Mr. BOURKE: The first riots had no connection with this affair.

Mr. CHILDERS: I have only taken up the words of the right hon. Gentleman. He said the first military riot took place in 1881, whereas the first riot took place while the late Government were in Office. We did not inherit a peaceful state of things. The late Government insisted on the abdication or the resignation of the Khedive, and the revision of the Control, and they revised the Control on a perfectly different system from that which existed before. Under the new arrangement there were two Controllers, one appointed by us and the other by France. They were removable only by us and France, and they were Members of the Khedive's Ministry. So that, the old arrangement having been revised, a new system of Control was established, under which the two Controllers General were nominees of the Governments of England and France, and could not be removed except by the act of those two Governments. The words in the Papers are "removable by them." I do not now raise the question whether that was a good arrangement or not; but it was an entire change; and what I want to show is that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that the late Government left everything in a peaceful condition is not strictly accurate, because a short time before there had been a serious military riot which led to the upsetting of the Government, and a new Control was established which was placed upon an entirely different footing. There is no doubt that the new arrangement, however good it might have been, was full of danger. What happened? Well, as I have said, we worked strictly upon the lines laid down by our Predecessors. A very few months after we took Office another military riot took place in February, 1881, not arising from any act of ours; and there was a third in September. Therefore, when the right hon. Gentleman says the late Government left Egypt peaceful, we might just as well say we left Turkey peaceful in 1874, and then objected to the conduct of the late Government, because in 1875 and 1876, not in consequence of any act of theirs, a large portion of Turkey was found to be in a state of incendiarism. So far as the allegation goes, that there were satisfactory arrangements with the Khedive, which we, by some act of ours, upset, it cannot for one moment be substantiated. The fact is that whatever may have been the intention of the arrangement of 1875, it contained elements of great danger; and, without our touching them, those elements within a few months after our accession to Office led to the trouble which has now been brought upon us. Having inherited that state of things, and that policy, what were our efforts in the furtherance of order and good government in Egypt? In the first place, our endeavour was to carry out that joint political influence of France and England which had been established by our Predecessors, and, in my humble judgment, wisely established. We endeavoured to do so with the good feeling and the goodwill of the Powers. We endeavoured, in all that followed, to use to the utmost, I will not say the moral influence, but the material influence of the Sovereign Power; and our great anxiety has been throughout all these troubles, while favouring National objects in Egypt, to get rid of the military usurpation which has been destroying the happiness and progress of the country, and to do so on the lines and principles I have described. We have kept these objects steadily in view, and when hon. or right hon. Gentlemen complain that in this respect we went a little too far in the direction of obtaining the concurrence of France, or in the direction of obtaining the Concert of Europe, or that we pressed too much or too little upon the Porte the duty of exercising its own rights and its own duty—I say, however much you may criticize in detail one act or another act, and say that one was too soon and another too late, I think I may refer, in answer to what my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) has said—for he has pointed out that what you ought to look to is not this step or that step, this detail or that detail, but to our acts as a whole—that the position was an extremely difficult one, and that the attention of Her Majesty's Government was necessarily directed to the attainment of two or three great objects. I believe in the end, in spite of the difficulty of the transactions in which we have been engaged, and in spite of the weakness of the French Government, which has delayed us so much, it will be seen that we have kept steadily in view our object, and have never flinched from it. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) says we have been dawdling. That is the charge he brought against us in his speech. If he means by dawdling not being over hasty in plunging into the first difficulty that presented itself to us, I admit the justice of the charge. If, on the other hand, he means that we have unnecessarily delayed, I say that it is not so—we have not dawdled, but we entered with prudence into negotiations, in order to bring them to a successful result. I venture to say that if we had adopted a different course we should have had serious difficulties with France, and we should not have been proceeding now with the goodwill of Europe. In all probability we should have run the risk of a serious war. As it is, I think it is plain that Europe is now satisfied that we have no selfish object in the course we have taken or in the military operations for which we ask the sanction of the Committee. On this point it is necessary that we should be very clear, and I think it would be much to be regretted if Europe suspected that we, for instance, were seeking the sole Protectorate in Egypt. Our object is entirely of an unselfish character, keeping clearly in view the maintenance and protection of our interests, and the interests of other civilized countries. We desire order and good government in Egypt, and we desire this both for the advantage of England and that of the whole world. We hope to succeed in bringing about this—that Egypt shall cease to be a Military Power, except in respect to such forces as it may be necessary to maintain in order to protect herself from the incursions of her Southern neighbours. But it must be remembered that Egypt is the great highway between this country and the East, and that our interest in that highway is at least four times as great as those of all the other nations together; and if we clearly show the world that we are unselfish with respect to the administration in the future of Egypt, and have no wish to obtain any Protectorate over her, I think it will not be unreasonable when, by force of arms, we shall have made Egypt cease to be a Military Power that we should have the most honourable part in the settlement of Egyptian affairs. Sir, I shall not dwell at greater length upon this part of the subject; but I think it will be expected from me, after these general declarations as to the objects we have had, and those which we still have, if I say a few words with reference to the more strictly military questions which are involved in the Vote of Credit, so far as the operations of the War are concerned. I will not, in the first place, repeat the arguments which have been put with such remarkable force by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to why we should not have sooner engaged in these operations; but there are one or two points connected with that subject which I should like to make quite clear to the Committee after what passed in the previous stages of the debate, and especially on the first day. Now, I was pressed somewhat unreasonably on that occasion with respect to an answer which I had given some days before, in reply to a Question put by the noble Lord opposite about the employment of a certain Major Tulloch, and the advice which he was supposed to have given to Admiral Seymour. The noble Lord, and I think one hon. Member from Ireland, pressed the Question home to me to an extent which I confess made me doubt whether I was wise in refusing to state what I said I ought not to state. My noble Friend asked whether, referring to the statement in *The Times*, which used Major Tulloch's name, he had advised with the view to avoiding the perpetration of atrocities, that there should be a force to land when the bombardment took place. Well, Sir, the Question having been urged, I thought it would be a simple and natural course to send this telegram to Admiral Seymour—"Did Major Tulloch warn you against bombardment without landing troops?" I did not say anything more than that, except that I asked for a reply at once, and the answer which Sir Beauchamp Seymour sent us was—"No; decidedly not." I think that answer puts an end to the story about Major Tulloch. Another detail has been alluded to, with respect to the movements of the Army, which requires some explanation. Three charges have been made both in and out of the House, with the object of showing stupidity on the part of those who managed military affairs. One of these, relating to the arrival of the Marines at Alexandria without ammunition, has been conclusively disposed of by the Secretary to the Admiralty. With regard to the second charge, that the *Orontes* arrived at Alexandria empty, it has been shown that she did not go there at all. A third charge is that a battery of Artillery had been landed without horses. This last charge is quite true. A battery of Artillery from Malta was landed without horses. They could not have been landed with horses, because they had none. In other words, they were Garrison Artillery. As a matter of fact we have no Field Artillery either at Gibraltar or Malta; and when it was necessary to send troops to Alexandria, we despatched a battery of Garrison Artillery, armed with four 40-pounder guns, and these guns have done extremely good service. This, I think, disposes of the last question as to the stupidity of the Government in small points of detail. But I think it will be expected that I should give the Committee some information on questions connected with the strength of this Expedition. These are already subjects of inquiry proposed to be addressed to me by hon. Members. Nevertheless, I think it would be more satisfactory for me to make a statement with reference to them on the present occasion. I want the Committee clearly to bear in mind the difficulties that have been found to exist on previous occasions in sending out with despatch forces satisfactory in point of numbers and other conditions. On the present occasion we have been able to send out such a force in a manner which has, I believe, on the whole, proved acceptable to Members on both sides of the House. It will be in the recollection of the Committee that last year I proposed a somewhat different method of organization for our regiments; and the basis of that proposal was that, instead of our regiments being exactly of the same strength, we should raise the regiments at the top of the rota to the strength of about 1,015 men, and that those regiments should be liable to be treated in the same way as other regiments in reference to service abroad. I said I hoped we should be in a position to send out, when necessary, the First Army Corps in such a condition that volunteers from other regiments would not be required to complete its strength. That, to a great extent, we have been able to do. Of course, in raising the strength of regiments from 600 to, say, 1,000 men, this additional strength must be made up by volunteers from other regiments, or recruits. But we had so arranged, if we had not had the present disturbances, that the regiments at the top of the rota would have been in a thoroughly prepared state for war—that is to say, that they might have gone out without receiving assistance by drafts from other regiments, or by drafts from the Reserve. We have not, of course, had time to complete that arrangement; but we have been able to send out the whole of the First Army Corps, consisting partly of home battalions, and partly of battalions from the Mediterranean Stations, brought up to their full strength in almost every case by men of the Reserve belonging to the respective regiments. At the same time, we have called out about 10,000 men of the Reserve, 2,000 or 3,000 of whom will form a reserve in our Mediterranean Colonies, available to go on service immediately, and the remainder will be drafted to regiments at home, so as to strengthen the force left behind in the Mother Country. I wish these arrangements to be clearly understood, because there seems to be still an impression abroad that we have not been able to dispense with the old system of getting volunteers from other regiments. But we have been able to do this; we have carried out the plan in which our Predecessors in Office took so great a share, although, on this account, we do not claim for ourselves any particular merit. With the exception of raising the strength of certain regiments, to which I have referred, to 1,015 men, all that we have done is simply to carry out the plan initiated by our Predecessors. I think the Committee will rest satisfied with this—that whatever faults there may be in connection with the system, before long, so far as the organization of regiments goes, they will be put on a proper footing. We shall be able to send out a force which, with the Indian troops, will amount to 30,000, leaving out the 20,000 Reserve men, who can be called to the Colours. It is evidence of the gradual progress of reform that we have been able to effect this, and I think the Committee and the country ought to be congratulated upon it. I should like now to explain the arrangements we have made to secure the health of our soldiers. We are entering upon a campaign in a country not necessarily unhealthy, but one in which sanitary arrangements ought to be carefully studied, and I think those who are responsible have devoted themselves to this subject with great zeal and great success. My right hon. Friend behind me will, perhaps, excuse me for being as clear on this point as I always wish to be on economical questions of this kind; but we have come to the conclusion that one of the first instructions ought to be that while extravagance should be avoided, there could be no worse form of economy than starving the sanitary arrangements. I am able, then, to inform the Committee that two hospital ships have been provided, and that we are sending out 800 men of the Army Hospital Corps, together with a very large staff of doctors. Amongst other arrangements for securing the health of our men, I may mention that special measures have been taken for preserving them from a peculiar form of ophthalmia, to which Europeans are very liable in Egypt. I have also been asked to state that we are sending out a body of nurses, both to the hospitals and depôts; and in other respects—with regard to which I shall always be happy to satisfy any hon. Member—we are taking every possible precaution against the sanitary dangers of Egypt. We have, for instance, set at rest any possible doubt as to the supply of water by adopting what appears to be a most perfect system. With respect to clothing, we have studied with great care the conditions of service in the climate of Egypt, and I believe we have satisfied every requirement under this head. With regard to tenting. It is necessary that the tents employed should be different from those ordinarily in use, and it is now some weeks since the needful arrangements in this department were set on foot.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Will the tents be double?

MR. CHILDERS: They will be double—marquees and hospital tents. We have also provided means of transport that I believe will be sufficient for all purposes, and respecting which I shall be happy to give any information that is desirable later on. I may mention that this subject very closely occupied myself and Colleagues during a period of four or five weeks before the other arrangements were made. I will now say a few words as to the amount of the Vote. My right hon. Friend opposite asks me whether we have taken a sufficient amount of money; and the suggestion is that we have not provided for the full time the war is likely to last; and that we may have to come to Parliament for further supplies. The length of the campaign is, of course, a matter of great doubt; but after studying the circumstances which are likely to influence its duration, and after consulting the responsible officers, particularly Sir Garnet Wolseley, we are satisfied that prudence, based on probability, only requires that we should ask for the sum of £900,000 for Army purposes connected with this Expedition on the assumption that the operations will be concluded within two months. If, however, the war were unfortunately to drag on for a longer time, we should then, doubtless, have again to apply to Parliament. I am not one of those who think that the best way of dealing with these matters is to ask for a sum far in excess of the probable requirements, and then to say you will repay the surplus. The fittest way, in my opinion, is to make the best estimate you can of what is likely to be required, and frankly to communicate it to Parliament. Then, if the estimate is exceeded, I believe Parliament will more readily grant the further sum required than if an unnecessarily large demand had been made at first. The noble Lord asked me a question with respect to vacancies at the War Office owing to the absence of certain officers engaged in the campaign. Assuming that the campaign only lasts for three months, that is a period which does not exceed the term of leave often taken by officers at the War Office in the ordinary course of business. Sir Garnet Wolseley's place will be filled during these three months by a distinguished general officer. The work of Sir John Adye has also been similarly arranged for, and the departments being exceptionally strong, owing to the good selection which we found when we came into Office, I think it possible to carry out the business which has to be transacted without importing into them other officers.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: The Intelligence Department?

Mr. CHILDERS: The hon. and gallant Member refers to Sir Archibald Alison. I told the House that we did not intend to employ two general officers, and it would, therefore, be quite absurd now to appoint a fresh head of the Intelligence Department. At this point I should like, if the Committee will allow me, to say a word on a matter which the War Office and the Admiralty consider to be of great national importance in connection with an expedition of this kind. I would appeal to the Press, through this House, to be cautious as to what it discloses in relation to matters connected with the campaign. During the campaign in the Transvaal I made a similar appeal, and it was, I confess, fairly responded to. But I already notice in the reports which arrive from the correspondents of newspapers—newspapers not alone of small circulation, but those of the first standing also—a want of caution in the indication of operations which, considering how rapidly the telegraph carries back anything that appears in the Press here, cannot but be attended with bad results. I trust, therefore, that those who are responsible for the management of newspapers will exercise due discretion with regard to the reports I have alluded to; I hope they will be careful to excise from them every statement that even in a small degree indicates the intentions of military commanders, and thereby interferes with what they are contemplating for the public advantage. I will add that I have not the slightest objection to the presence of newspaper correspondents at the seat of war. On the contrary, I think their presence there a good thing, amongst other reasons, because it is likely to have a good effect upon the officers responsible for the conduct of the war; and, therefore, we shall on this occasion make arrangements similar to those which were made on past occasions under which correspondents of newspapers will be allowed to accompany the Army in the field, but with the necessary restrictions as to the conveyance to their journals of the injurious information to which I have alluded. Although no man detests war more than I do, yet when it becomes necessary to resort to it I sincerely believe that its miseries are not lessened by it being sluggishly carried on. On the other hand, the greatest mistake we could commit in connection with the undertaking we have now embarked in would be to send out our troops precipitately without proper arrangements being made as regards stores and other matters, which in every war are quite as important as the fighting men. To those who have criticized the Government for not having been quicker, I reply that we shall do the work more thoroughly by doing it more deliberately. I owe my thanks both to the officials of the War Office and the India Office for the skill with which they have carried out the preparations for the Expedition. With very little excitement and very little notice, we have collected in a few days a force of 30,000 in addition to the force in the Mediterranean; and I have the fullest confidence in the General who is to command and the officers who will be associated with him, as well as in the gallantry of the British soldier, which causes me to believe that they will thoroughly rise to the height of the great task they have before them.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, that everyone would agree with the concluding words of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. He did not propose to follow the great speakers who had exhausted the subject financially, morally, immorally, historically, diplomatically, and in every conceivable way; he rather should confine his observations to that portion of the subject which had been dealt with by the right hon. Gentleman. He believed that every impartial man who had looked into the Blue Books must have come to the conclusion that throughout these transactions, to put it in the fewest possible words, procrastination had been mixed with hesitation and supplemented by vacillation. He believed Her Majesty's Government had been more or less the dupes of the Turk as well as the humble followers of France, and that, like Mr. Micawber, "they had been waiting for something to turn up." He assured the right hon. Gentleman that he had not risen for the purpose of carrying on a disagreeable controversy, or casting reflections upon Gentlemen on the opposite Benches; but this was a time when, before all things, Members ought to recollect that they were Englishmen, and that they were bound, as far as they were able, to support the Government, however strongly they might feel — and he confessed he did feel it — that this war, with all the expense and bloodshed attending it, might have been avoided. But he would pass on to the present and future of the military situation. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister quite apprehended the point which hon. Members on that side of the House had urged. Their point was that the Admiral ought to have had a sufficient force at his command for any purposes that he might have thought it desirable to carry out in connection with the bombardment which had taken place. Now, he had heard it stated by those who knew Egypt well that a small force of 5,000 men might have landed without difficulty upon the peninsula which ran between the two lakes, and on which the railway was carried. If these 5,000 men had been landed at the time the bombardment was taking place, it was considered that the Egyptian Army, thoroughly demoralized by the great loss of officers and men, would have been caught, as it were, in a trap; and that, had the isthmus been properly defended, they would have been compelled to surrender. He did not intend to put forward that view authoritatively, notwithstanding that it was the view taken in military quarters, and had, as he believed, been advocated by Dervish Pasha himself. Of course, it was necessary to the success of that plan that the Admiral should have had the necessary force at his command. But that was not the case. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech, said it would be a gross insult to the Conference which was sitting had this landing taken place. But he would like to know how it could be a greater insult to the Conference to land troops at the time of the bombardment, than to land them five or six days afterwards, when the Conference was still sitting? If troops could be landed after the bombardment they could surely have been landed at the time it was taking place. He could not, for the life of him, see that the Conference could have resented this, judging from their subsequent action; nor had he heard that any kind of protest had been made against the landing of our troops, or against our holding Alexandria during the time we had been in possession of the city. However, the subject was an unpleasant one, and he had no intention of pursuing it. As the result of all that had happened, we were about to enter upon an Egyptian campaign at the very worst season of the year. It was almost impossible that the force we were about to despatch in the course of a week or 10 days should arrive before the beginning of September. Now, it seemed to him, notwithstanding what had fallen from the Secretary of State for War, that the Government, throughout these transactions, in consequence of their policy of procrastination, hesitation, and vacillation, had been in very considerable doubt as to the course which they should adopt. First of all, notwithstanding the existence of that lately-constituted and most able Department—the Intelligence Department—it did not seem that the Government were in possession of sufficient knowledge as to the climate, diseases, means of communication in Egypt, or even of the class of troops best fitted to serve there. Considering that these Egyptian difficulties had extended over the last year and a-half, the Intelligence Department must have been aware that there would shortly be a campaign in Egypt, and that the Government would require exact information as to the best time of the year for undertaking it, the proportions of White and Black troops that should compose the forces, and other matters, such as the means of transport, about which there seemed to be a great amount of uncertainty at the present moment. It was understood that the Life Guards were sent out without horses, and that in all probability they would have to be mounted on donkeys. He had asked the Secretary of State for War whether there was any truth in the report that the War Office had bought 5,000 mules in the South of Europe, and the reply was that there was no foundation whatever in the rumour. When he heard that he was exceedingly sorry, because he could see that his right hon. Friend had not really calculated what was likely to take place. The purchase of mules was a most essential matter. It was only horses of a certain kind that could live in Egypt; and, therefore, if the Life Guards, or any considerable body of troops, were despatched to that country, it was most necessary that a sufficient number of mules should be at hand. The right hon. Gentleman now said that 500 mules had been bought for the present, and that the War Office could lay their hands on the rest; but when the question was asked in the House he said there was no foundation for the rumour that a purchase had taken place. It was an extraordinary thing that the *Orontes* should have arrived without troops, and the *Tamar* without ammunition. He hoped they were not about to repeat the story of the great disaster which happened in the Crimea. It was perfectly true that a great deal had taken place since then in the way of thoroughly reforming our Departments, inside and outside the War Office; and he hoped and believed that such a calamity as occurred in the Crimea was, at the present time, impossible. But, having regard to what had taken place politically and diplomatically, the want of preparation, and the waiting on Providence for what might happen on the part of the Government, he confessed he was very nervous when he read the story of the *Orontes* and the *Tamar*. The statement of his right hon. Friend had, however, re-assured him. His right hon. Friend had the great faculty of painting everything *couleur de rose*, and far be it from him to throw a darker shade upon the picture he had presented to the Committee. But he thought it right to ask the Government if they had calculated all the difficulties with which they would have to contend? He had cut from a newspaper a paragraph, which described what the state of the country would be, a month hence, in these words—

> "It is well that the people at home should recognize the importance of rapid action in Egypt. The Nile will soon be up, and all the ground will be flooded; then comes the period of falling water, with universal mud and chance of fever. We ought to be already on the march to avoid the consequences of September."

The expedition to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in 1801, consisted of 13,000 or 14,000 European troops. A very good reason existed for sending out White troops on that occasion—namely, that they had to fight European troops; but we did not send them out in September, we sent them in March, and the whole affair was over before the rising of the Nile took place; and, consequently, there was nothing to be looked to like this state of universal mud and the chance of fever. Now, he would like to know from his right hon. Friend, who was surrounded by the best military advisers, what would be the position of the English troops, supposing there should be a great inundation of the Nile, and that Arabi Pasha proved himself a greater commander than we took him to be. How would it be possible for us to move a man from Alexandria? If the country were flooded, we should have 24,000 men cooped up in the city, sweltering under a hot sun, attacked by fever, and a prey to *ennui.* The probable result of this would be great discontent and a large amount of crime, and the troops would either have to be re-embarked, or recourse would have to be necessary to the punishment of death, because, as flogging had been abolished, it would, under the circumstances he had described, be otherwise impossible to maintain discipline. This was probably a matter which his right hon.Friend had taken into consideration. They had received an account the other day that some of our soldiers had looted a Palace belonging to the Khedive. The story had no foundation; but, supposing it had been true, the men could not have been imprisoned. They must have been shot, and the consequence would be the stirring up of a great amount of public opinion against the Government. He was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) that we were, on the whole, on good terms with the European Powers, a fact which he had previously doubted. They were told that the alliance with France, if it was not cordial, was not otherwise, and that it was possible that they would have the French as helpers and co-operators in the field; but it was a matter of regret that since that statement was made there had been a report that the Vote for the French Naval Demonstration would not be acceded to by the Chambers. If that were true, it seemed to him clear that we should have to go single-handed into this great and unfortunate contest. Again, if we were to judge from the organs of public opinion in Italy, the attitude of that country was anything but friendly at this moment. He made this remark, however, without having read the diplomatic despatches upon that point. Then we had Turkey diplomatizing. He need not ask what the support of Turkey, morally or otherwise, was worth, because the Prime Minister had constantly told them that he had no confidence in Turkey.

MR. GLADSTONE: When did I say that?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: In the Mid Lothian speeches.

MR. GLADSTONE: Quote them.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: It was well known that the right hon. Gentleman was anxious to drive the Turks, bag and baggage, out of Europe, a phrase which he afterwards explained as referring to the Turkish officials.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have asked the noble Lord to quote that passage from my speech. He has entirely misstated what I said.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Turkey was diplomatizing at the moment; but the Prime Minister had so poor an opinion of Turkey, that that did not signify.

MR. GLADSTONE: I did not say so.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say so. He would, however, pass the matter over. His object was only to show that we were not at all certain at that moment of the actual support of any single European Power. There might be a general feeling that it was a very good thing that England, at this moment, should put her hand out and take the chestnuts out of the fire. He dared say that was so; indeed, he had no doubt of it, and that we should only get that kind of moral support. As far as material support was concerned, there was very little chance of it—not that he cared particularly for material support—and he would tell the Committee why. He had had the honour of serving during the last part of the Crimean War, and he knew very well that the feeling of the English officers and men at that time was not in accord with that of the French and Sardinians. He recollected a certain passage in Mr. Kinglake's work, *The Invasion of the Crimea,* with regard to Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud after the Battle of the Alma. Mr. Kinglake stated, in so many words, that had Marshal St. Arnaud given that support to Lord Raglan which Lord Raglan had a right to expect, the Allied Forces, immediately after the Battle of the Alma, would have marched directly upon Sebastopol, and, in all probability, the conclusion of the war would have been brought about very much earlier than it actually was. Lord Raglan, with that admirable tact and that perfect knowledge of men which he possessed, did not make this in any way a personal complaint; but he (Lord Eustace Cecil) knew, from information he had received, that Lord Raglan felt the matter very keenly. He knew, also, that after the Battle of Inkermann there was a considerable amount of ill-feeling between the two Armies, because the French, whether rightly or wrongly, did not support their Allies as cordially and as completely as it was thought they ought to have done. He had no wish to go back upon these old stories, or to make any insinuation against the French; but it was necessary, for the sake of his argument, to say that there was a feeling, after the Battle of Inkermann, that the French had not come up in support of the English troops as they had a right to do. That was the result of having allied nations with Armies working in the field together; and he believed it was the feeling of every officer who served in the Crimea that if ever we were called upon to take the field again he would prefer, if possible, to serve alone. He had, therefore, no regret, in a military point of view, that we were going to undertake this expedition to Egypt single-handed. We should be more likely to take the chestnuts out of the fire satisfactorily to ourselves, and we should not be subjected to the jealous or carping criticisms of our neighbours. Whatever might become of Egypt we should have to bear the brunt of the battle, and we should have the right hereafter of settling the affairs of that nation. He desired to say one word as to the troops whom it was proposed to send out. He had alluded to the Life Guards; he did not know why they should be sent out, except for the attack which had been made upon them by an hon. Member. He had no wish to say anything derogatory of those gallant troops. He knew that they did good service at Waterloo, and he was satisfied that they would do good service in Egypt; but he confessed he did not understand why men 6 feet 2 inches high should be sent out without their horses, for the only purpose, as far as he could understand, of riding Egyptian donkeys.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER remarked, that the Life Guards, like any other Cavalry, would go out with their horses.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he was very sorry to hear it. In that case, it was much to be feared that very few of the animals would ever come back again. What he wanted to know was, why Her Majesty's Government were going to send out to Egypt this enormous force of 24,000 men, seeing that at the Battle of the Alma, when we were fighting the whole of the Russian Empire, we had only 27,000 men. Was it known that we never sent so large a force out before, since the days of the Crimea and the Peninsula? And why we should send out a force of that nature, for the purpose of fighting some 10,000 demoralized Egyptians, he could not for the life of him understand. The only way in which he could understand the matter was this—that the Government wanted to occupy the country afterwards. If that were so, he warned them that their occupation would prove to be a very costly affair; and after the country had been inundated, and they had had the horrible months they had been talking of, he should like to know how many of their Army and of their black horses would ever come back again? It seemed to him that, if ordinary common sense were used in the matter, they might send out a certain number of White troops; that would be all well and good; but the large number of the forces ought to be Native troops from India, who were far better fitted to endure the climate, and who would be far less costly. The only reason he could understand why these Native troops had not been sent to Egypt was that there were very few to send. And why were there few to send? It was because the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington), whom he did not see in his place at that moment—and there were very few who entertained the opinion of the noble Lord now—it was because the noble Lord had been steadily reducing the Native Army for the last year or a year and a-half. It might have been supposed that as this Egyptian Question had now been going on for about the same period, affecting, as it did directly, the great Empire of India, and leading, perhaps, to a general European war, the reduction of the Indian Army would have been about the last thing the Government of India would have thought of entertaining. Nevertheless, he understood that a reduction had taken place of about 9,000 or 10,000 men. Those 9,000 or 10,000 men were seasoned soldiers, whose services would have been of the greatest advantage to Her Majesty's Government at this moment. Through having taken this course they were now compelled to send out some 24,000 men from among the best troops we had; and there was a chance, when they reached Egypt, of finding themselves cooped up in Alexandria, and, instead of being food for powder, becoming food for worms. He desired now to say a word or two in regard to the question of expense. The question of expense was not a matter that could be passed over. In January, 1854, Lord Aberdeen, being then Prime Minister, moved in the House of Lords for a Vote of Credit for £3,000,000, and it was then supposed that the Guards would go to Malta and come back again with return tickets. But they all knew that a serious and costly war followed, and in the month of December of the same year Parliament had to assemble. The war itself lasted for a year or a year and a-half, and, instead of costing £3,000,000, the country had, in the end, to pay something like £100,000,000. The next expedition of a considerable character was that to Abyssinia. The Government asked for that Abyssinian Expedition £2,000,000, and proposed to send out 10,000 men. The whole Estimate of the cost of the war was £3,500,000. The Estimate was moved by right hon. Gentlemen who agreed with him in politics; and they all knew, after it was proposed by Mr. Ward Hunt, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, how severely it was criticized, and how in every way it was pulled to pieces. He believed that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was one of the critics.

MR. GLADSTONE: No; I was not.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he had no wish to misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. GLADSTONE: I voted with the Government for the Vote.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL remarked that if he was wrong he was glad to be corrected. Certainly, the Estimate was criticized by the Opposition, and by right hon. Gentlemen who ordinarily agreed with the Prime Minister in politics. He was quite certain that many criticisms were made upon what was termed the bad Conservative finance, and Lord Sherbrooke (then Mr. Lowe) complained that they were very bad Estimates.

MR. GLADSTONE: That was afterwards.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Afterwards! No doubt, the Estimates were very much criticized afterwards. The Government asked for £3,500,000, of which only £2,000,000 were to be spent in the year for which the Vote was passed; but it was well known that, in the end, the Abyssinian War cost £9,000,000, although it was only to be an expedition of 10,000 men, who were to be removed from Bombay to Abyssinia, and were then to march for some 200 or 300 miles into the country. Somehow or other, how the money was spent nobody ever appeared to know. The result was that the country had to pay no less than £9,000,000. Now, what was it that Her Majesty's Government proposed to do at this moment? They were to move a force of 24,000 men to Alexandria, and the Committee were told that it would also be necessary to move a further force of 10,000 men from India. He thought the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India had fixed the Indian contingent at that figure; and now the right hon. Gentleman opposite came down to the Committee and asked the House of Commons for a Vote of Credit for £2,300,000. This, be it remembered, was to cover the expense of an expedition consisting of a force of 24,000 White troops and 10,000 Native Indians. The matter was a very important one, and he asked the Committee to consider it seriously. The whole of the extra taxation would be thrown upon one class of the taxpayers —namely, the income taxpayers, and there was no doubt that there would be a heavy bill to pay in the future. No other class would be called upon to pay a farthing, and he was exceedingly sorry for it.

MR. GLADSTONE: We had a precedent for that course.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he was glad that a precedent could be cited; but he regretted that the whole of the country was not to be made to feel the burden. The sum which they might be required to spend in the future was a very important matter, and it was perfectly clear that the policy of Her Majesty's Government was to throw the whole of the burden upon one class of the taxpayers. It was for this reason he was urging now that it would have been far wiser if a larger number of Coloured soldiers were sent out who, if he did not understate the case, would cost not more than one-third of the expense of sending out English soldiers. He did not think the Government or the Committee had sufficiently taken into consideration what a very expensive article the English soldier was. He recollected the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), in one of the first speeches he delivered, informing the House with truth, some years ago, that the English soldier cost £100 a-year. He (Lord Eustace Cecil) had some experience in the provisions, clothing, and other matters connected with the British soldier; and he was satisfied that he did not in the slightest degree overstate the case when he asserted that since the right hon. Member for Bradford made that statement the sum of £100 a-year, which had been put down as the cost per man, had gone up to £130. The Black soldier was not only far better suited to the climate of Egypt, but he lived for a great deal less, and cost considerably less in consequence. The expense of keeping him in Egypt would be very much less than would attend the enormously costly expedition which Her Majesty's Government had decided upon sending out. He did not pretend to say for what reason this large force of men had been fixed upon, unless it were to show that we were able to send out a *corps d'armée.* He was glad to find that the Government were in a position to send out a *corps d'armée.* It had been said there were grave doubts whether we could send out half that number of men; and, considering the garrison we had at this moment in Ireland, it was creditable to the military authorities that they were able to collect so large a number of troops and send them out. But *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle;* and he could not conceive why we should send out this enormous force for such a campaign, unless it was intended to march all over the country and occupy it. It certainly was not required if there was any likelihood of the troops being cooped up in Alexandria, where they would meet with every kind of misfortune in the shape of disease; and he could not for the life of him understand how it was that the Government had decided upon sending out such a force. He hoped some explanation would be given by the Secretary of State for War, and if such a force was really required, the proper place to find them would be India; and India was quite as much interested—nay, even more interested—than this country in maintaining the Suez Canal. The least we might have expected was that the Indian authorities should have provided the men. He should also like to hear something as to the sanitary arrangements which had been alluded to by the Secretary of State for War, whom he regretted to see absent from his place. It was quite right that the sanitary arrangements should be attended to; but although he thought our brave soldiers should have every possible want supplied he did not think they ought to be furnished with luxuries. He had heard of all sorts of things being sent out, such as veils and spectacles.

Mr. GLADSTONE: To guard against ophthalmia.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: They would guard against ophthalmia, no doubt; but it was only under certain circumstances that ophthalmia arose, and, as he had said before, it was not necessary to provide the troops with luxuries. All that was required was to see that their legitimate wants were attended to. He did not say that in a few cases the articles ordered to be sent out might not be necessary; but there was no necessity for a large or general supply of them. No doubt, when they consulted the Medical Department, one gentleman would say—"Such and such things are required," while another medical officer would say—"We must also have such and such articles," and so the matter went on. Having had to do with old stores, he knew what it was that happened when all these things went back again into the stores. If any particular articles were absolutely needed they should be supplied without stint; but the experience of former days proved that many of the articles directed to be supplied were really not wanted, and were only to be regarded as luxuries. He was satisfied that the House of Commons and the country would grudge no expense for the preservation of the lives and health of the soldiers; but it was quite absurd to waste money in stores that were not required. At any rate, there should be some limit, and the Government ought not to send out more than was absolutely necessary to supply the wants of the men. Otherwise, all he could say was that their estimate of £2,300,000 would turn out to be much too small. What happened when the Vote of Credit for £6,000,000 was voted when the late Government was in power? It was often said that the Vote of Credit for that sum was most extravagant, and yet the Government did not move a man. Her Majesty's Government came down now and asked Parliament for £2,300,000, and they proposed to move 24,000 men. What portion of that sum they were going to apply to the removal of Indian troops from India to Egypt still required explanation. It was always a disagreeable task to make criticisms of this sort, and all he could say was that upon that side of the House hon. Members felt they were bound, and he hoped they would give the Government every support in the emergency in which they found themselves placed. But in giving them full support they would reserve to themselves the right they undoubtedly possessed of criticizing the way in which the Government had brought the country into this great mess—for he could call it nothing more. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, through his very long political life, had passed through many changes of scene, and had filled many different positions. Indeed, speaking of the right hon. Gentleman with the greatest possible respect, he did not suppose there was a single position in connection with the Government of the country which the right hon. Gentleman had not filled; and it now remained to be seen whether he would be a successful War Minister. He would assure the right hon. Gentleman that while economy was always to be studied efficiency was the first thing to be secured. The truest economy was to obtain everything that could be required, to have all their reserves and all their stores in the best possible order, and, in whatever part of the world their services might be required, to employ those troops who were the most fitted for the purpose and occasion. It was because he believed that Her Majesty's Government had not exercised all the judgment they ought to have done that he very much feared and apprehended some disaster might arise—not a disaster over which we could have any control, but a disaster brought about by fever and disease, to which, above all other men, White troops were subject in tropical climates.

MR. VILLIERS-STUART said, the noble Lord who last addressed the Committee seemed to be apprehensive that they were choosing the very worst time of the whole year for their operations in Egypt; but, as a matter of fact, the summer season was by no means unhealthy. The heat was not oppressive, there was a cool north wind blowing, and it was not until October that the inundations began to retire, and the mud banks appeared. The country then did become unhealthy, as he knew from experience. But they must hope that the military operations would be over long before the unhealthy season set in. The noble Lord also anticipated that they would have to march of 180 miles from Alexandria to Cairo; but it would be a most perverse thing if they preferred a march of 180 miles from Alexandria through the mud to a march of only half the distance across the Desert from Ismailia. There were other matters touched upon by the noble Lord which he had to refer to later on; at present he wished to refer to some remarks which were made from these Benches. An hon. Member on this side of the House (Mr. Rylands) levelled at the Government a charge which he thought was one of the most cruel and most unjust that could have been made—namely, that the guilt of the bloodshed in the massacre of the 11th of June rested upon the Government, because that massacre was the consequence of the sending of the Fleet into Alexandrian waters. He was in a position to state that the arrival of the Fleet had nothing to do with the massacre. It happened he had received letters from friends of his who were residents of Cairo; these letters were written before the Fleet arrived at Alexandria, and in those letters it was stated that Arabi was sending out emissaries to work up the religious fanaticism of the people and to foment hatred towards the Europeans, and it was also stated that that was so well known in Alexandria that there the presentiment had established itself in the minds of the foreigners, especially the Maltese, that such a rising and such a massacre as had occurred would take place. Only the other day he was informed by Mr. Cookson, the Vice Consul at Alexandria—and it showed that not only the Europeans, but the Natives, were looking forward to that massacre—that the conduct of the Natives had become so defiant and so insolent that even the Arab pedlars, when hawking their wares, carried this notice—"Buy, oh! Christians, buy to-day; for you won't be here to buy to-morrow." That was before the arrival of the Fleet, and the result showed how thoroughly well grounded were the anticipations of the Europeans and Natives. He believed that if it had not been for the presence of the Fleet the disaster would have been far more terrible and complete than it was; had it not been for the asylum offered by our men-of-war, every European might have been massacred. Surely there was no hon. Member in the House who would blame the Government for sending the Fleet to Alexandria, or who would maintain that it was our duty to have left our countrymen there to their fate. If the Fleet had a right to be there, it also had a right to take measures necessary for its self-preservation. The earthworks and the guns on the sea front were directed against our ships, and against nothing else; therefore Sir Beauchamp Seymour had as good a right to destroy them as a man had a right to strike a pistol from the hand of the man who aimed at his life. Complaints had been made that a sufficient military force was not sent out to prevent the burning of Alexandria and the escape of Arabi. But it would have been impossible for us to have foreseen long enough beforehand that the burning of Alexandria would take place, because it would be remembered that at the very last moment it was hoped that Arabi would be as good as his word, and would discontinue the fortifications. It would have taken a long time to have sent out a sufficient force to have cut off Arabi's retreat. The neck of land of which the noble Lord spoke was occupied by the city itself, and it would have required a very large force indeed to have extended itself over the miles of country in the rear of the city, and to have taken up a secure military position. We had not time, under the circumstances, to send out the force required. He had heard a parallel drawn between the burning of Alexandria and the burning of Moscow; but there was nothing in common between the two instances. The burning of Moscow had an object and a purpose—the object was a patriotic one—namely, to cause disaster to the invading Army of Napoleon by destroying its shelter. The burning of Alexandria could have no military advantage whatever to the men who perpetrated it—it was simply an act of savage ferocity. Speeches had been made from the Benches near him during the debate which were remarkable for florid oratory; but they showed a great deal of ignorance of the people and of the country which formed their subject-matter. In those speeches there were many professions of attachment to the Government and admiration for the distinguished statesman at the head of the Government; but from no part of the House did such vehement denunciation of the policy of the Government come as from these Benches. They must only hope that the bark of hon. Gentlemen was worse than their bite, and that what was said was intended more for their constituents than for this House. He would not go into the abstract question whether intervention or non-intervention was the proper course. As a matter of fact, Her Majesty's Government had not the choice open to them; they found that the intervention was an established fact, and they had to make the best of it. The Control was established, and he believed it was established with the approbation of the great majority of Englishmen. It had been brought as a charge against the Government that they had interfered in the development of the National movement in Egypt; but, having been acquainted with Egypt for many years, and having been there for some months last winter, both in the lower and upper regions, and having had opportunities of acquainting himself with the feelings and views of the people, he could assert most positively that in the interior of the country there was no sympathy with Arabi and his claims. The farmers and peasantry appreciated the benefits of the Control; they appreciated the vast improvements in their position and circumstances that had resulted from it—

the diminished taxation, the increased personal liberty, the freedom from exactions by the bastinado, and the better administration of justice. After the Control was established there was a degree of prosperity which had never been witnessed before in Egypt, and the people in the interior would have been only too glad if that happy state of things had been allowed to continue. He was bound to say that although the people in the interior had no sympathy with Arabi, it was otherwise in the cities—in Alexandria and Cairo—and for the reason that there the people had profited very much by the extravagant and reckless expenditure that had gone on previous to the days of the Control. As may be very easily supposed, the Control had very many enemies, because it introduced a system of rigid economy and retrenchment, and it displaced many Europeans and Natives who had previously occupied very profitable positions. Worse still, it found an enemy in the Army, because regiments were disbanded and officers were dismissed, and expenses were cut down in all directions. The governing classes in the Provinces also resented the Control, because it took out of their hands the power of the bastinado which they had hitherto wielded. Last, but not least, the Sultan became an ememy of the Control, because those splendid bribes which had found their way into his Treasury under the late Khedive ceased under the Control. It would be easily understood, therefore, how formidable this array of enemies of the Control was. Arabi was encouraged by another class —the Italians and the Germans—and he (Mr. Villiers-Stuart) had ample opportunity of seeing their operations in Cairo. He saw the development of their intrigues; and he watched with great interest how the Italians and the Germans, animated by a jealousy of France, encouraged Arabi, who was also encouraged by certain Englishmen who were deceived by his sham patriotism. He made these statements from personal knowledge, and he could assure the Committee that there was nothing in the nature of a true National movement in the present revolt. Arabi and his followers were animated by far more sordid motives. The ingredients he had mentioned formed the intrigue of Arabi, his instrument was the Army, and his purpose was the overthrow of the Control, and the promotion of his own ambitious ends. His earliest step was the increase of the Army, and the whole tendency of his movement was retrograde from the very first; and, as it developed, its selfish character became more and more pronounced, and more and more mischievous. Hon. Gentlemen opposite appeared exceedingly anxious to throw Egypt back again into the hands of the Turks; but he doubted whether they had considered what the consequences would be. Under the system of European Control, enormous improvements had taken place in the condition of the country. Twenty-five years ago its population lived in a state of abject slavery. His blood had often boiled at the ill-treatment and oppression of the people which he had witnessed; but he confessed that during the whole of last winter, while he was there, he did not see the bastinado used in a single instance. It was obvious the Control had developed the liberty of the Egyptians instead of being adverse to it. When he first knew Egypt the practice was to extort the last penny that could be extorted; the tax-gatherers were not guided by the amount that was honestly due in the way of Imperial taxation, but they demanded from the fellaheen every farthing they could wring out of him by torture. It was, therefore, a mistake to suppose that the bondholders were answerable for the present state of affairs. It was quite the contrary. Although much more was now paid annually as interest on the debt, yet, as a matter of fact, it was now levied equitably, and actually a smaller amount was extorted from the people than under the old *régime*. If Her Majesty's Government had been influenced by a wish not to adopt the retrograde policy of giving the Turk a stronger hold in Egypt they deserved the approbation of all right-minded men. The Government had been pursuing a most enlightened and statesmanlike course, and he should regret extremely if the force of circumstances defeated their intentions. Hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House had insisted upon the right of the Egyptians to govern themselves, and no one sympathized more thoroughly with that sentiment than he did. He sympathized entirely with the Egyptian people. He took a very great interest in them, and if he believed that leaving them to themselves at this crisis would promote the cause of freedom amongst them, he should be very sorry for this country to interfere. But he believed that directly opposite consequences would follow. He believed they would be bound hand-and-foot under a most cruel and crushing military despotism; he believed that nothing could be more thoroughly fatal and destructive of the interests of freedom than to allow the present state of things to continue. Egypt might be considered to be peopled by two races—the governing race and the subject race. The governing race differed even in colour, and were either of Turkish or Arabian origin; whereas the great mass of the population were coloured people, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The government of the Turk, wherever it had been tried, had been nothing better than a curse upon the countries over which it had extended. From a European administration they might expect better things. What he was anxious to impress on Gentlemen who were opposed to intervention at present was that it was not a question between Native government and government by foreigners, but between the government of the Turks and the government of the Europeans. Gentlemen who said that men preferred to be governed badly by their own countrymen rather than well by foreigners had no conception of the cruelty, oppression, tyranny, and misgovernment which prevailed in Egypt before the Control. He had seen Egypt at its worst under Turkish despotism, and under the rule of the bastinado, and he had seen it at its best—only a few months ago—under European administration. It was impossible to exaggerate the striking contrast there was between the two states of things. If intervention was wrong in principle in the present case it seemed to be justified by the result. He had often been asked by the people in the interior whether there was any chance of England taking possession of the country, and they had asked the question whilst groaning under the system of oppression which prevailed. They had seemed to hail with joy the prospect of being under English rule, and they looked upon it as a bright future indeed compared with the dark lot under which they now lived. It was the unanimous opinion of those who knew Egypt that the only remedy for its evils was to replace Turkish despotism by European administration. The hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard) had spoken of the drain on the resources of the country which the payment of the interest to the bondholders caused. He would point out that, although there had been very grievous financial mismanagement, it must not be supposed that the whole of the large sums which were contributed by the bondholders in this country were altogether wasted. On the contrary, most important public works were undertaken with the money. Twelve hundred miles of railways were constructed—embankments, bridges, and irrigation works were carried out; and, besides that, the cotton cultivation was developed and the sugar industry created with the money. Those industries were the fruits of the loans, and they contributed to increase the Revenue of Egypt very largely. He had no hesitation in saying that the increased revenue from those causes went a good way towards covering the amount of interest paid to the bondholders. It was too late to talk about non-intervention. It would be simply disgraceful if England did not intervene, if England now turned a deaf ear to the cause of humanity, and left the country, for the good government of which it had made itself responsible, a prey to anarchy and ruin. He was convinced their true policy was to promote, if possible, the total separation of Egypt from the curse and blight of Turkish rule. The only hope for the real independence of Egypt lay in its being trained and prepared under European tutelage for free institutions. He believed there was good stuff in the Native Egyptian race; he knew they had good qualities — industry, docility, patience, and intelligence. Only give them time and good government, and they might yet become a free, self-governing, and an independent people. He believed England was undertaking a noble mission, and that it would be successful. He believed they would lay the foundations of the future independence of Egypt, and that the result of their action would sooner or later be to relieve Egypt of the curse of slavery under which she had for many centuries groaned. Holding these sentiments, he should give his most hearty support to the Government in this matter.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY agreed with his hon. Friend (Mr. Villiers-Stuart) in his detestation of Turkish rule in Egypt, and in the belief that it would be a misfortune if Egypt were to be again subjected to Turkish rule. He did not, however, understand how his hon. Friend supposed that by the vote he was now about to give he would assist Egypt to obtain her national independence. The hon. Gentleman praised Egypt's virtues, he praised her patience and her industry, he admitted her claim to independence, and for that reason he supported a Vote to enable the Government to carry war into the country, to destroy its towns, and to put down any representative leaders they might have. He agreed with his hon. Friend that the Control, whatever act of policy created it, was productive of decided material advantage to Egypt. Taxes and all other imposts were arranged, under the Control, upon a definite and distinct principle. The poor man knew exactly what he had to pay, and in every way a material impulse was given to the prosperity of Egypt. But his hon. Friend seemed to have forgotten that during all this time the old system of Turkish rule was working actively in the interior; that the Control in no way interfered with the police of Egypt, and a great many of the old evils were as rife as they had been before the days of the Control. In some parts of the country it would be found that the Slave Trade was carried on as openly as ever. The Control had, however, done some practical and substantial good; but that was not exactly the question the Committee had to consider now. What they had to consider was, in fact, whether the Control, no matter what its merits, was worth the tremendous costs and sacrifices it seemed to have brought with it; the question was whether that policy which led to the bombardment of Alexandria, to the murder of Christians, and to a condition of war, was surrounded with advantages which outweighed these evil effects. It was useless to endeavour to deny that this was strictly and distinctly in its origin a bondholders' war. It was as much a bondholders' war as was the Mexican campaign under the Emperor of the French. Did anyone a year and a-half or two years ago suppose there was the slightest danger to the free navigation of the Suez Canal? There was no question, as there could not have been any question of the safety of the Suez Canal. Was the war made for the sake of the prosperity and independence of the Egyptian people? He listened with pleasure to the most interesting, instructive, and able speech of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce); and he was greatly pleased with the remark the hon. Gentleman made as to the ideal profession of generosity and benevolence and general philanthropy made by Lord Granville in his despatches. He did not think anyone would pretend to say we had gone into this struggle merely for the sake of doing good to the Egyptians. The undoubted fact was, we had been drawn into this quarrel step by step because of the entanglements of the bondholders. The recent quarrel with Arabi Pasha and with the Chamber of Notables was about the Control and the safety of the Debt. We demanded the right to withdraw from the Chamber of Notables any consideration whatever of the Budget. They claimed the right to go in for the whole Budget, or so much of it as did not involve the foreign Debt; but we contended that, if we did not watch over the whole expenditure, over the whole government and condition of the country, it might come to pass that some Egyptian policy might imperil the revenue of the country, and thus imperil our Debt. We made our Debt a matter of paramount consideration. The welfare of the country and the progress of the people were matters of inferior moment. The one thing we insisted on, and the one thing they resisted, was our right to have our Debt at any cost. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) thought it necessary to remind the Committee yesterday, in his very able speech, that interference in Egyptian affairs was not of recent date. The right hon. Gentleman referred the Committee to the early days of Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim Pasha, and the Committee were to infer that in those times European and English interference in Egypt was acknowledged. The very minutest instruction in history was required to show that English interference in Egypt did not begin with the establishment of the Control; but the difference between the interference of old days and that of the present day was very marvellous. Formerly our interference, whether right or wrong, was one of policy. We were not then tied to the sleeves of the bondholders; there were no bondholders, and there was no Egyptian Debt then. It was not then in the power of a knot of men, looking after their own concerns, to drag us into a struggle such as the one in which we were about to enter. He held there was a great and marked distinction between the past and the present. Formerly interference in Egypt took place at the instance of great and distinguished statesmen; but in the recent affairs we interfered at the command of stockbrokers and money jobbers. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), in his recent speech, paid a high tribute to the virtue and patriotic earnestness of the Chamber of Notables. He confessed he was somewhat anxious to hear how the right hon. Gentleman would bear himself in the new character of imitation Jingo. He did not seem to enjoy the part; in fact, he got through his part reluctantly and with as little success as possible. The right hon. Gentleman paid a high tribute to the independence and patriotic feeling of the Chamber of Notables, because they set themselves strongly against the feelings and purposes of Arabi Pasha, and because they, and not us, were responsible for the second Dual Note, the Dual Note demanding the exile of Arabi Pasha. The right hon. Gentleman was rather severe with someone who had dared to throw the blame and responsibility of the Dual Note upon Her Majesty's Government. He said the hon. Gentleman who had done this must have paid little attention to the Papers before the House, or he would have known that the Dual Note was sent at the request and suggestion of the Chamber of Notables themselves. The right hon. Gentleman denied that the Ultimatum was an Ultimatum; let them, therefore, call it a penultimatum. Whatever it was, the President of the Board of Trade contended it was nothing of our doing; but it was done at the instigation and instance of the Chamber of Notables. He (Mr. M'Carthy) had taken the pains to read the Papers, voluminous as they were, with some care; and he could not find a line suggesting that the Chamber of Notables recommended the sending of the Ultimatum. On the contrary, it seemed to him that the whole thing was got up on this side of the water. It was M. de Freycinet who concocted the idea of demanding the removal of Arabi Pasha and his Colleagues, and we went with him so far. We afterwards drew back a little, and instructed our Agent in Cairo to do nothing and to say nothing which would prevent the removal of Arabi Pasha. We had some hesitation in going the whole way; but at last we did, and even further than the French were inclined to go, and we forwarded to the Egyptian Government that Ultimatum, or whatever it was, which so vigorously demanded the exile of Arabi Pasha. Arabi Pasha refused to retire from his position, or from the country. Much of the historical interest of the present events centred round the career and character of Arabi Pasha. He would not venture to say what estimation the man had formed of his own position; but he might say he happened to be in Cairo for a considerable part of last winter, at the time when many of the events mentioned in the Papers took place, and he formed some idea of what was passing. In an Eastern country it was difficult to get any knowledge of what was passing in the Native mind. There were some things one could see with the naked eye; one could easily tell whether a man was popular or not with his own people. The present Khedive was not very popular even with the Native population. The Khedive, when he went out driving in the great public drives, as he did two or three times a week, was always received with the most marked attention and courtesy, with loyalty and deference, by all the Europeans and strangers; but he was treated with marked coolness by the Native population. On the contrary, when Arabi rode in the city or suburbs he was received with adverse comment by almost all the foreign population; but he was received, as anyone could see, with favour and enthusiasm by the Native population, down to the donkey boys in the street. He must confess he was rather surprised to hear the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers-Stuart) excuse recent events by saying we could not possibly have been prepared for the events which took place, for the first massacre led to the bombardment. If there was one thing that was plain amongst all foreign Consuls in Cairo during all last winter, and he included some of our own Consular officers in that number, it was a conviction that the moment interference reached a certain point there would be massacre in the great cities of Egypt. He was told that himself again and again in Cairo, and he asked the Representative of one Power if the matter was made known to the English Government; and he assured him that, so far as his own conjecture went, the fact had again and again been impressed upon their knowledge. The common talk and common feeling in Cairo might have afforded some reason why we at home should have known that in drawing too finely the circle of our interference we should bring about, as a necessary consequence, a massacre of Europeans and Christians in some of the towns of Egypt, and that it was our duty to take some measures to guard against such an occurrence. But to return to the position of Arabi. Whatever he might have been in the beginning it was quite certain we had made him a great man, a great hero with his countrymen. From the moment he appeared in any prominence on the political stage, by a kind of instinct all European public opinion had been directed against him, and had made a set against him, and had singled him out as the representative man and spokesman of that cause, to the head of which he was then only trying to push himself. He should not judge of Arabi's sincerity; but certain it was, if he was the Representative of Islam, in the minds of the people of the country we had done more to place him in that position than any efforts of his own. Arabi did not begin by being in the wrong. On the contrary, Sir Edward Malet admitted that his first grievance — his grievance about the Army—was well founded and just. The men were starving. Arabi, seeing the great incursion of foreigners—indeed, the whole land swarmed with them—and seeing the movement of the French in Tunis, no doubt came to the conclusion that there was an organized attempt on the part of Europe to deny the Egyptians any control over their own country. However that might be, Arabi steadily became powerful, and the public opinion of Europe was unanimously against him. He was set down as an adventurer, a man of blood, a man in every way to be condemned, and European public opinion would hear of no other conjecture. He was opposed to the ideas of the European Powers, to many of their schemes, and they set out with the determination to hold him responsible for everything evil that might occur. The Powers might, perhaps, have been somewhat better instructed if they had consulted the Native Press in the country; but they started their operations by suppressing the Native Press. There was one journal supposed to be the organ of Arabi Pasha, and two or three other Native papers, and we set to work to suppress their publication. The Native Press in Cairo was not very enlightened—it might not even be very high-minded or very safe as an authority; but, at least, it was better than nothing, better than absolute darkness, as a means of getting to know something of what was going on in the Native mind. In one of the despatches of Sir Edward Malet to Lord Granville, on the 31st of October, he said it had been his duty on several occasions to call Cherif Pasha's attention to the increasing virulence of the Native Press, and he had urged Cherif Pasha to use his authority to prevent the dissemination of ideas which preached distrust of Christians and misrepresented the action of France and England towards their Mussulman subjects. The Native journal, *El Bourhan*, in one of the articles of which Sir Edward Malet complained, said—

> "Up till now we have treated foreigners with all courtesy, and even as if they belonged to a superior creation. Seeing this, they have concluded that our day is past, and resolved to make as much profit as they can out of us. Under pretence of civilization, they have attracted many of our countrymen into their own lands, where every kind of vice is unchecked. Their object in this is to imbue their minds with strange ways and habits, which will cause them to forget their language and their religion. In this way, foreigners hope to get possession of Egypt without fighting for it."

And then there followed an anecdote on the evils of wine drinking. *The El Hedjáz*, after much indiscriminate praise of the Arab race, gave an extract from a newspaper published in Yemen, to the effect that Europeans had begun to publish journals in Arabic which aimed at creating divisions among the Arabs. It went on to say that, if they wished to divide them, they would like to see their co-religionists, who were now under the domination of England, France, and Russia, in a condition more satisfactory than the misery they now endured. This country pressed upon Cherif Pasha the necessity for suppressing these organs; but Cherif Pasha replied that French papers published in Cairo were in the habit of using much stronger language against the Egyptians, and if he suppressed the Native papers he would have to suppress the French papers. *L'Egypte* had insulted Mahomedans by speaking of Osman as the "fanatical descendant of a false prophet." He would ask the Committee if the conduct of the Powers in regard to the Press reflected credit on our honour? He asked if that was the way either to get to understand the Native mind, or to obtain the respect of the Native population of Egypt. In Egypt we were doing paltry work of that kind—work which no one would venture to suggest in Europe, work we had denounced, over and over again, in terms the most indignant and most eloquent. In Cairo we had prevented the publication of papers which contained nothing whatever but a most reasonable and proper defence of Arabian principles and Egyptian politics against the attacks of strangers. He supposed the articles he had referred to were the worst which could be picked out; surely Sir Edward Malet did not pick out the least offensive. Was it to be wondered at that, under a system of this kind, Arabi Pasha, whatever his own merits, came to represent in the Native mind something like the cause which he professed, and which he sought to represent? In an official document, signed by both Controllers, it was said that the Chamber of Notables, which under the Reign of the late Khedive had given innumerable signs of servility, did not hesitate to claim rights incompatible with their position, and had gone so far as to compel the Khedive to change the Ministry which had his confidence. It was held that we were bound to interfere in order to put down such an intolerable assertion of independence. Was it at all strange that it should occur to the people that they were only meant to be crushed when, in place of a servile Chamber, they had got an independent Chamber? We compelled the course taken by Arabi Pasha. We made him a hero and a leader in the eyes of his countrymen. The other night the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) talked in a strain with which they were a little more familiar in the days of Lord Beaconsfield, a statesman whom the right hon. Gentleman did not regard with much commendation and approval. The President of the Board of Trade reminded the Committee that we were a great Mahomedan Power in the East, and, therefore, bound to look carefully after the safety of our Indian Empire. Was the course we were now pursuing likely to strengthen our position as a great Mahomedan Power? Was it not certain that day after day we were making Arabi Pasha more and more recognized as the champion of Islam? It was the fact that many of the Natives in our own Dominions were being converted to the Mussulman faith; and, therefore, by the course we had adopted in Egypt, a new danger and difficulty was arising. We went on from bad to worse, until we sent our ships to Alexandrian waters. Then came that massacre which was talked of and prophesied as a certain result of our interference. He was not an advocate of interference, unless under the extremest national necessity; he certainly would not go so far as to say there were not occasions when a nation must interfere, for her own sake, in the affairs of a foreign country. We were now obliged to go on. We were to go on at the most unfavourable time of the year, through a most difficult country, and under circumstances when a single loss on our part, or a single successful skirmish of Arabi Pasha's forces, would fill all the Mahomedan mosques throughout the world with hope and passion. He confessed that even if he were not a devoted admirer of non-intervention, he should doubt very much about giving Her Majesty's Government this Vote of Credit. They had not shown themselves much more fitted for making war than they showed themselves fitted for making peace. Her Majesty's Government had acted as Spenser's knight acted; they had listened to doubt, and they had yielded to delay, and now they found themselves in the presence of the Giant Danger. They would not go much further without seeing across their path the shadow of that yet more terrible monster, the Giant Disaster.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, the calm and quiet aspect of the Committee enabled him to address some observations to the Chair. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. M'Carthy) who had preceded him was great as an orator, as an historian, and as a novelist; but he thought the hon. Member had drawn on his imagination for the character he had given Arabi Pasha. They knew perfectly well that most eminent men in the world were very frequently great patriots; and they also knew that military adventurers always called themselves patriots in order to advance their own ends. They knew little of the career of this Arabi Pasha; but they did know that he had designedly massacred Europeans in Alexandria, and had deliberately burnt down one of the noblest cities of his native land. There were Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House—Gentlemen with whom, upon domestic matters, he (Mr. Labouchere) generally agreed—who had taken an exceedingly strong view of the action of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egypt. He perfectly understood their position, and he sympathized with them in their general objections to interference; but it seemed to him that in this particular case they had laid down a general rule that interference was wrong, because, in their opinion, this was a bondholders' war. He entirely denied that this was a bondholders' war. If it were a bondholders' war, he was sure that not only would the voices of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and the hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard) have been raised against it, but the Prime Minister and others on the Treasury Bench would have been found refusing to have any connection with it. He did not wish to go into all the details of the Control; they had been gone into very clearly and fully by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). But the Committee must remember that our relation towards this Control was mainly caused by the fact of the French having claims against the Egyptian Government based upon debts owing to Frenchmen. The French had always held that they had a right to force the country to pay its debts. The French were prepared to interfere in Egypt alone if we did not join them. He was not in the habit of lauding right hon. Gentlemen opposite for their conduct towards any other Power; but he thought they were perfectly justified in their action in Egypt. It must not be supposed that the Control was established exclusively in the interest of the bondholders; in fact, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon went there to reduce the Debt. The right hon. Gentleman's orders were to establish a sound financial administration in Egypt; and, if he might compare what the right hon. Gentleman did in Egypt with what had been done in the House of Commons, he would say the right hon. Gentleman established a Land Law in Egypt by which the land taxes were properly adjusted. Before the Control was established, as much was exacted from the people as could be forced out of the wretched fellahs; but the right hon. Gentleman stepped in. He ascertained what the people could live and thrive on, and then said—"So much you shall pay; the interest to the bondholders shall be reduced, and you shall not be called upon to pay more than the exact amount that you are charged for in the taxes." The scheme, therefore, was not introduced essentially for the benefit of the bondholders, for by it the amount paid to them was reduced. He would ask his hon. Friends who sat near him, what would be the effect of the vote they proposed to give if that vote were successful? The effect would be that the English nation would have to withdraw entirely from the position they now occupied in Egypt. He did not believe that even his hon. Friends desired such an event. Whatever might be said with regard to the initiation of these acts in Egypt, he believed that if we were to withdraw at the present moment we should not only act in a contemptible manner to the Khedive, but in a contemptible manner in the face of Europe. India would not be worth one year's purchase. He was not a great believer in prestige; but if we were to retire after our men had been massacred our Empire in the East would not be worth a year's purchase. Most of the speeches that had been made in the present debate had come from the Leaders of the Conservative Party; but it seemed to him that hon. Gentlemen of that Party had been in a somewhat difficult position. They had criticized the conduct of the Government, but each of them had done so from a very different point of view. What was the charge brought by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke)?

He said that we had been too friendly with France, and not sufficiently so with the Sultan. Under the circumstances, he (Mr. Labouchere) did not think we could act in too conciliatory a manner towards France, and we now perceived the effect of our action. We saw that France was irate with us because we were going to take a more active part in suppressing this revolt than France herself. The right hon. Gentleman said with regard to the Sultan we were too conciliatory, and then complained that we had not acted with sufficient energy. Who prevented us from acting with energy? Surely not the Sultan; and, as far as he could gather from the right hon. Gentleman's speech, he would have us act without regard to the Sultan; but, knowing the necessity for complaining of something, he complained of the Government for not being sufficiently conciliatory to the Sultan. The hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), who was always complaining that he was not a Baronet, took the same line as the late Under Secretary, but went a little further. The hon. Member was fond of discovering mare's nests, and he thought he had one which he would submit to the Committee. It was this. There were, as everybody knew, negotiations with France for the continuance of the Commercial Treaty, and we were acting with them in regard to Egypt. He said it was evident that the Government truckled to France, and made a species of corrupt bargain with France, saying that if France would give in on the Commercial Treaty, then England would allow France to do exactly what she liked in Egypt. Except in the hon. Member's own mind, there was not the slightest connection between the Commercial Treaty with France and the action of England and France in Egypt. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. M'Carthy) contested the fact that Sultan Pasha had looked at the Memorandum of the 25th of May, to which reference had been made. The President of the Board of Trade stated that that Memorandum emanated from Sultan Pasha. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs also said so; but the hon. Member for Longford said he did not find it in the Blue Book. He (Mr. Labouchere) could understand that, for it took place at Cairo, and if Arabi had known of that despatch Sultan Pasha would have been in danger of his life. Did anybody mean to say that the Notables and Arabi were at any time acting together? He entirely denied that; and he found that soon after that Ultimatum the Ulemas and the Notables went to the Consuls of France and England and said they were in fear of their lives from Arabi. Moreover, as the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had pointed out, when it came to an independent vote there were 67 Notables voting against Arabi and nine for him. How could it possibly be said that Arabi and the Notables were ever acting together, except at some particular moment when Arabi was practically holding a pistol at their heads? Hon. Gentlemen had pointed out that there was some inconsistency in the action of the Prime Minister and the Liberal Party. [Lord EUSTACE CECIL: Hear, hear!] The noble Lord said "Hear, hear!" but, if he remembered aright, that noble Lord, early in the evening, showed how much he knew about the subject by citing a speech of the Prime Minister, and said, if it was not precisely as he cited it, probably he had an incorrect copy of it. A very incorrect copy he had. The noble Lord said the right hon. Gentleman had, in that speech, insisted on the Turks being driven, bag and baggage, out of Bulgaria. If the noble Lord would look at a correct copy, he would find that the Prime Minister gave a long list of Pashas and others, and he remembered at the time exceedingly regretting that the Prime Minister did not go further and urge that all Turks—not only Bimbashis and others, but all Turks—should be driven, not only out of Bulgaria, but out of European Turkey. What was the charge of inconsistency? The Prime Minister protested against the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, not because it did interfere with Turkey, but because it did not; and he urged that it would be desirable for England to join with Russia, and call upon the Turks to govern better in Bulgaria and other parts of her Dominions, and pointed out that the Turks would be gainers by that. The result proved that the right hon. Gentleman was right. The reforms were made in Bulgaria; and not only did those Bimbashis go out of Bulgaria, but all Turkish officials. Therefore, if the advice of the right hon. Gentleman had been followed, it would have been far better for Turkey. But, as he had said before, he was delighted to see the campaign of the right hon. Gentleman against the aggressive policy of the late Government. But he confessed that he was sorry to see that, far from being a persistent advocate of non-intervention, the right hon. Gentleman was somewhat in favour of occasional intervention—from his point of view, rather too much in favour of it, because he was not a believer in the European Concert, and the habit of considering ourselves part and parcel of the moral police of Europe. He did not believe it was our business to interfere in any case unless our interests were absolutely concerned. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) complained that the Government acted with duplicity. Duplicity between an English statesman and a Turkish Pasha! The right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had stated that, from the fact of Members having to speak openly in the House, they were putting themselves in the position of a man playing whist with his hand on the table; but when they had to play whist or a game of politics with Turkey, they were in a different position. Turkey was like the Heathen Chinee. We could not trust Turkey. She was so base and vile, and so ready to cheat on the first occasion, that it was not, in all probability, as the hon. and learned Member for Chatham had said, that there was duplicity on the side of England, but duplicity on the side of Turkey. He confessed there was some point in what hon. Members said, that a small amount of energy was shown at first. He did not agree that we had made a hero of Arabi Pasha; but he did believe that we gave Arabi an opportunity of figuring as a hero by not taking active steps at first. He thought hon. Gentlemen had a fair case against the Government when they complained that no troops were at hand to land after the business of the Fleet was done. He knew it was said that that could not be done, because the question of whether we could land troops was being discussed in the Conference; but as we had, without a mandate, bombarded the forts of Alexandria, it followed, as a necessary consequence, that we should have taken steps to prevent what we might have supposed would take place from the reckless character of Arabi. At all events, there ought to have been a sufficient number of troops to land in the great European Square, where most of the Europeans were collected. But what was the real answer on this point? The real answer was that a good and great statesmen was not the man who made no mistakes, but the man who made the fewest mistakes; and he must say, the Leader of his Party having made these mistakes, that the Leader of the opposite Party would probably have made more. The Prime Minister had defended, to a great extent, the course of action he pursued, on the ground that he was obliged to take that course in order to act consistently with the action of the previous Government. That was to say, that a state of things had been produced when he came into Office that rendered it necessary for him to go on, step by step, until the bombardment and intervention in Egypt took place. That was a somewhat dangerous argument to use, considering that we should occasionally have Conservative Ministers in power, as he believed that, when they were in power, they would get us into entangling engagements abroad. It would be a great mistake when, after great trouble, they had been turned out, the Liberals should be bound to keep their engagements. He would take the case of Armenia. Lord Beaconsfield signed a Treaty, agreeing in all cases to defend Armenia against Russia, provided certain reforms took place in Asia Minor. Evidently those reforms had not taken place; and, if they had, did the right hon. Gentleman say he would maintain the Treaty? [Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes.] The right hon. Gentleman said "Yes;" but it was a terrible thing, and only showed that the Liberals ought to strive and struggle to keep the Conservatives out of power. The right hon. Gentleman said "Yes;" but he could scarcely agree with him that a Liberal Government must carry out in every particular case the general engagements of their Predecessors, and that they could not renounce their engagements. Be that as it might, he should not vote for the Government, simply because the Government was forced by the attitude assumed by the Conservative Government to go on, step by step, until they reached intervention in Egypt. He considered it absolutely necessary to maintain a supreme and paramount influence over the Canal, and that it was impossible to maintain that influence unless we also had a paramount influence at Cairo. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire said one day in the House—and he thought the House was wrong to laugh at the statement—that the Canal connected two seas, and ran through a desert. That was the whole truth of the matter; the Canal did run through a desert, and the nearest point to this desert was Cairo and the Valley of the Nile, and England could not maintain herself on the Canal without maintaining her paramount influence in the Valley of the Nile. He had never been able to make out whether hon. Gentlemen opposite regretted that France had not taken part with us. He himself was rather glad France had not. For a long time there was a strong feeling in France that she ought to make a great display in Egypt. So far as he could make out, that was because Napoleon had made a great display in Egypt; and he believed that, as England had far greater interests in Egypt than France, France was no longer willing to go to war for an idea, but was willing to leave it to us to occupy the position which we thought we ought to occupy in Egypt. But he should like the Leader of the Opposition to say definitely whether he was in favour of the Sultan intervening by sending troops into Egypt or not. He thought it would be a most serious danger to us if the Sultan were to send troops into Egypt, and that it would be most undesirable that the Sultan should do so. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon had pointed out, the position of the Sultan was very different now from when we first asked him to send troops. It was pretty clear that the Sultan had been intriguing more or less with Arabi. He (Mr. Labouchere) knew that after Arabi had organized the massacre of Europeans the Sultan sent him one of the principal decorations of his country; and before we entered into a species of military partnership with Turkey we ought clearly to understand from the Sultan whether he was a foe of Arabi or not. And he could not understand how we could recognize Turkey as an ally in Egypt until Turkey not only declared Arabi to be a rebel, but stripped him of his decoration. He would go a step further. He hoped the Government would seize this opportunity to cut away the relations between Egypt and Turkey. Why did that relationship exist? It existed through our folly. We must remember that the Egyptians threw off the supremacy of Turkey under Mehemet Ali, who fought a great battle in Syria, and became master of the situation, and insisted that she should withdraw from Egypt. The Suzerainty of Turkey continued to exist, and was, he believed, at the bottom of all these evils. The position of the Sultan was perfectly anomalous, and he could only compare it to the position occupied by the Pope in regard to Naples in past times. Whenever an intrigue took place in Naples the men who wanted to alter the Government fell back on the political Suzerainty which the Pope held over Naples. By having on the one side the Khedive, and on the other side the Sultan, two antagonistic parties were connected. Whenever anyone wanted to go against the Khedive he immediately commenced to intrigue with the Sultan; and it must be remembered that the sole relation of the Sultan with Egypt was this—the Sultan received no money in tribute; he could not properly recall the troops from Egypt, though he had done so once; and the sole relation was that, under Ismail, it was calculated that at least £1,000,000 sterling was extorted in the shape of black-mail from Egypt, and went, to a certain extent, into the pockets of the Sultan and the Sultanas, Eunuchs, and others in Constantinople. So long as the Sultan exercised this Suzerainty whenever anyone wished to act against the Khedive he would think it worth his while to bribe the Sultan. He had been told, and he believed rightly, that the origin of these troubles was the sending of £100,000 by Ismail to Egypt to buy two or three Black regiments. Ismail was to be declared a kind of Khedive; but his heart failed him, and Arabi, having these regiments in his hands, commenced to intrigue with the Turks, and so, little by little, he had acquired his present position. He should vote in favour of the Government. He did not know that there was anyone more strongly opposed to intervention than he was, speaking of the general term; but he really believed this intervention was absolutely necessary if England was to remain the great Empire she was. If she did not interfere now he believed further and greater troubles would arise, and larger amounts of money would have to be spent henceforward. He was glad to think that this was an intervention not to impose a foreign rule in Egypt or a despotism in Egypt; and he believed the Prime Minister, as he had said he would, would make it his business to see that the National feeling was developed.

SIR GEORGE ELLIOT said, he would give a slight narrative of what had taken place for the last nine or ten years in Egypt. He had been in the habit of visiting Egypt every year for the last 14 or 16 years in the winter months. He had had an opportunity of witnessing what was going on in that country since the establishment of the International Courts of Control, and, in his opinion, a most important change had been effected by the introduction of those Courts. He was in Cairo when the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) was exerting all his energies to organize and carry out a scheme for regulating the payment of the bondholders. The right hon. Gentleman was not sent by any Government; but he was the Representative of the English bondholders in conjunction with M. Joubert as the Representative of French bondholders; and he thought he was correct in saying that these two gentlemen did their utmost on behalf of the bondholders. He was not aware that they relaxed any part of the interest that the country was to be subject to; but he remembered very well how hard he had pleaded to have the interest reduced. It was in 1879 that Major Baring and some other gentlemen, after two years of the Control, discovered that it was impossible for Egypt to pay this high rate of interest. There was a discovery of what was called the floating debt, which had to be dealt with, and Major Baring was, he believed, actually sent by the Government—at any rate, he had the authority of the Government—and he recommended the reduction of the interest from 6 to 4 per cent. That reduction was accepted, and reduced interest had been paid. Major Baring was the authorized agent of the English Government at that time. For his own part, he was proud to be associated with and to support the Party who, when in Office, instituted the Control which had worked so well. The country was now about to intervene in the interest and for the good of the people of Egypt, and, therefore, he was prepared cordially to support the present policy of Her Majesty's Government. There was very little doubt that the present difficulty in Egypt was due, in a large degree, to a want of firmness on our part in not dealing sooner with Arabi Bey. Still, there was a difficulty in the way of that, because his experience had shown him that there was always distrust on the part of the people of anything we did in connection with France. He believed, however, that our action in Egypt would result in the consolidation of a good understanding between the two countries. It appeared to him that the campaign in Egypt, whether it proved to be a short or a long one, would be no easy task, and he could not help thinking that if the Government were to obtain the moral support of the Sultan to the extent of proclaiming Arabi a rebel, and offering so much, he would not say for his head, but for his body, it would have more effect upon the Mussulmans, and bring the war to a speedier conclusion than any other mode of action. From his own observation, he could state to the Committee that while the Egyptians hated the French, they had no great objection to the English. The French abstention, therefore, caused him no regret; on the contrary, he thought it was a subject for congratulation, because nothing was more calculated to disarm the followers of Arabi Bey than the fact that the settlement of affairs in Egypt was undertaken by England single-handed. The opinion of Ali Pasha, a man of education, with whom he was personally acquainted, was that if the Khedive could be induced to grant freedom and amnesty to the officers of Arabi they would leave him, and he did not know any person whose opinion in a matter of this kind was more to be relied upon. With this view he concurred in the full belief that if our action was prompt we could, so to speak, encircle the rebellion and crush it. He would also impress upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of having a sufficient number of locomotives at Suez as well at Alexandria, an arrangement which would enable the troops speedily to take up a safe position. It must be remembered that September and October were the two worst months in the year for military operations, that the Nile was at its highest in September, and that if Arabi Bey were badly disposed he might do a great deal of mischief by flooding the country and keeping it a long time under water. Had it been possible, he would have preferred that 10,000 or 15,000 men should have been sent from India, for the reason that they would have been much better able to endure the climate of Egypt, and in consequence a much smaller sacrifice of life might have been expected. However that might be, he thought that the sooner our force arrived in Egypt the better to counteract the influences that were at work, and to re-assure the loyal inhabitants of the country and to secure their support. It was not necessary for him to dwell upon the facts that we were parties, with others, to the general administration of Egypt, that we had an enormous business interest in the Canal, and that in consequence it was impossible for us to allow that great international highway to be imperilled by the continuance of a state of anarchy in Egypt. His contention was that as long as Egypt was in a state of peace the Canal would be unendangered, and that its management by external intervention was not necessary. Our object being the re-establishment of peace in Egypt, he again ventured to suggest the advisability of obtaining from the Sultan the declaration concerning Arabi Bey to which he had already alluded, and then, with prompt and judicious action, he believed our object would be speedily achieved without aid from the soldiers or ships of other Powers.

Mr. BRYCE said, he did not deny that the position was a grave one; but he thought, if it were closely examined, it would be seen that the support which he and other hon. Members on those Benches now gave the Government was not inconsistent with the principles they held in 1880. He agreed with the general principles laid down by the hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr, Richard) and the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). He agreed with them in considering that the moral law ought to be supreme with nations as well as with individuals, and in several other axioms they had laid down. But he also felt that these generalities were not enough to solve practical questions. They must examine the facts of the case, how the situation had been brought about, and what it was likely to result in before those principles could be applied. It was at this point that he was obliged to part company with his hon. Friends to whom he had referred. He said, if the situation were looked into, there was no course open to them but to support Her Majesty's Government, although he agreed that, had the present situation been entirely created by the present Administration, this support could not have been given. At what point, he would like to ask his hon. Friends, would it have been possible for Her Majesty's Government to have changed the policy of their Predecessors? When they came into Office in 1880 they found the *status quo* established. What was before our eyes at that moment—the present hostilities — had sprung from the seed sown by the late Government in 1879; and he submitted that since the present Government took Office there had been no point at which a departure from the policy of their Predecessors could have taken place. When the Liberal Party came into Office, they found that the new Khedive had just been established by the action of the late Government; that a great deal of capital had been embarked in Egypt on the faith of that condition of things; that the Control was working well and with increased benefit every year to the Fellahs; and notwithstanding the hon. Member for Carlisle had quoted a statement to show that they were suffering from the taxation, he reminded the Committee that this only referred to some years before 1879, since which time the condition of the agricultural population of the country had largely improved. No departure, then, could have been made at that time from the policy of the late Government; nor could it have been made after the first military revolt in September last year, or after the second military revolt which occurred in the present year. He was bound to acknowledge that there was such a thing as continuity in foreign policy. [*Opposition cheers.*] Hon. Members opposite would say by those cheers that the Government had broken the continuity of the foreign policy of the country in the case of the Transvaal and Afghanistan. But he reminded the Committee that in those instances our position was very different from what it was at that moment. When we considered it advisable to withdraw our troops from Candahar there were no European Powers to say that we were changing our status towards them; and, again, we were in a position to do in the Transvaal what we deemed to be right without incurring the reproach of any other Power. Perhaps he should be told that this continuity might have been departed from by slow degrees—that we might, so to speak, have edged out of our position with regard to Egypt. But it must be remembered that there was the French policy of the time to be considered; and on that point hon. Members seemed to make the mistake of supposing that the attitude of France was the same as it was now, whereas it had entirely changed. And, moreover, if it had been proposed to alter our policy before the face of M. Gambetta, it was perfectly well known that England would never have tolerated a step that would have left France sole arbitress of affairs in Egypt. Again, after the Fleet had once gone into Alexandrian waters, and after the massacre of the 11th of June, it would have been impossible for us to retire. We could not separate our position in Egypt from our position in the East; and he ventured to say that after the 11th of June for our Fleet to have moved would have been to put the life of every Christian European in the city at the mercy of Arabi Bey. Much as he deplored the necessity for the subsequent action which had taken place, and terrible as had been the bombardment of the forts, yet he was obliged to acknowledge that it was unavoidable if the authority of the West was to have been vindicated. A Circular had been received that morning by hon. Members, which had been also distributed amongst the commercial classes of the country, tending to prejudice the question by representing it to be a matter of money only. But he pointed out that there was no question in this case as between the National Party and the bondholders. Their position was entirely outside the matter; and he trusted that the interest of the bondholders would not be allowed to influence the arrangements which would ultimately be made. For his own part, he did not believe there were three Members of that House who would vote for a single gun being fired in Egypt to protect the interest of these persons. He did not mean to deny that the policy of the Government might be open to criticism in matters of detail. They had heard a great deal of criticism upon despatches of the conventional kind that they were accustomed to on these occasions. It seemed to be a matter of course, when a subject of this nature was under consideration, for hon. Members to take this or that despatch and say—"You might have done better had you acted in such and such a way;" but this, he contended, ought not to blind one's eyes to the real features of the case. For these reasons they were about to give Her Majesty's Government their moral support, and he thought this should be made clear at once, because they knew that the country at large was still hesitating and doubting as to what the nature of our foreign policy should be; and he believed, in cases of this kind, that instead of Members taking their tone from the constituencies, the constituencies would take their tone from them, and would be guided by the support which the Government received. He supported the policy of the Government because he believed it to be peaceful and honest; he did not say it might not be improved, but he maintained that it was eminently not a policy of aggression. The desire of the Government to preserve this character for their policy had laid them open to the charge, on that side of the House, that they had not struck hard enough or soon enough; while the criticism from all the other Benches was that they had not been sufficiently bold and high-handed. It had also been charged against the Government that we were isolated in this matter; but he pointed out that this position secured for us the great advantage of not being embarrassed by any doubtful ally. With regard to France, they might regret that they were not to have the support of that country; but he considered it would be much easier for us to make the necessary arrangements as to the future of Egypt without the assistance of that country. He believed we should be much less embarrassed in the future if we made no statement as to our policy beyond that which was demanded by the exigency of the moment. Hitherto that policy had been dictated by the highest motives, and he trusted it would not be long before we should see this country coming out of the strife into which she was entering, not only in strength, but purity and consciousness of right.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he rose a few minutes ago to follow the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). He would not, however, enter into the question raised by that hon. Member as to whether the Suzerainty of the Sultan over Egypt was to be maintained or abolished in the future. That was a question of the utmost importance which arose upon the immediate issues before them; but it seemed to him (Mr. Chaplin) that it was wholly unnecessary, if indeed it were not altogether impolitic, to express an opinion upon it just now. He was glad to learn from the hon. Member that there were, at all events, two points, in his opinion, on which the Conservative Party had established their case. It was satisfactory to learn that there was at least one Member sitting upon the Benches below the Gangway on the Ministerial side of the House who had appreciated the fact which he (Mr. Chaplin) had ventured to state to the House a short time ago—namely, that, as far as the interests of England were concerned, for all practical purposes the Suez Canal was Egypt and Egypt was the Suez Canal. The hon. Member raised another point as well. He put this question to the Government—"If it was right for you, without a mandate from the Powers, to protect your Fleet, why was it not also right for you, without a mandate, to protect the subjects of the Queen?" He (Mr. Chaplin) ventured to say that that was a question which the Government would find it very difficult to answer. No doubt, the Government had not yet satisfactorily answered it; but he believed the day would come, and that before very long, when the English people would require and demand an answer. The hon. Member who had just sat down reminded them that the main question really before them that night was, whether they were or were not going to give their support to Her Majesty's Government? And he (Mr. Chaplin) did not hesitate to say that, in his opinion, their first duty on this occasion was most undoubtedly to support by their votes the Motion made by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and to place unreservedly at the disposal of the Government the means which they on their responsibility came forward and told the Committee were necessary for the maintenance of the honour and interests of England. Under circumstances such as these, as Englishmen, as patriots, as men who held the honour and interests of their country as their first consideration, it was obvious that they had no alternative—that they had only one course to pursue. But, while they were prepared on this occasion to give their support to the Government, and to place at their disposal the means for which the Government asked, they must also claim this—namely, the full right to reserve to themselves, if they thought fit, the power of criticizing and, if need be, censuring the policy which had been pursued. He was bound to say that he thought they had already many cases of complaint to urge against the Government. The position of affairs in Egypt was now, and had been for many months, one of great anxiety and concern to all hon. Members who sat on the Opposition side of the House; and it was a fact that not only for weeks, but for months past, appeal after appeal had been made to the Government to give them information, and that nearly all those appeals had, until a recent period, been made in vain, and the consequence of that had been, that this vast question, to all intents and purposes, had been entirely removed from what might be called the jurisdiction of Parliament. Whatever they might think of the general policy which the right hon. Gentleman had pursued, he (Mr. Chaplin) thought he could congratulate him at least upon this—namely, the prudence which he had exhibited, in the interests of the Government, in the time which he had selected for the taking of this great debate. He (Mr. Chaplin) remembered that one of the points made by the right hon. Gentleman, some few years ago, when complaining of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, was this—that for securing the escape of a great question from the vigilance of the public, there was no expedient parallel to that of postponing the discussion of it until the dying hours of the Session. Well, he (Mr. Chaplin) ventured to think that was a charge which was infinitely more applicable under existing circumstances, and which could be made with infinitely greater justice with regard to the course which the right hon. Gentleman himself had thought it right to pursue. He (Mr. Chaplin) would not dwell that night upon the desperate and harrowing condition of affairs in Egypt which had been described to them by the Prime Minister himself. Nothing that he (Mr. Chaplin) could say, nor that any Member of the Committee could say, could add to the horrors of that description, and what he would ask hon. Members to consider for a few minutes was, how and by what manner of means things had ever been allowed to come to such a pass as that; and on that point he was bound to say that the right hon. Gentleman himself, while professing the utmost frankness to the Committee, gave them scarcely any information whatsoever. And the scanty stock of information they obtained from the right hon. Gentleman had not been materially added to, as far as he (Mr. Chaplin) had been able to gather, by any single speech that had been made since by any Member of Her Majesty's Government. The general impression which he had gathered from as close a perusal as he had been able to give to the Papers that had been laid on the Table, was that there appeared to him to be three distinct periods in which the English Minister, Lord Granville, found himself placed in a position of considerable difficulty, and there had been three distinct propositions for dealing with the Egyptian Question. There was, first, the policy of the joint intervention by England and France, which was the policy advocated from the first by M. Gambetta. There was, secondly, the policy of Turkish intervention, which was, from first to last, throughout the whole of this question, steadily advocated by Sir Edward Malet; and then there was the third policy, the negative policy of M. de Freycinet, which was, under all circumstances, to resist any Turkish intervention. He (Mr. Chaplin) might be asked whether there was not a fourth policy—what was the policy of the English Minister for Foreign Affairs? Well, he (Mr. Chaplin) declared that, after searching carefully through the Papers, he was utterly unable to discover that, at any moment, from first to last, the English Foreign Minister had ever had any definite or settled policy of his own. The first period of difficulty of which he (Mr. Chaplin) spoke appeared to him to have commenced from the time when Arabi Bey, on the 9th of September, 1881, demanded the dismissal by the Khedive of Riaz Pasha, the convocation of a Representative Chamber, and a considerable addition to the Egyptian Army. Well, when these demands were made, the Khedive found himself powerless to resist them, and appealed, very properly, to his Suzerain for support. But what happened under these circumstances? As far as he (Mr. Chaplin) could gather from the Papers, Lord Granville first appeared to waver in that direction; at all events, he favoured the sending of a Turkish General to Egypt; but to that, and to any Turkish intervention whatever, M. de Freycinet offered a decided opposition, and Lord Granville dropped the intervention by a Turkish General like a hot potato. The Sultan was naturally very mortified at that. In conversation with Lord Dufferin, the Sultan made use of a statement which appeared to him (Mr. Chaplin) so statesmanlike that he would ask the permission of the Committee to read it. He would not read many despatches. The Committee would remember, perhaps, that last night the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade made this remarkable statement, that the Papers showed conclusively that from first to last the English Government had solicited the intervention of the Sultan. Why, he (Mr. Chaplin) had never heard a statement made in the House of Commons which was more diametrically opposed to the facts, as revealed by the Papers laid on the Table. Complaints had been made of too frequent and too copious quotations being made from the Papers; but when statements of this kind were made by Members of the Government—statements that were diametrically opposed to the facts—it was absolutely necessary for Members to offer quotations in reply. On September 19, Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Granville in these words. He said—

> "Upon this I observe that I am glad to learn that His Majesty does not contemplate taking so precipitate a step as the sending of troops to Egypt without consulting with Her Majesty's Government, and that, although I had received, as yet, no instruction, I had reason to know that your Lordship would consider such a proceeding inopportune. The Sultan replied in words to this effect, though evidently mortified; he said that Great Britain had great interests in Egypt which he was quite prepared to recognise, and so had Turkey, and those interests he

would make great sacrifices to maintain; that England was a great Mussulman Power, and that the friendship and co-operation of Turkey must be necessarily most advantageous to us."

He must ask the Committee to allow him to quote one more despatch in answer to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. On page 135, Paper 7, he found these words—

> "In order not to add complication to the state of things, the two Governments have thought it right to instruct their Ambassadors at Constantinople to recommend the Porte to abstain from all intervention and all interference in Egypt;"

and that in spite of the statement of the President of the Board of Trade. There were other statements in the despatches of the same nature. The French policy at that time appeared to be that the French Government appeared to desire a joint military control by France and England; but it appeared that Lord Granville objected for reasons that he said had been stated to the French Government, although what these reasons were he (Mr. Chaplin) was totally unable to say, as he had failed to find a single one of them in the Papers. The first period of difficulty he had alluded to came to an end by two despatches, one from the English Minister, and the other from the French Minister, in which they recorded their views of the situation, and the different interests which, according to them, both of them had in the condition of Egypt. He now came to the second period of difficulty in which Lord Granville was placed, and that appeared to have begun shortly before the Chamber of Notables was summoned. M. Gambetta, who was a man of great decision of character, as well as of ability, evidently foresaw the possibility of difficulties arising when the Chamber was convoked; and he accordingly proposed to Lord Granville to take steps, in conjunction with France, to deal with those difficulties. [*Interruption.*] He (Mr. Chaplin) should be very much obliged to the Committee for silence.

Mr. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT: I rise to call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) is carrying on a loud conversation and interrupting the hon. Member.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he was sure the hon. Member was not interrupting him intentionally, and he should be obliged to him for silence for a few minutes. This proposal of M. Gambetta resulted in the Joint Note. He (Mr. Chaplin) did not wish to say anything about that document that night, further than it was accepted by M. Gambetta, and presented on the 8th of January. But, here, unfortunately, a new difficulty arose, because, although the policy of M. Gambetta was decided upon that point, owing to one of those sudden political changes which frequently occurred in some countries, and more often, perhaps, in France than in any other, the Government of the day in France vanished out of view, and M. Gambetta was replaced by M. de Freycinet. Well, what was the view of M. de Freycinet? He was by no means in favour of an active and decided intervention of that character, and he communicated his view to Lord Granville without delay, although he accompanied the communication with the *naïve* statement that he was bound to admit that he did not know much about the subject. Well, what was the position that an English Minister should have taken under such circumstances? He should have said to M. de Freycinet —"My position is different to yours. I have pledged myself to the Khedive—I have put my hand to a despatch granting him my support under certain conditions. Are you prepared to fulfil that engagement? If you are, well and good—let us go hand-in-hand; but if you are not, I must take a decided course in accordance with my pledge, and must adopt some line of my own." When M. de Freycinet declined to pursue the policy indicated by Lord Granville, he (Mr. Chaplin) must say there were two courses open to the English Minister. He might then, if he had thought fit, have appealed to Turkey and asked her to intervene; and, failing Turkey, he might, of course, have intervened himself. But here arose a further complication. The Porte protested vigorously against this Joint Note, and not only that, but forwarded its protest to the other Powers of Europe, who made an Identic communication. This appeared to have had a great effect on Lord Granville, for immediately on the receipt of it, though little indeed, if anything, had been heard on the subject before—though the policy up to that time had been a French and English intervention

—Lord Granville immediately fell back on the Concert of Europe. Well, he (Mr. Chaplin) was bound to say that even then Lord Granville appeared to have adopted that policy in a very half-hearted and undecided manner. They must remember that time was of the first importance. Well, what happened? Count Munster, the German Minister, made a representation which was tantamount to this—that there had better be a Conference without delay. Lord Granville, however, said—"Nothing of the kind; it would be exceedingly premature." What happened then? A number of more or less feeble attempts were made by Lord Granville to induce France to agree to a Turkish intervention, and things went on in this kind of way until at length the Ultimatum was presented, and it became absolutely necessary that a Conference should be summoned. A Conference was summoned; and, in his (Mr. Chaplin's) opinion, whilst making all allowances for the great difficulty that he quite acknowledged the Government had had to contend with, it was to the determination to refer the Egyptian Question to that Conference, and to the delay in summoning the Conference, that the terrible position in which they were now forced was entirely owing, and that the present period of difficulty was to be met by the English Government. Whatever might be their views as to the wisdom of the policy of referring Egyptian questions, under ordinary circumstances and in ordinary times, to the Concert of the Powers of Europe, he did not hesitate to say that, for his part, he was firmly convinced that under all the circumstances of the case—under the pressing, and urgent, and immediate exigencies of the case—to refer these questions to the European Conference at the time at which they were referred was most dangerous. It appeared to him to have been the greatest mistake the Government had made, judged by its results? What had been these results? What had they gained by referring this question to a Conference, and what was it they had asked? Their gain had been a negative one; they had not gained what they sought—Turkish intervention. They had not gained the concurrence of France, except in so far as the Suez Canal was concerned; they had not even got the mandate of Europe; but what the right hon. Gentleman was able to tell them he had got, or rather what the right hon. Gentleman was able to say was, that he "thought they had secured the moral support of the Powers." The right hon. Gentleman was not even sure of that; and against that, what had they lost? He (Mr. Chaplin) said they had lost that which, under all circumstances, was the most priceless possession in the world, and that was time. What had been the effect of this loss of time? It appeared to him to have been this—that, in the first place, if they had had troops at the proper time they might, undoubtedly, have stopped the massacre at Alexandria. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, again, had made a most extraordinary statement on this point the other night. He (Mr. Chaplin) must again refer to the right hon. Gentleman's words, because they were once more so diametrically opposite to the facts. The right hon. Gentleman had answered an hon. and learned Member by saying that in the sense in which the word was ordinarily used there never had been a massacre since the bombardment, and in consequence of it. Well, he (Mr. Chaplin) should like to meet that statement, if he might be allowed to do so, by a quotation from a letter which he had seen that day from Mr. Cornish—whose name must be pretty well known by this time as that of a gentleman who had rendered the country such splendid services in Alexandria. He (Mr. Chaplin) would set the authority of Mr. Cornish against that of the President of the Board of Trade. What did Mr. Cornish say? Why, he said—

> "I went into the town (Alexandria) on Friday morning, that is, immediately after the bombardment, and a more sickening sight I never beheld. Several corpses, terribly mutilated, were still lying about."

And yet the President of the Board of Trade, with all the information which he either had, or which, if he had not, certainly ought to be at the disposal of the Government, had the assurance to get up in the House of Commons and say that there never had been any massacre since the bombardment, or in consequence of it. Now, what was the second thing this country lost by loss of time? He answered, without the slightest hesitation, that they lost the chance of averting the second massacre, and the second destruction of Alexandria. He would quote Mr. Cornish again as his authority. That gentleman, in his letter dated July 18, said—

> "All went on very well until the firing ceased on the second day's bombardment, and the troops and the rabble were in full retreat; but when they found that the firing had stopped many of them went back into the town, and then the work of pillage and firing began."

Was it not evident from that, that if the mere effect of the firing of the Fleet had driven the rabble and soldiery out of the town, that if the firing had continued and a certain number of troops had been landed we might have effectually prevented the second massacre and destruction of Alexandria? The right hon. Gentleman the other night spoke of the impossibility of preventing that; he said, "I know not what force of men would have been sufficient. I know that 10,000 men at least would have been required." He (Mr. Chaplin) had been informed, for it was many years since he himself was in Alexandria, and, therefore, he could not speak from personal recollection; but he was informed on good authority that there was only one means of escape from Alexandria, and that was between the sea on the one hand and the Mahmoudieh Canal on the other, and that the guns of the Fleet would have absolutely covered that piece of ground. If the Government had not tied their own hands by the Conference, they might, by landing a small body of troops, have caught Arabi like a rat in a trap, and the whole thing would have been over by now. And what was the third thing they lost by this loss of time? He had said they would have cut off Arabi Bey—there was no doubt about that. And if they had cut off Arabi, he would not now have been in the position of vantage which was leading us into this war, and which might turn out to be a war of great difficulty, and possibly one of danger. But, more than all, anarchy would not have prevailed in Egypt at the present time, and there would not now be re-enacting the scenes that were enacted during the Indian Mutiny. He had listened to the speeches which had been delivered on each side of the House that night, He had heard what had fallen from the hon. Baronet (Sir George Elliot), and what had been said by other hon. Members, and he defied any Member of the Committee to say now whether the war would be a short or a long one. All he knew was this, that unless they were able to bring the matter to a conclusion within a very short time indeed, it would be impossible for the Government to re-establish order in Egypt for months to come. And what did they think was likely to be their position in India if the war should be prolonged, and if Arabi was allowed to pursue his way unchecked, and if those horrible scenes which were said to be taking place in the centre of Egypt continued for any length of time? He confessed it seemed to him to be a matter of the greatest peril. Did they not think there was some danger of the contagion spreading and of the possibility of similar disturbances taking place in India? They had seen such disturbances before, and he knew of no reason why, if circumstances were favourable for them, they should not occur again. The only excuse of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was that his hands were tied by the Conference; and what he (Mr. Chaplain) wished to ask the House of Commons was this—what right had any English Minister to place himself in such a position and to tie his hands in such a way that he was not able to give assistance to the subjects of the Queen, although they were being massacred within sight of Her Majesty's Fleet? That, then, was the general result of the information which he had been able to acquire from the Papers with regard to the present position of affairs which, to his intense astonishment, he had heard the Secretary of State for War, before the dinner hour, speak of as a most successful result. All he could say was that if the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been so successful up to the present time he sincerely hoped it would never be so successful again. He could only come to the conclusion, whilst he desired to make all allowances for the difficulty in which the Government had been placed, that the immediate difficulties they had to encounter in Egypt were really owing to the indecision and procrastination of Her Majesty's Government. They must not tell him that their difficulties were owing to the Control. That argument, he thought, had been pretty well disposed of already. It was true that the Control was established during the Administration of the Predecessors of right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Ministerial Bench; but they must in fairness remember that during the time Lord Beaconsfield's Eastern policy was in the ascendant, the Control—as Her Majesty's Government had themselves admitted—had done much for the regeneration of Egypt. It had proved to be a blessing and a boon not only to Egypt, but to the whole of the civilized world; and if, unhappily, it was true—and he, certainly, was not there that night to deny it—that since the accession to Office of the present Government the influence of England with the Suzerain of Egypt, in that part of His Majesty's Dominions, had considerably waned, in all fairness they ought to attribute it not to the fault of the Control, but to the complete reversal of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, which, up to now, had been their never-ceasing boast. When he thought of the results of that reversal, when he called to mind some of the proceedings of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in days not very long gone by, when he remembered how political principle, political honour, political consistency had been sacrificed to nothing but the interests of Party—["Oh, oh!"]—well, he challenged any one of them who dared do so to get up and deny it—when he remembered all these things, and when he compared their crusade against Lord Beaconsfield with their speeches, and their policy of to-day—which had been denounced, and denounced by none more strongly than by those to whom they had turned in appealing against Lord Beaconsfield—when he thought of these things, and when he remembered also that within this short period of that reversal of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, amongst the first fruits of the reversal had been rebellion in Ireland on the one hand and ruin in Egypt on the other, he confessed he was filled with grave misgivings for the future. He could not help thinking that the Prime Minister felt something of this himself, for he had observed the other night that the right hon. Gentleman began to recant some of his former opinions with regard to Turkey. He (Mr. Chaplin), to his great surprise the other night, heard the Prime Minister describe himself as having always been the friend of Turkey. And when the right hon. Gentleman had said that, a dim recollection—in which he supposed he must have been mistaken—came into his mind, and he thought once more he could hear the Prime Minister describing Turkey and her people as "the one great anti-human specimen of the human race throughout all the world." Was that friendship? If it was the part of a friend to denounce his friends in that kind of language, then all he (Mr. Chaplin) could say was that the right hon. Gentleman and he differed very much as to what friendship meant. But he did not wish to pursue this theme any further that night; and although he had ventured, as he thought hon. Members were in duty bound to do, to criticize the policy of the Government and to point out what he believed to have been their errors in the past in order that those errors might be avoided in the future, he did not desire either to weaken the hands of, or embarrass, the Government at the present time. ["Oh!"] Well, whether hon. Members believed it or not, he could assure them that he had no desire to weaken the hands of the Government at this moment, and for this reason, that they had to consider the future as well as the past. It was in the future that were involved not only the immediate issues of the war in which they were now engaged, but also the ultimate settlement of the Egyptian Question. He was not one of those who could enter with a light heart into the war in which they were now engaged; but, on the other hand, he had an almost boundless faith in the spirit, the resources, and the power of England and her people when for her cause she had a good one, and if only she were led by her rulers with courage, with wisdom, and with unfaltering decision. In this instance, he believed—nay, more, he knew and was assured—that they had a good, a righteous, and a just cause, and he hoped that the other conditions of success would not be lacking. The campaign itself was, necessarily and properly, entirely in the hands of the Administration, and, for all he knew, they were about to enter upon it unaided and alone. For his part, he did not quarrel with that. On the contrary, he thought it was the best thing, probably, that could have happened to them; but, that being so, he did most sincerely trust that they would take care of this—that now they were embarked in this gigantic enterprize, once for all the interests of England should be permanently and effectually secured in that part of the world, and that in doing that they would remember the, to them, pregnant words of His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, that while they were among the greatest of European nations they were also "a great Mussulman Power."

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER trusted the Committee would be disposed to listen to a few temperate observations on this subject, notwithstanding the excitement that must have been created by the powerful speech to which they had just listened. He had no Party purpose to serve; yet, in the observations which he would ask the indulgence of the Committee to put before them, he would, at the outset, call their attention to the peculiar difficulty under which every private Member laboured who attempted to discuss the question of the foreign relations of this country in the House of Commons. He had been sitting, like other hon. Members, for the past two or three months in expectation of what was to come on the subject of our relations with the Sovereign of Egypt; and he had noticed that, from day to day, Questions were addressed to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and to the Prime Minister for the purpose of eliciting such information as would enable the House and the country to ascertain what were their intentions with regard to the Egyptian Question. He made no charge of conscious concealment either against the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but he described simply his own impression when he said that he had been unable to ascertain, from the information which had been from time to time vouchsafed, the tendency of the policy of England in that part of the world. How were they situated now? They were told beforehand that the public interest would not permit of the communication of such information as would enable them to form a judgment on this subject; and, day by day, they found themselves getting more and more involved in serious complications, until the hour had arrived when the Government felt called upon to draw the sword; and then, when the sword was unsheathed for the purpose of maintaining the honour and the interests of the country, hon. Members were accused of something akin to treachery if they ventured to discuss the action of Her Majesty's Ministers. He would ask hon. Members—and, if he thought his humble voice would reach the people of England, he would ask them too—were they satisfied with the limited control which they were able to exercise over the foreign relations of this country? Information was kept from them in the first instance; then their patriotism was appealed to when active operations were commenced, and they were told that anything like free discussion and independent criticism would embarrass the Government. The policy of Her Majesty's Government was to be gathered from the Papers which at length had been laid before them, and the exposition which Her Majesty's Ministers had vouchsafed. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) a while ago had raised his (Mr. O'Connor Power's) hopes by the character of the exordium to his speech, because he had undertaken in the first sentence to prove that there was no inconsistency whatever between the present position of the Liberal Party in supporting the policy of the Government in making war in Egypt and the position occupied by the Party in 1880. His hopes had been raised by the promise of his hon. and learned Friend at the commencement of his speech; but he (Mr. O'Connor Power) appealed to those who heard that speech whether they were not disappointed at the utter failure of the hon. and learned Member even to approach anything like a proof of the proposition he had laid down at the beginning? Those of them who, up to that moment, had been disposed to look upon the accession of the Liberal Party to power as an indication that the policy of Jingoism could never again prevail in the foreign affairs of this country must have been very much disappointed by what they had heard on the subject during this debate. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, in his speech the other evening, had laid very great stress upon the fact that the Government was guided and controlled in their policy by what they called international engagements. The right hon. Gentleman did not stop in that speech to pronounce any opinion of approval or disapproval of the nature of those international engagements; and, in describing the attitude of the Government, he said that they were obliged, by the circumstances of the case, to frame their policy in reference to those international engagements. Well, he (Mr. O'Connor Power) would like to know whether, when engagements of that kind were formed, they were intended to be perpetual? He should like to know what it mattered to the people of this country whether their foreign affairs were administered by a Conservative or a Liberal Administration, if a Liberal Administration that succeeded a Conservative one was bound to pursue the very same policy? If he recollected anything at all of the issue which was put before the constituencies in 1880, it was distinctly the issue of the foreign policy of the Conservative Government; and to say now that they were bound hand and foot to the results of that policy, and that they could make no departure whatever from the engagements that were entered into, was simply to say that a great deal of eloquent indignation was wasted upon the hustings, and that it had produced no profitable results to the people of this Empire. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) put this view of the present Ministers in the strongest possible light, because, he said, it was necessary to impress foreign Governments with a sense of the continuity of English policy. Now, he (Mr. O'Connor Power) asked for how long had Liberal Ministers considered it to be their duty to adhere to the policy of their Predecessors? He would ask where was the justification for the strong language they employed in denouncing that policy a little more than two short years ago? Well, the Prime Minister dwelt also in his speech on the value of the European Concert; but it was a singular circumstance that while the Conference representing the Powers of Europe was still deliberating upon these grave matters Her Majesty's Government took the determination of the question into their own hands. The Conference was not dismissed when they were bombarding Alexandria; and it seemed to him that their profession of regard for the European Concert jarred somewhat with the determination which they had formed. And it appeared to him, also, that if international right and International Law was to be scrupulously observed in their policy in Egypt, they must consider themselves at the present moment not so much at war with the Egyptian Army, and whatever portion of the Egyptian people that Army represented, as at war with the Sovereign of Egypt—the Sultan of Turkey. He could not see where their right to bombard Alexandria commenced, unless they believed that their relations with the Sovereign of Egypt—the Sultan of Turkey—justified them in adopting that policy. When the Prime Minister came to deal with the criticism, which he anticipated, in consequence of the failure of the Government to protect British subjects from massacre, the right hon. Gentleman declared, in a manner which he (Mr. O'Connor Power) could not at all appreciate, that the Government would have been disloyal to Europe, and would have acted in contravention of their own professions, if they had landed any men——

MR. GLADSTONE: Not if we had landed men.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he should like, then, the right hon. Gentleman to inform him in what connection these words were used? It seemed to him (Mr. O'Connor Power) that they were employed in rebutting the accusation that the Government had failed in their duty to protect British subjects from massacre.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. and learned Gentleman asks me in what connection the words were used, and I will tell him; but I should have thought, if he had heard the speech, he would have known the connection. They were to be taken in connection with the landing of such a force as it would have been our duty to propose in order to cope with and to overcome the Egyptian force under the Egyptian Commander, which was represented to us to be certainly between 10,000 and 15,000 men.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked whether it was not right to infer from that explanation that, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, the size and effectiveness of the force affected the question of International Law at stake? It was as much a breach of International Law to land 20 men for aggressive purposes as it was to land 10,000. Therefore, he could not understand how Her Majesty's Government were able to defend their policy in Egypt, commencing with the bombardment of Alexandria, and other measures of force they had been since obliged to adopt, on the theory of self-defence. He was sorry, also, to be obliged to complain of the vague and uncertain terms in which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister described the objects which, he said, the Government had in view in their recent proceedings. The right hon. Gentleman said one of those objects was to assert international right; but he (Mr. O'Connor Power) had watched and waited and waited and watched with considerable anxiety for one single sentence on what he believed to be the root of the difficulty—namely, not international right, but national right. The Prime Minister could not have made a speech in the last Parliament on a subject of foreign policy in which the Sovereign power of the Sultan of Turkey was affected without calling their attention to the claims of the rising Nationalities of the East; but, either by design or by accident, there had not been a single reference made that would lead them to believe that the right hon. Gentleman sympathized with whatever there was of a National Party amongst the Egyptian people. They were told, also, that the protection of the Suez Canal was merely an incident, and that the chief object the Government had in view was to put down anarchy in that country. Well, now, did Her Majesty's Government consider themselves bound by engagements or by a sense of duty to preserve order in the East? Would it undertake that responsibility; and, if it was prepared to act for the restoration and the maintenance of order in Egypt whenever the peace of that country was threatened, would it act in the same spirit towards the countries on the frontiers of India? It was in language not very different from that that many of the advocates of the policy of the late Conservative Government defended the invasion of Afghanistan. They said that the independence of that country was threatened by Russia, and that, therefore, it was necessary that English power and English influence should be asserted in that country. It seemed to him that when the Government claimed that they had no selfish object in view in this movement in Egypt, and told the Committee, at the same time, they were fighting in defence of their interests, there was a manifest inconsistency. Wherever they had interests they had selfish objects. But they were told that though their interests in Egypt were tremendous, they were acting in that country in a spirit of absolute unselfishness. It seemed to him that the step the Government had taken in reference to Egypt was a very serious one; and if it did not mean the ultimate establishment of an English Protectorate over that country, he humbly submitted that their policy was a very false one, and a very unwise one, and one that would entail great sacrifices upon our people without producing any corresponding advantages. But if their policy was to establish that Protectorate, why had not they the manliness to avow it? He could imagine Her Majesty's Government adopting the "bag and baggage" policy in regard to Egypt as far as the rights of the Sultan in that country were concerned. He could imagine Her Majesty's Government repairing to some extent the wrong they had already done by doing something to develop the principles and habits of self-government amongst that population, and he, for one, would not regret to see the protection of Her Majesty's Government substituted for that of the Sultan of Turkey, if such a change was believed to be absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the people. But he said that, if that was the tendency of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, why did they not manfully avow it? The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had told them, in reviewing the history of the Control in Egypt and English interference, that England did not force herself upon Egypt, but that she had been encouraged to go by the Egyptian Government. Well, then, what was it which had given rise to the discontented party which supported Arabi Pasha? It was their dissatisfaction with the conduct of successive Egyptian Governments in truckling, as they believed, to foreign influences rather than relying upon their own people. It might be true that the Egyptian Governments had encouraged English influence at one time and French influence at another time, and to that extent they had alienated the sympathies of their own people. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in order to conciliate those who had some respect for the doctrine of nationality, had said that Her Majesty's Government did not at all object to the National movement in Egypt until it became a military movement. What did that mean? He did not object to the National movement until it became a powerful one, because it was only when it became a military movement that it was able to exercise any influence on the Councils of either the French or English Governments. In destroying the power of the Army they were destroying the only organized authority in Egypt. Talk about the friendship of the Khedive, the Khedive could not be anything else but friendly to them. He was a puppet in their hands, and to justify their conduct by the approval which His Highness might express of their policy was simply to take courage and consolation from their own self-esteem. The Committee had received so many assurances that this measure had not been undertaken in the interests of the bondholders that he supposed they must be persuaded that that was the real state of the case, and he was of the number of those who had failed to understand why, if the Government could not guarantee the investments of its citizens at home, it should be expected to guarantee them abroad. So far as that part of the question was concerned, he was glad to see that upon no side of the House had anyone the courage to get up and defend the proposition that the Government would be justified in guaranteeing a foreign investment. They had heard a great deal about what Europeans had done for Egypt—they were told that the Control established over the finances had had a very sound effect, and that it had, to a certain extent, promoted the prosperity of that country. That might be so within a limited period; but was it or was it not the fact that, until our influence began to be a power, Egypt was a country free from debt. Was it not the fact that the Debt of Egypt was a very great burden upon the population? He maintained that to say that they were to form their opinion of the conduct of England, to-day at war with Egypt, by a reference to what had happened within the last three, four, five, six, or ten years, was to take a very narrow and a very unfair view of the subject. Even within that limited period, however, it was undeniable that the Control, which was financial in 1876, became political as well as financial in 1879; and he should like to know whether it was not a natural feeling on the part of the Egyptian Army, and of those who were qualified to speak for even a section of the National Party in Egypt, that this discontent should grow proportionately as the Government insisted on imposing their Control on them? They not only established a Control in the first instance that discharged the duties of a National audit, but they went further, and practically seized upon the administration of the finances of the country; and then they thought that the Egyptian Army, the only party representing National feeling, was to be satisfied with this condition of affairs. They had chosen to take a very different view of their duty, and he would tell the Government they would find the consequences would be very serious indeed before this terrible business had been brought to a conclusion. He had ventured to make these observations because the attitude which Irish Representatives were supposed to take with regard to the foreign policy of this country was very much misunderstood. He believed the time had gone by when it was the desire of any section of the Irish people to profit from the foreign difficulties of England. In times gone by, when the Irish people had not only just cause for discontent, but just cause for rebellion, he could imagine the justification of the sentiment which declared that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. He did not believe in that sentiment at the present hour; and he was sure no Member who had expressed an opinion on this question had spoken with greater sincerity than he did when he said he had ventured to obtrude himself on the attention of the Committee from no desire whatever to weaken or embarrass in the slightest degree Her Majesty's Government. He hoped he should never, by his voice or vote, support a policy of aggression, no matter with what professions that policy might be inaugurated. At the same time, he trusted he should never be suspected of the crime of advocating a cowardly policy. He did not believe in a policy of universal surrender. He believed in a spirited foreign policy when they were satisfied they were embarking in a just cause; and he believed that the highest interests of this Empire could best be promoted by encouraging National sentiment, not only in every part of the Empire itself, but amongst those populations in whose relations we were from time to time obliged to interfere. He thought that the unfortunate complications which had arisen in Egypt might have been avoided by some timely conciliation of the National spirit. If things went on now; if this war—for war it was at last—should be protracted, it was plain to everyone that we should have, in addition to the hostility of the Military Party in Egypt, the hostility of most of the Egyptian people, because we should have carried desolation and ruin into their homesteads and across the face of their country; we should have done what the British Army did in Afghanistan—left behind us memories of wrong and suffering which would survive all the arguments by which the Government now defended their policy, and these memories would, in a future day, accumulate and constitute a more terrible danger for the strength of the British Empire than the temporary difficulties with which we were now called upon to deal.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The Committee are about to come to a vote upon one of the most important questions which has been submitted to the British Parliament for many a long year. I do not think there is any doubt as to the general feeling which will be expressed by the vote to which we are presently invited to concur. There can be but one desire on the part of every Member of the House, and that is to support as far as possible the Government in the policy which they have recommended to us, if we can be satisfied it is right and sound. But it is not possible for us altogether to divest ourselves of the responsibility that lies upon us, before we give a vote of this character, of satisfying ourselves of the conditions under which it is to be given. There is no inconsiderable number of Gentlemen, usually supporters of the Government, who do not in their hearts like the policy which is submitted to them, but who yet feel themselves obliged to support it—some from Party fidelity, some from their general confidence in the Government, and others because they feel that it is a choice of difficulties that lays before them, and that their choice must turn to that which will cause the least embarrassment to this nation as a whole. I say there is no small number of those Gentlemen who are prepared now to vote this sum of money to the Government, and thereby approve of their policy. I say that on our own side of the House there is a large body of Gentlemen who are prepared also to support the Government with their votes—to support them in a policy which they are, as we believe, about to initiate—but who are far from feeling that confidence in them, and satisfaction with their proceedings hitherto, which is to be found on the other side of the House. But in this case we must endeavour, so far as possible, to divest ourselves of Party feelings and Party recriminations, and to look upon so great a question as this from a large and national point of view. I entirely agree with what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) yesterday as to the very great importance of our maintaining a national policy in matters of foreign affairs; but I am bound also to make this observation upon that statement, that if we are to maintain a national, or, so to speak, a continuous policy in foreign affairs, the policy which is submitted to us for our countenance and support must be recommended to us upon broad national grounds, and upon principles which we can ourselves see and approve. Now, what I feel with regard to the conduct of this discussion —I refer especially to the speech of the Prime Minister when he introduced the Vote—is this, that the issue is put upon far too narrow grounds, and that we are asked to vote upon special pleas which are applicable, or appear to be applicable, to the circumstances of the moment, but which certainly do not afford anything like a ground for a national policy. The right hon. Gentleman differs very much from the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to whom I shall have to refer subsequently. The Prime Minister took a very different line from the Under Secretary, and advanced in support of the policy which he recommends one or two special pleas, to which I wish to draw attention. In the first place, there is what I may call the Control plea. He pleaded that the Government were not free in this matter; that they were bound by the policy which they inherited from their Predecessors, and that it was in consequence of that, and of the proceedings which had flowed from it, that they found themselves now obliged to recommend these measures to the House. The hon. and learned Member who has just sat down, and other supporters of the Government, gladly caught at that kind of argument, and are ready to throw upon the late Government, and especially upon Lord Salisbury in the last year of the existence of the late Government, a certain responsibility which seems to give especial reason for our action. I say that if that were true, and that if the conduct of Lord Salisbury in this matter were truly represented, it would be far too narrow a ground to base such action as we are now called upon to adopt. If the policy which the present Government found in existence, and which they say was inaugurated by Lord Salisbury, was wrong, why did they not abandon and change it? But if right, why do they now come and throw dirt upon it? In fact, it is entirely misrepresented. The hon. and learned Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) has re-echoed much that has fallen from the Treasury Bench when he said the change made in the system of Control in 1879, as compared with the Control in 1876, was this, that it turned the Control from a financial to a political Control. That is an entire mistake. I call it an entire misrepresentation. I wish to know if the right hon. Gentleman and other hon. Members can tell us where that distinction is to be found, and in what respect it has affected the operations of the Control since that date? The change made in 1879 was merely this—the Control, which was purely of a financial character, established for good reasons in 1876, was suspended during the period that there was a mixed European Ministry. But when that mixed European Ministry was terminated by the arbitrary dismissal of Nubar Pasha by the late Khedive—when that was suddenly terminated—the Control revived, and it revived in precisely the same form in which it had been in 1876. But then came the important question whom to employ. Lord Salisbury found that the French were going to nominate a Controller who was to act for the French Government, who was to act as the Representative of France, and the question was, whether it would be possible for England to abstain from doing the same thing with regard to the Controller who was to act on behalf of England? It was quite obvious that if we were to run *pari passu* with France; if we were not to leave that predominance to France, which the hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) told us we ought not to leave, it was absolutely necessary that we should place ourselves as far as possible on the same lines with France. And then came the question as to the decision that these Controllers should be irremovable, except with the consent of their Governments. The whole matter turned upon that. What was this Control for? It was to enable the finances of Egypt to be properly directed and properly administered; and if there was always a power in the Sovereign arbitrarily, upon the slightest ground, to dismiss those who were managing the Control, obviously the Control might break down at a most critical point, and, therefore, the late Government agreed to the insertion of that provision. But, at the same time that we did so, feeling how important that change might be, and how necessary it was that there should be no mistake as to the position of the terms, we insisted upon the introduction in the new Decree of September, 1879, of a modifying provision, and that provision was the 3rd Article of the Decree, and it was to the effect that the Governments of France and Great Britain consented that, for the present, the Controllers General should take no part in the direction and administration of the financial services, but should confine "themselves" to communicating either to "ourselves"—that was, the Khedive or to "our Ministry"—the observations to which their investigations may have given rise. In that way, we entirely confined these gentlemen to watching the financial progress and fair working of the finances, depriving them of any power of interference with administration. Well, we have hardly heard anything about the Controllers. I dare say not half the Members of the House are aware of even the names of the Controllers. The question has been rather between Sir Edward Malet and the French Consul. Of course, the Controllers had a very important duty to perform in keeping the finances straight; but, at the same time, you have had the difficulty of this Military Party and insurrection to deal with, and in all the proceedings that have taken place it has been with the Agents and Consuls General that these questions have been discussed, and the difficulty has arisen. Just let me call the attention of the Committee for a few moments to the history of our dealings with Egypt. That history goes far beyond either the Decree of 1879, or that of 1876. Remember what the record of Egypt is. Remember she is not a State that has grown, like most of the European States, but she is the creature of European Concert. She was placed, in point of fact, in her present position by the consent of the Powers in 1840, and from that time there has always been a considerable watchfulness observed in Egyptian affairs by the Consuls of European Powers. It was against the irregular interference of the Consuls that the efforts of Nubar Pasha, the most distinguished and most valuable Minister Egypt had had for many years, were directed—he was desirous of getting rid of this irregular interference of the Consuls, and of substituting for it an International Tribunal. When the International Tribunal was once established, you then came to all the difficulties which arise in connection with the debts of the State—embarrassments of the most serious and political character were produced. It was to get rid of these embarrassments that the financial Control was mainly established. It was established, no doubt, at the instance of the Representatives of the bondholders; but it was maintained especially with a view of preventing political complications, such as would have arisen if the International Tribunal had given judgment, and there had been no means of check, and if the finances had been left in the state of confusion in which they were at that time. The condition of confusion in which the finances of Egypt were before the institution of the financial Control system, was bad for all parties. It was bad for the Fellaheen, because they were heavily taxed; it was bad for the Rulers of the country, because it was demoralizing; it was bad for all Europe and the civilized world, because it left open so many opportunities for intrigue and embarrassment. Now, Sir, I wish to ask—Is the Prime Minister, and are the Government, prepared to say that the action of Lord Salisbury, in 1879, was really, in their belief, the cause of the difficulties which have arisen? Can the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister trace those difficulties—can he put his finger upon the course which those difficulties have pursued, and show that any blame attaches to Lord Salisbury? No; it is really impossible to do so. There is another plea which the right hon. Gentleman put forward. He said—"We have had to give advice step by step, and our advice has been followed, and therefore we are bound to take the consequences." Well, but what we complain of is that the Government did not give wise advice, that they did not give good advice. If there was to be any advice, if Egypt was bound to follow it, it was incumbent upon our Government to give good and sound advice. There is another plea put forth, and it is one the Committee will do well to observe, for it is a good illustration of the mode in which this case is put before us. The plea to which I refer is that of self-defence. I think that if the Committee is called upon to take up a question of this sort, and to engage in so large an enterprize as this, on the ground that it was necessary, in self-defence, to fire our guns at the fortifications of Alexandria at a particular time, all I can say is that an insult is offered to the common sense of the Committee. The Government are attempting to make war upon peace principles, and such an attempt always must fail. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister tells us what is his theory with regard to self-defence. His theory is that if our ships come into the Harbour of Alexandria, and if the guns of the fortifications are placed in position and pointed against them, the ships have a right to fire in self-defence, for fear the guns would fire and damage and sink the ships. I should like to know what Arabi's idea of self-defence is. Suppose Arabi were to apply the argument of the right hon. Gentleman to his own case, might he not say—"We were in Alexandria, we had a right to be there; we saw the British and French ships coming in with their formidable armaments, and coming in in a significant manner, taking soundings, and otherwise taking up a position that it was in their power to destroy the fortifications and the town itself; were we not entitled to exercise our measures of self-defence; were we not entitled to defend ourselves against the ships which were coming against us?" I do think that arguments of this sort in support of so great a proposal as that which we have before us tends to weaken rather than strengthen the case. They are, in fact, cob-web arguments. Let me point out another thing. If these arguments are sound ones, the right hon. Gentleman must bear in mind that the course of his arguments reflects very severely upon the conduct of his Ally, the French, because they, too, were connected, and more than ourselves, with the Control arrangements; they, too, through their Agents, had given advice, step by step, and very often their advice prevailed over ours; they, too, were in the position of having their ships subject to the possibility of being fired upon from the forts. And this really is the theory which is put forward by the right hon. Gentleman as that which ought to be adopted. Now, the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs used arguments of a very different character and of a very different calibre, and though there are some points in the hon. Gentleman's speech with which I should not be disposed to agree, and against which I should enter my protest, I am bound to say that the arguments which he used do form the foundation of a policy which we can recognize as one with some substance in it, and one capable of being taken up as a national policy, and one which may be used continuously. The hon. Gentleman said there were three grounds upon which we had right to interfere. There is the ground of necessity, because we have to guard our road to India, and we have to guard all those great interests connected with the East, which were so well enumerated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) yesterday; there is the ground of Treaty right; and there is the ground of the duty which we owe to the people of Egypt, which, no doubt, is one that weighs heavily upon us; and of our duty to keep the high road through Egypt to the East as clear as possible from disturbance; and of our duty to promote, as far as possible, the peace and tranquillity of the country over which we have so much influence. I recognize in these principles, principles which are capable of being taken as the basis of a National policy, and they are principles which I am quite prepared to accept and agree with. We talk of intervention; but there are different kinds of intervention. There is intervention for the sake of making war for an idea, which we sometimes hear of; but that is a kind of intervention which we ought to be very careful not to be led into. I should protest against intervention of that character altogether. Then there is intervention to fulfil stipulations we have entered into with foreign nations, where you are bound by engagements and are bound to exercise your rights. Then there is a third kind of intervention—namely, on behalf of our own interests, which, I admit, requires the greatest care, because it is easy to fall into an unjustifiable interference; but, on the other hand, that is a simple and intelligible principle which every nation recognizes and knows what it is about, and will understand, and will know how it is dealing with you, and if you interfere for your own interests they can reckon with you and know what is likely to be your course; whereas, if you interfere on special pleas and shadowy ideas on the general fitness of things, nobody knows what to make of it, and what your next turn may be. Under these circumstances, I think the Government are quite justified in saying that where there exists in Egypt an organization—if I may call it so—an organized Military Party which is disturbing and destroying the country and all good government, and producing such havoc amongst the interests in that country, we are in our right, and not only that, as a matter of duty, we are bound to take such steps as we can in order to put that party down. So far, I agree with the Government; but I am quite unable to agree with a great deal said by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He glides altogether over the miscarriages and shortcomings and mistakes that have been committed in the course of the last six or seven months. That is our point. We are prepared, as matters stand, to go with you and support you on the ground of National interests; and, on the ground of duty, we are prepared to support you in the undertaking which you have engaged in—that of putting down this anarchical and disturbing Military Party; but we are quite unable to clear you of mismanagement and of confusion in the way in which you have brought this about. I hope there is nothing unpatriotic in saying that I think it is not at all unreasonable that those who are looking on independently, and who are prepared, and desire above all things, to support the Government in any patriotic proceedings, should criticize the faults which appear to them to have been committed in the course of events which have led us up to this point. We do not desire to go minutely into these matters. We have had enough of it; and it is getting too late to go into them. But, speaking generally, I would say, looking to the choice the Government had in the beginning of this matter; looking to the many forces there were conceived to be on our side—there was the Khedive, he has displayed throughout these proceedings an honesty and courage which deserve the highest praise at our hands, and render it possible for us to reckon entirely on his support in what has to be done; then there was the Chamber of Notables, the Notables representing, as they did, the true National Party in Egypt, as much as anybody can represent a different National Party from that represented by Arabi—they might have been made good use of to prevent and stop the evils which arose. Then you have the influence of the Porte. I never knew a case in which an influence like that of the Porte was so wantonly sacrificed as in the proceedings which have taken place. Whether it was owing to these uncertainties and hesitations, or to the influence of your Allies, I do not now inquire; but the right hon. Gentleman seems to think that because I do not ask this question I have no opinion as to the course which has led to the present position. But I am looking to the result of all this. With the possibility you had of making use of all these instruments —of the Khedive, of the Notables, of the Alliance with France, and the Concert of Europe — if you chose to call upon them, what has been the result at which you have arrived? The right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues attach the highest importance to the Concert of Europe; and yet I observe that whenever an expression is used as to going into this war alone, there is a cheer from all parts of the supporters of the Government who prefer the isolated action of England to the Concert of Europe. We have been asked, two or three times over, a number of questions which I do not think it is at all right that we should attempt to answer; but there was one question which the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) asked, and which was asked also by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). They said—"We must call upon you, the Opposition, to tell us what you complain of? With which horse will you win? Do you complain of the Government for isolating England or for hampering England?" I would take both horses, because the Government have accomplished at the same time the feat of hampering and isolating us. You could not have a stronger instance than the non-landing of troops in order to prevent the calamities at Alexandria. You were there isolated; you were there firing at the forts two or three days, with the spectacle of all those horrors that were going on, and yet you could take no steps to prevent them, and for the reason that it would have been grossly disloyal in the face of the European Concert to have taken necessary measures for preventing all that happened. Now, we have got refinement upon refinement, because, as I understand, it would not have been disloyal to the European Concert if you had landed an insufficient number of men; but it would have been disloyal if you had landed a sufficient number of men. The whole thing turns upon that. You might have landed a few hundred men —perhaps 1,000; but when it came to 8,000 or 10,000 men, you were there stopped by this Conference and this Concert, which, after all, does not even give you a mandate. I say we are perfectly at liberty to fight; but the Government have isolated us and driven friends from us at a critical moment, and hampered us in the action we are to take. With regard to our advice to the Khedive, he must sometimes have felt a difficulty as to what he was to do, for while he was receiving all this advice from us, we were weakening his authority with his people, and making him the poor tool of a foreign nation, and the further you went the worse it was for him. That had nothing to do with the Control; that was the action of the Consul General, acting under the orders of the Foreign Office. There was never any talk of dismissing any of the Controllers; but it would have been fair for the Government to have said they found it embarrassing and thought it right to make such changes as they thought necessary. They never thought of that. It was always the action of the Consuls of the two Powers, acting under the direction of the Foreign Office. Now, with regard to the position of Arabi himself. Had you dealt with him, or had it been found possible to deal with him firmly and vigorously at first, he never would have grown into the power he now is; and you must take good care that you do not by mismanagement in the future let him grow into greater power. At present he is at the head of a Party which we can speak of as the Military and Insurgent Party. He is not at the head of the National Party, but take good care that his Party does not become the National Party. That is the danger you have to guard against, and it is one of a very serious character. I do not wish to go into the question of your dealings with the Porte. We have had enough of that for the present, and there is no object to be gained in discussing this matter further. I think that is a point upon which we had better throw the responsibility on the Government of determining what course they should take. I am aware we are touching upon very delicate ground. A question has been put to us from the other side which, I think, we should be wrong and unpatriotic to attempt to answer, especially with our limited information; but I do think there have been several occasions upon which we can at once put our fingers as calculated to destroy and alienate the influence of the Porte if you had desired to use it, and which undoubtedly led to very great confusion. I do not say anything about that matter of the sending of the ships to Alexandria; but in regard to the Dual Note, was there ever anything more calculated to irritate the Porte than the manner in which that Note was presented? What was the effect? It produced all that jealousy in Europe which has been an embarrassing condition with us ever since. What did M. de Freycinet say to us three days ago in the French Senate? He said a Note had been presented which was expected to work great wonders, but it had lamentably failed and excited distrust throughout Europe. Under that influence the four Powers drew closely together. That was all the advantage you got. What possible advantage you got nobody could see; what disadvantage you got is shown by the words I have referred to. The question of calling the Conference at Constantinople without the Sultan's consent, and the question of sending iron-clads against the protest of the Porte; all these are questions of mismanagement for which we must hold the Government responsible. I am not prepared to say that their decisions in some cases, where they appeared to us to be wrong, might not have been justified by matters with which we are not acquainted. I do not desire to be too critical upon questions of that sort; but I do say we have every reason to be unsatisfied and even dissatisfied with the general result of the policy the Government have been pursuing, and which they have been allowed, so far as any Parliamentary action is concerned, to pursue for six or seven months, and which has culminated in such a state of things as that we now see. If you leave the Government responsible, as you are bound to leave them, if you abstain from interfering at every turn with their policy, you must judge by the result, and you must say that, judging roughly by the result in the present case, the case lies very much against the conduct pursued by the Government. I do not desire to pursue that line of argument longer. I am very sorry that it was necessary for us even to appear to be carping at the Government at a moment when they seem to have the need of all the strength which the country can give them. For my part, I am quite prepared to re-echo the words of the right hon. Member for Ripon, that England ought to speak with one voice in this matter. I am quite aware of the great importance of the task before them. I am aware of its great difficulty and great delicacy. It is one which, so far as an immediate object is concerned, we may look at without any great anxiety. With regard to the attainment of the first object, I have no doubt that the power of England will be amply sufficient, if properly put forth and directed with energy and wisdom, for the accomplishment of the important object of putting down this insurgent force. I regret extremely that so much time has been lost in undertaking that duty. I earnestly hope that more time will not be lost than is necessary, because there is a tendency in these things for difficulties to accumulate and grow, and I hope we shall be able to act before they have grown stronger. But when I say we shall be able to deal with such a force and task as that without difficulty, I cannot but see that there are many other dangers that lie beyond that. The matter does not rest merely in the putting down of this force. We are moving on very delicate ground, and in the midst of many and serious complications. We have to consider not only the attitude of other Powers, not only the great difficulties of the question and the possibility of arousing Mahommedan feeling throughout the East; we have to consider not only all these things, but we have also to remember that we have also a settlement ultimately to be arrived at still before us; and in whatever blows we have to strike we must remember what the settlement is to be in the end, and how far what we do will complicate the settlement. We are anxious, as far as we can, to maintain and support the National policy; but if we are to support it, it must be a policy founded on intelligible principles, and principles having in them the character of permanency, and which are not merely temporary means, or anything in the nature of hair-splitting reasons, and that we should be convinced that the policy we are pursuing will be consistent and in accordance with our general duties and obligations, as also for the true interests of both countries. If that is the spirit in which we are going forward, I care not myself whether we are to go alone or with friends. If it is found that it is best for us to go alone, why alone we shall be prepared to go, and there will be no flinching on the part of Englishmen in the contest. There will be great indignation if, after all the sacrifice we are called to make, and all the risks we are to run, a good result is not arrived at. I cannot believe there will be any fault in us. The heart of England is sound, and the ready voice of her sons will be given in support of the Government if they are proceeding upon sound principles, and with adequate firmness and courage. But we must not be supposed to be subject to sudden and unaccountable delays, or to some revolution of feeling, and liable to be told that we have always been wrong, and acting contrary to proper principles, and that the Military Party is, after all, the National Party, and that Arabi is not a rebel, but a patriot. I hope a spirit of this kind will be responded to, and done justice to, by the spirit of the Ministry whom we are prepared now to support; and I am sure that the vote which will be given to-night will be found adequately and truly to represent the feeling of the nation.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have observed that a great distinction is to be drawn between the charges made against Her Majesty's Government in the course of this debate. Some of them have been entirely vague and general, such as those of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, when he speaks of their mismanagement, errors, and confusion, and such as those who complain of their indecision and hesitation and procrastination. All these are the stock phrases of the Opposition. I should waste the time of the Committee if I did more than meet them with a general negative. But it is only fair to admit that on certain points charges of a much more specific and more definite character have been made, which it is our duty more particularly to notice. And do not let it be supposed that we deprecate criticism upon our conduct. The right hon. Gentleman could not but be aware that this has been considered the fairest possible occasion for tracing conduct to causes, and for examining what has been the action of the Governments who have been concerned in bringing about the present state of things in Egypt. I hail that criticism; it is the duty as well as the privilege of the House of Commons; but I object to the course of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who resents extremely our going back upon any share he and his Government had in bringing about this state of things in Egypt, and is determined that, under no conditions, shall we be allowed to examine his action. The right hon. Gentleman the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke), fatigued with his oration, has wisely retired from the House; but I am afraid I must take the opportunity of making some remarks upon what he said. One of his arguments was—"We handed over to you Egypt quite quiet, and now it is disturbed." It certainly was a bold definition of the law of *post hoc, propter hoc.* We might as well say—"In 1874 we handed over to you Turkey perfectly quiet, and in 1875 it was disturbed." Egypt has not been so quiet as the right hon. Gentleman supposes, for in 1879—that is, in the time of the late Government—the first symptom of the aggression of the Military Party, which was favoured and probably made practicable by its being able to plead that it was a reaction against foreign interference and influence with the Government of that country—the first case of military *émeute* took place in 1879. The right hon. Gentleman resents extremely my reference to the establishment of the Control by Lord Salisbury in 1879. The hon. and learned Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) stated roughly, but I think with great accuracy, what took place in 1879. The hon. and learned Member stated that before 1879 the Control was financial, but in 1879 it became political. That is entirely denied by the right hon. Gentleman. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: No.] But here is a despatch of Lord Salisbury's, dated November 8, 1879, in which he endeavours to remove the difficulties and jealousies he had excited in the minds of other Powers by the Control he had established, and when he had rejected the proposals of Count Karolyi, that the Austrian Government should have a share in it. He said—

> "I observed to Count Karolyi that the action of England, though her interests were largely commercial, was dictated in the main by exclusively political considerations."

And Lord Salisbury refused Count Karolyi's proposal, because, he says—

> "Any international government of Egypt I thought quite impossible."

He speaks of the government of Egypt, and said Austria was not to be admitted, because that would have made it international. While Lord Salisbury speaks of the government of Egypt, and though the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated yesterday that it was necessary to have command over every institution in Egypt, the right hon. Gentleman now says it was not political Control.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: That is not the question.

MR. GLADSTONE: The first question is, was it a political Control? I assert it was not so in 1876, because the Government were not concerned in it. The fact that the Egyptians chose to establish foreign Controllers, which was an arrangement attended with great benefit to the people of Egypt, was not of necessity an arrangement entailing foreign intervention, because they retained the right to dismiss those Controllers; but in 1879 you deprived them of that right to dismiss those foreign Controllers, and you brought foreign intervention right into the heart of the government of Egypt, and established, in the strongest sense of the phrase, a political Control. Now, Sir, it is necessary for me, after the denial of the right hon. Gentleman, to show how completely his assertion is contradicted by the language of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whose Colleague he was. But do not let it be supposed that I overlook the benefits of the Control or the difficulties which, I believe, the late Government met with at the time when they established it, and when they had to do exactly what we have had to do ever since—that is to say, to make a choice between the greater and lesser difficulty, and by accepting the lesser to avoid the greater. The right hon. Gentleman says that I ought to have dwelt more on the topics of general necessity and of our national interests, and he finds great fault with me for not having done so. But I adopted what appeared to me the shortest and most conclusive way of establishing my case, and stated that, apart from the consideration of general principles, we found a position established in which we had become the counsellors of the Khedive, involved in all the interests and proceedings of his Government, parties to the carrying of it on, and without the possibility of escape from the consequences to which its carrying on might lead. The right hon. Gentleman says that the Control never led to difficulties in the course of this controversy. But is he aware that the objections of the Controllers to the scheme of the Notables was the main cause of the failure of that scheme? Not that I think it prudent to say it would have been accepted without amendment; but their objections to the Control of the Notables were what made it on the one hand most difficult for England to give any support to the scheme, and on the other hand tended to throw the Notables into the hands of Arabi Pasha, and to give him that pretext of representing national feelings and aspirations which it had been his main object to acquire. Every apology is to be made for that Control; great benefits have resulted from it to the cultivators of the soil in Egypt; but that must not be permitted to keep out of view the fact that that Control did establish distinct intervention in the heart of the Egyptian Government, and thereby laid the foundation of almost certain dangers. Then, says the right hon. Gentleman, "Why did you not give it up?" But he ought to know—and if he does not know I must remind him—that the Control was not established as two engagements independent of each—one by France and one by England. Besides being an arrangement with England, it was an arrangement between France and England, having practically the nature of a political covenant; we were bound to France in respect of that covenant, and we could not recede from it. I believe I have now stated the case of the Control impartially, admitting its benefits, and admitting the difficulties under which the late Administration lay with respect to its establishment. At the same time, there comes out in strong and clear relief the danger of establishing in any country—and especially where there is a rising popular National feeling—a system of intervention in the heart of affairs of the National Government, which is always, in the view of the people, an odious object, and which gives to any adventurer—as it has done in this particular case—and to any revolutionary party, a *fulcrum* or a standing-ground for the advancement of their designs. It was not, therefore, on the grounds which the right hon. Gentleman supposes that I disclaimed general arguments with regard to interference in the affairs of Egypt, and that I resorted to this method of proof; but because, as I say distinctly, we had absolute engagements upon us as to the government of Egypt, which made it our duty to act as we have done—taking our share of responsibility in advising in the difficult circumstances through which the Khedive had to pass, by which we have arrived at the present state of the case. Now, Sir, I will not dwell for more than a very few moments upon the charge reiterated by the right hon. Gentleman—that we did not land troops in order to prevent the ruin which took place in Alexandria. I am rather astonished at the misrepresentation by the right hon. Gentleman of what was said by me. He says I stated, refining upon refinement, that the distinction turned upon the number of troops. I suppose the right hon. Gentleman thinks in saying this that he is making a true representation of my meaning; but, Sir, it is as far as anything can possibly be from the statement I made. I said it would not have been compatible with our engagements to prepare a force for the invasion of Egypt. Amongst the suggestions on this subject which have been made, is that contributed to-night by the noble Lord the Member for South Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil)—namely, that it might have been possible, by landing a force at Aboukir Bay, to occupy the isthmus or neck of land which separates Alexandria from the mainland, and to intercept the Army in that city. But, Sir, if that were required to be done, it would have been an operation which could not have been undertaken by any Government in its senses, except after the preparation, with all its equipments, of an invading force. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Why not?] Because it would have been totally at variance with the principles of our policy. We recognized the title of Europe to be consulted in that matter—[Colonel STANLEY: Hear, hear!]—a subject which offers the right hon. and gallant Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) the occasion for a cheer, or, at any rate, of a significant intimation of dissent. Is that a strange proposition for me to make now? Has the right hon. Gentleman forgotten the Treaty of Paris, and that the Treaty of Paris, except so far as it is modified by the Treaty of Berlin, is still in force; and that by the Treaty of Paris everything political or territorial affecting the dominions of the Turkish Empire is matter for the common concern of Europe? We should have been guilty of breaking that Treaty had we presumed to take upon ourselves without reference to Europe the preparation of an invading Army. Therefore, I adhere to the remark I made that it would have been, first of all, inexpedient, inasmuch as it would have upset utterly our plea that we were taking action in self-defence; and, secondly, that we were forbidden by International Law and high international policy from passing by the views of Europe in this matter. Hon. Members seem to have forgotten that the work of conflagration and pillage was carried on under a flag of truce, and that it would not have been possible by the landing of any force to have prevented what took place. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) persistently urged that we were throughout these transactions surrendering everything to France. Now, I wish the Committee to bear in mind that the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down charges upon us that we did not regard the subject from a sufficiently high point of view; but I could wish that he had recollected what was our greatest and most imperative duty in approaching this question of Egypt. Sir, we had to bear in mind that the Crimean War, which involved the greater part of Europe and cost 500,000 lives, arose out of a dispute about the access to holy places; we had to recollect that the Russo-Turkish War arose out of a local disturbance in the mountain districts of Herzegovina; neither of the countries where these events occurred being so sensitive as Egypt may be said to be; and the great duty incumbent on us was to take care and strive with all our might that whatever contention should arise with respect to Egypt should be a contention in and for Egypt alone, and that under no consideration should that local difficulty be allowed to grow into a European struggle and, probably, into a European war. Now, I ask hon. Gentlemen to read the Papers presented to Parliament in the light of these considerations, and then I think they will cease to cavil at the exact phraseology of this or that Note, and as to whether it was right of us to give way on this or that point, or at this or that particular period in deference to the views of the Government of France. It is quite true we did give in on a variety of points and on a variety of occasions to the views of the Government of France, and I contend we were right in giving way, because to break with them would have been a far greater evil and a far greater wrong than anything we have done. Were our concessions barren of any ultimate effect? I admit it would have been advantageous if we could have secured an agreement between the two Governments on every point and at every period in these negotiations; but let us see if the principles on which we acted with reference to the Government of France have proved to be barren in their results. Our principles, or rather the points which we highly appreciated, were that the action of Europe should be invoked; that Tewfik Pasha should be firmly and unequivocally supported—that is to say, his title unequivocally recognized; that Turkish intervention should be considered as preferable to every other; and that popular liberty in Egypt should be brought within the terms of international engagements. It is perfectly true that on these points we were not quite in unison with the Government of France; it is true that on some of them we made concessions at certain periods; but it is also true that, by the temperate and conciliatory course of Lord Granville, this effect was produced upon the Government of France—that later if not earlier upon all these great points France ceased to be in any degree at variance with us, and adopted the great cardinal principles which we ourselves had so long urged, and which I have placed before the Committee. Every one of these, as certain stages of the negotiations were reached, became the basis of French action in Egypt. Sir, I think this is a very important result. It is said that France has been exceedingly wrong in the matter of Tunis. My right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) touched in his speech of last night upon this very delicate subject; but my right hon. Friend touched upon it in a spirit of equity and impartiality which I hope will command for his observations candid consideration wherever they may be read. It is easy to begin to raise little objections here and there to the conduct of France in this case, and it is easy to say that France was in a false position in Egypt on account of what she had done in Tunis. But, unfortunately, when you have carried back the argument as far as Tunis, it does not stop there. It goes back beyond Tunis. It goes back to inquire who opened the door to Tunis? And it goes back to the Anglo-Turkish Convention and the occupation of Cyprus. And those who blame France for what she has done in Tunis must consider what inducement on the one hand, and what provocation on the other, had been administered to the policy which she carried out. We have endeavoured to act in the spirit of our engagements to France, which my right hon. Friend opposite well knows to have been close and binding in their nature. I will not enter now into the question fairly raised by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who asked whether such engagement should last for ever? It has been said that inconvenience resulted from our adherence to these international engagements; but, even if that be so, I would rather undergo great inconvenience than set a fatal precedent by laying down a lax doctrine on the obligation of observing them. But I am quite sure that it is a sound principle to draw a distinction with regard to the position of a Government in relation to the policy and engagement of its Predecessors. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) brought himself up with this admission, which he had great difficulty in making. Undoubtedly, of all questions I have ever become acquainted with, this has been far the most momentuous, on account of the great number of different authorities we have to deal with, and from the difficulties existing between those authorities. There were jealousies; there were varieties of opposition; there were second intentions; and there were separate interests involved. We had before us the Khedive, the Sultan, our great Ally France, and Europe at large. Well, Sir, it was our duty to harmonize, to the best of our ability, these various and, in many cases, divergent Powers; and I am glad to say that, whatever else may be said, I believe it to be undeniable that English influence has throughout the course of these transactions been that middle influence which has been seeking to bind all into one harmonious whole, and to prevent the collisions or strong divergencies which might otherwise have occurred. Sir, I think we are not entirely without our reward. We have at the present time a clear and well-defined position; and if the Conference has produced but a negative result, it has, at any rate, effected this—that every Power represented there is satisfied of our loyal and unselfish mode of dealing with the Egyptian Question. Every one of those Powers looks at least with goodwill on the course which we have taken, and every trace of international jealousy has been effaced from the mind of every Government in Europe. I say that this, although a negative, is an all-important, result. It is very easy to say—"You ought to have broken off from France." But that is a serious proposition. It is not the power of France that England fears; it is the long experience of her friendship, continued through half-a-century without a breach, and of the great good that has been wrought for Europe by means of that friendship, which makes it the duty of the English Government well to consider its course before it breaks with France. The effect of breaking with France must have been a sharp conflict in Egypt, where the two countries would have been divided into separate camps, and, as I believe, a general European war. There is no point upon the surface of the globe where you have to deal with more susceptible materials than this country of Egypt, connected, as it is, by geographical position with the jealousies and interests of every country of the civilized world. The consequence has been, then, that as regards Europe every trace of jealousy has been removed, and that which we call moral assent is substituted in its place; and jealousies, be it remembered, are apt to grow into positive and substantial acts of hostility. In respect of France nothing can be more complete than the accord which now exists. The right hon. Gentleman and all the House must feel how the difficulties of these negotiations have been aggravated by the occurrence of more than one political crisis in France during a short period of time, and by the passing, as it were, of a variety of shades over the tone of the French Government in connection with those Ministerial changes, and with popular and Parliamentary action, which is no less lively in that country than it is in this. But, still, whether we look to the Government that is now in power, or the Government that was in power before it, as, I may say, apart from Ministerial changes, we have not the slightest reason to apprehend that, even if the exterior form of action be not the same—if France, in the exercise of her independent judgment, arrives at some conclusions different from ours—the harmonious feeling between the two countries, or their united purpose, will be in the least impaired, or that anything but the temper which has hitherto obtained will govern their international relations. With reference to the Sultan, let me say, in respect of the valuable speech of the hon. Member for North Durham (Sir George Elliot), that I entirely agree with him in the recommendation which he made that we should endeavour to procure from the Sultan some proclamation which would at length effectually define his position with relation to Arabi Pasha and his party. I was much struck with the pertinacity with which the hon. Baronet dwelt on that subject, and we entirely agree with him in the feeling he has expressed; and, further, I am able to say that I believe every Power in Europe is of the same mind, believing that it is required absolutely as a necessity of the situation that the position of the Sultan in regard to Arabi Pasha, which has been compromised by various circumstances, should be defined by a proclamation that would leave no possibility of mistake upon the minds of men, and which will have the effect, we trust, of obviating what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon has justly observed is one serious danger of the present case—namely, the danger of its being made to partake, in the least degree, of the character of a religious war. That is, of course, what the rebellious Chiefs are endeavouring to import into the controversy, and that element, of all others, the most poisonous and most mischievous, we must endeavour to counteract. Lastly, I think we may say, with respect to the Khedive, that for months past it has been a matter of great uncertainty whether even his personal title was recognized by those who took part in the consideration of this question. That controversy, I believe, has now been brought to an end, and I earnestly hope that the Khedive will now reap the reward of his manfulness and integrity in the support of all Europe, and in the best support which England can give him. While I admit that you may exercise small criticisms, if you like, on this or that despatch, or this or that expression, in which we have deliberately compromised, for the moment, some sentiment that we ourselves entertain on account of that which we felt to be our duty to our great Neighbour with whom it was our duty to act in unison—while I make that admission, I say, fix your minds on the dangers that overhung the paramount interests which it was our duty to keep in view. These greater dangers have been obviated, and a clear field and an open stage of action has been obtained; and I think you will find that it has been by no small difficulty that these obstacles have been surmounted, and that you are in the position to look on yourselves, on the one hand, as free to use your own power without restraint or without interference, and, on the other hand, you can do it in full possession of the confidence of the other great States of Europe, because they believe your action is honest, loyal, and directed to beneficial ends. In the course of this debate I have heard various declarations—very well-meant declarations—and appeals as to the value of national unity on the question of foreign policy, and, sometimes, when these declarations have been made, there have been reference to what took place in the time of the late Government, and when, unhappily, that national unity was not always attained. And I wish we could clearly understand one another as to what this national unity is or ought to be. It appears to me that there are some in this House who are disposed to push the doctrine to this point—that when a question of arduous foreign policy arises, it is the duty of all men to silence their own judgment, and their own consciences, and blindly follow whatever may be the action of the Government of the day. Now, is that the meaning, or is it not? Is that a principle which can be sustained, or is it not? I am not prepared to give my adhesion to that doctrine. I claim for myself the liberty, always admitting the responsibility to be very great, of offering opposition to any foreign policy of which I strongly and heartily disapprove; and I hope hon. Gentlemen opposite will do the same thing. We would not ask them to support Votes for purposes of which they disapprove. If they think this Vote is asked for a purpose of which they do not approve, or that it ought to be impeached in point of policy or right, let them oppose it—let them do what Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright did at the time of the Crimean War, and for which we thought more highly of them than we should have done if they had suffered their sentiments to be concealed in silence within their hearts. Let them do what Fox did, as Burke and Lord Chatham did during the time of the American War; but do not let them lay down the sluggish doctrine that Englishmen are blindly, like sheep, to follow the action of the Government, or to give their votes in silence to that which they in their hearts condemn. No; let this question be tried on its rights. I believe it is being tried on its rights. I believe that while you claim with perfect justice and freedom your title to judge us in the past, yet you feel there is something besides the past that we have to deal with—that we must look forward to the future, and that you must give us your support, that at this moment the nation throughout all its borders is giving us its support, because they see we are engaged in an enterprize which we desire and mean to follow with all our energy, and in which we trust it may be granted to us to labour for maintaining the interests of the Empire, for promoting the welfare of the Egyptian people, and for doing honest work towards the establishment of the peace and order of the world.

Mr. O'DONNELL (who was frequently interrupted by cries for a division) said, he would not trouble the Committee with more than a very few words; but he had several observations to make which he considered it his duty to put before the Committee, and which would not be averted by these interruptions. He had been inclined to be sorry he had not caught the Chairman's eye earlier in the evening's proceedings; but now that he had heard what purported to be a full explanation of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, but which he had some special reasons for believing not to be a complete explanation of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, he was not sorry that he was obliged to address the Committee at this late hour, and under these unfavourable circumstances. He did not rise for the purpose of indulging in any lengthened criticism of the speech or speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. He did not rise, though under other circumstances he should have much wished to do so, to criticize the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), who, to use an Irish phrase, sought to represent the international gombeen man in this transaction. Strongly as he felt that the charges made against Arabi Pasha by the Prime Minister were, to use something like the right hon. Gentleman's own moderate language when speaking of the Leader of the Opposition, directly the reverse of the facts, he did not intend to criticize the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. O'Donnell) might have been tempted, when the Premier reminded them this evening that Egypt was such a singularly sensitive part of the universe, to have pointed out to the House the delicate manner in which the right hon. Gentleman had treated that sensitiveness. [*Cries of* "Divide!"]

An hon. Member: Move the adjournment.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he wished to know whether the Government were going to allow the Committee to come to a vote on this subject in ignorance of the fact that, instead of England enjoying the moral consent of Europe, and being allowed to use its power, as the Prime Minister had just now informed the Committee, without any restraints, owing to the entire confidence which Europe placed in the English Government, the mandate of Europe had sent Turkey as an intermediate to watch the British Government, and that Turkey had accepted that mandate? He wanted to know whether it was to be excused, on the ground of official reticence, that the Foreign Office should be in possession—as he was informed it was—of the formal and solemn consent of Turkey to send an Army into Egypt, and yet should neglect to communicate a single word with regard to that important fact to the Committee? He wanted to know under what conditions, with what scope, with what guarantee, was the Turkish Army to appear in Egypt and remain there? He wanted to know, and he thought the Committee had a right to know, and, he maintained, it was the duty of the responsible Opposition to insist upon knowing, what was going to be the action of Her Majesty's Government in face of the presence of the Turkish Army in Egypt? Were Her Majesty's Government going to relax their warlike efforts, and to allow Turkey to carry out the mandate of Europe, and to restore peace and order in Egypt by its forces? Or, on the other hand, would

Her Majesty's Forces be employed in Egypt without regard to the presence of the Turkish Army? Whilst Turkey was authorized to use the Turkish Army in Egypt, by the mandate of Europe, to restore order, were Her Majesty's Forces to be employed in more bombardments, in further expeditions and invasions, in warring against the Native Egyptian Forces without allowing any opportunity to Turkey to restore order, according to the mandate of Europe? He wanted to know—the Committee had a right to know—why they had not had an explanation, or even an admission, of this fact up to the present? Why had they not had the slightest intimation of the fact? Why had the Government apparently sought to obtain a Vote of the Committee by keeping back a knowledge of the most grave and serious, and important fundamental fact of the whole situation? He was entitled to ask whether Her Majesty's Government would assist or oppose the entry of Turkish troops into Egypt, and whether or not they were satisfied with that solution of the question? If Her Majesty's Government resolved to oppose the entry of Turkish troops into Egypt, would they, or would they not, incur responsibilities to the European Concert? Were Her Majesty's Government prepared to attack the European Concert as well as to attack Arabi Pasha? He was entitled to ask, and the Committee were entitled to know, all these things, and in order to enable the Prime Minister to answer, he would move that the Chairman report Progress.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. O'Donnell*,) —put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he rose for the purpose of asking Her Majesty's Government whether they had received a Note from Turkey accepting the mandate of Europe to send an Army into Egypt; and whether Her Majesty's Government meant to explain their policy in regard to that Note before asking for the Vote the most important part of the explanation of which would have been left unsaid?

Mr. GLADSTONE: What I wish to say, in answer to the question of the hon. Gentleman is, that the House is aware of the restraint under which we lie with respect to the present position of affairs. But I can say this, in the most positive manner, that nothing has happened which, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, in the slightest degree affects their duty to request this Vote from the House of Commons, or to prosecute the undertaking on which we have entered.

Original Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 275; Noes 19: Majority 256.

AYES.

Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Alexander, Colonel C.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Baring, T. C.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass, H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brinton, J.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadhurst, H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burnaby, General E. S.
Buszard, M. C.
Butt, C. P.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, J. A.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chaplin, H.
Cheetham, J. F.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Corbett, J.
Corry, J. P.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Cropper, J.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Earp, T.
Ebrington, Viscount
Ecroyd, W. F.
Edwards, H.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Feilden, Maj.-Gen. R. J.
Ferguson, R.
Findlater, W.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.

Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, A.
Grantham, W.
Grenfell, W. H.
Grey, A. H. G.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Howard, G. J.
Howard, J.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, rt. hon. W. M.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Leigh, R.
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lyons, R. D.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
Mackie, R. B.
Macliver, P. S.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, E.
Marriott, W. T.
Maskelyne, M. H. Story-
Mason, H.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Monk, C. J.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, S.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Murray, C. J.
Nicholson, W.
Nicholson, W. N.
Noel, E.
Northcote, rt. hn. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Brien, Sir P.
Onslow, D.
O'Shaughnessy, R.
O'Shea, W. H.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, R. H.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pell, A.
Pender, J.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Potter, T. B.
Pugh, L. P.
Puleston, J. H.
Pulley, J.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Ralli, P.
Rankin, J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Rendel, S.
Repton, G. W.
Richardson, T.
Ritchie, C. T.
Robertson, H.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Round, J.
Russell, G. W. E.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, M. D.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Severne, J. E.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F. A.
Stanley, E. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H. V.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thornhill, T.
Tillett, J. H.
Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Tottenham, A. L.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Vivian, A. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Walter, J.
Warton, C. N.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
Whalley, G. H.
Whitbread, S.
Whitley, E.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wilson, Sir M.
Winn, R.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

NOES.

Burt, T.
Callan, P.
Collings, J.
Illingworth, A.
Lawson, Sir W.
M'Carthy, J.
Nelson, I.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Kelly, J.
Power, J. O'C.
Redmond, J. E.
Richard, H.
Sheil, E.
Storey, S.
Thompson, T. C.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Wyndham, hon. P.

TELLERS.
Biggar, J. G.
O'Donnell, F. H.

ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—VOTE A.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER, in rising to move—

> "That a number of Men, not exceeding 10,000, all ranks, in addition to those already voted, be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at home and abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883,"

appealed to hon. Gentlemen opposite to allow this Vote to be taken at once, because it was very necessary to do so, and they would have an opportunity of saying what they wished on the Army Vote which was not yet passed. The 10,000 men proposed to be taken were the very cream of the Service, not one of them being much over 30 years of age.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a number of Men, not exceeding 10,000, all ranks, in addition to those already voted, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at home and abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883."—(*Sir Arthur Hayter.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to ask a question with regard to the different battalions now in the Service. The other day the Secretary of State for War admitted that the Brigade of Guards alone were below their establishment by an average of 50 men a battalion. As there were seven battalions of Guards, that average represented a deficiency in the Brigade of Guards alone of 350 men, and, if the same system had been pursued throughout the whole Army, there was a number of men accounted for almost equal to those which the Committee were now asked to vote over and above the present establishment. There were 136 battalions of the Line; those with the seven of Guards made 143 battalions, and, if the average deficiency, which was acknowledged with respect to the Brigade of Guards, was to be found throughout the whole of the Infantry Service, there was a deficiency of over 7,000 men. He knew that the strength of many of the Cavalry regiments had been below their establishment for a considerable time; and if the Artillery was in the same position, there was actually the whole of the 10,000 men now asked for over and above the existing establishment entirely accounted for by the deficiency in the recruiting arrangements. He believed that the phrase applied by the late Lord Derby some years ago to the Army might be repeated now—"attenuated battalions"—and that was why the Government had to ask for a special Vote to call out the Reserves. He should like to hear a statement from the Government as to the strength of the Cavalry and Infantry battalions?

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, he wished to make one or two remarks in correction of statements made by the Secretary of State for War as to the Brigade of Guards. He did not wish to say a word against the appointment of the Duke of Connaught to command the Brigade of Guards proceeding to Egypt; but the Secretary of State for War had stated that the appointment of an officer who had no connection with the Brigade of Guards did not come under the Queen's Regulations. Such an appointment did, however, come under the Queen's Regulations with respect to the command of regiments on foreign service. At page 374, the Regulations said—

> "The Foot Guards from time immemorial, when detached by Brigade, have always been commanded by officers belonging to the Guards, and the custom will continue for the future."

He merely wished to call attention to the fact that this was in the Queen's Regulations. On every occasion on which the Guards had proceeded on foreign service they were commanded by their own officers. In 1801 they were commanded by General Ludlow. When they proceeded to Waterloo they were commanded by Major General Maitland and Major General Banks. In the Crimea they were commanded by Major General Bentinck; and when they went to Canada, although that was not exactly the scene of war, they were commanded by Lieutenant General Fitzroy and Lord John Lindsay. He thought, by stating these facts and quoting the Queen's Regulations, he had shown that whenever Her Majesty's Foot Guards, which he had the honour to serve, proceeded abroad, they had been commanded by their own officers. He did not pass any reflection on the appointment made in this case; but, for the sake of the Service, he thought it important to mention that this matter was dealt with in the Queen's Regulations.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER, in reply to the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), said, the battalions of Guards consisted of 761 rank and file, and with the officers were nearly 800 strong. The Cavalry battalions consisted of 452 men. Men were taken from some battalions to make up for other battalions.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT wished to know whether the Reserves would join the regiments to which they belonged? Although this had been contemplated from the first, it had never yet been done.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER promised to inquire into that matter.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he thought the statement recently made by the Secretary of State for War was inaccurate, and he hoped some explanation would be made by the Government which would be in the nature of a reparation to the House and to the Service for that statement. He had asked whether it was intended to observe the Regulation requiring that when the Brigade of Guards went on active service it should be commanded by its own officers? And the answer he received from the War Minister was that the Regulation he referred to was only a Guards' Regulation, and not one of the Queen's Regulations for the Army. It was, however, one of the Queen's Regulations for the Army, and from time immemorial it had been observed in the Army. There had been no instance pointed out in which the Brigade of Guards went on active service when it was not commanded by a Guards' General. There had been a serious injustice done in the present case. He did not approach the subject in any spirit of depreciation of the Royal Prince who had been selected; but Regulations were Regulations, and merit was merit. Service ought to count as service, and when the War Minister showed undue influence at the top of the tree, that was an example which was likely to prove destructive in all the lower branches. The Brigade of Guards ought to be commanded by a Guards' General, according to the Regulations, and there were at least three Guards' Generals of distinguished service, one of whom ought to have been appointed. There was General Higginson, General Burnaby, an hon. and gallant Member of that House, and General Gibbs. General Higginson was at present commanding the Home District, and he understood that that officer had waived his right because the Home District was regarded as one of the plums of the Service.

Mr. MAGNIAC: I can assure the hon. Member that it is not the case that General Higginson has waived his right; he never had the opportunity.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he was glad to receive that correction, and the hon. Member's statement only added to the impropriety of what had been done. Then, besides General Higginson, who was a most distinguished officer of 34 years' service, there was General Burnaby, who was also a veteran in the Service, and had been all his life an ardent friend of the Guards, and a most popular officer among the soldiers; and then there was Major General Gibbs, who had seen over 32 years' service, was wounded at the Alma and stabbed at Inkerman, or stabbed at the Alma and wounded at Inkerman — for the purposes of the War Minister it did not matter how that was, for neither wounds, nor service, nor the Queen's Regulations could lead him in the path of duty against powerful solicitations. If he had any opportunity on which he could take a precise vote by which the country could recognize and mark the conduct of the Government he should take such opportunity, for he thought it was just as wrong to break the Regulations, and to overlook the rights of gallant soldiers in the interests of a Royal Prince, as it would be in the interests of an inferior person. The Duke of Connaught was a Line officer, and the Government might very easily have given him the command of the Line forces sent out; but it was His Royal Highness's desire to command the Guards without any regard for the Queen's Regulations. Then the extraordinary inaccuracy which had led the War Minister to deny that this was a matter under the Queen's Regulations had about as fishy a look as anything in the administration of the War Office. As it was the Liberal War Minister who had committed this act of misconduct, there would be no burning and boiling protestation from the Liberal ranks below the Gangway; but it was the fact that three gallant officers had had their claims overlooked, and their rights set aside, and also honourable rights on behalf of which they had risked, and, as it turned out, sacrificed very large sums of money. All this had been done purely out of regard for influences which ought not to interfere with the rights and merits of old officers, and with old privileges in the Army.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the answer of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir Arthur Hayter) was really no answer at all, because he had not asked what was the strength of the different regiments which were to go on foreign service. What he wished to know was, whether it was not the fact that the establishment of the whole Army was not very much below its proper strength; and was it not a fact that the Engineers at home, the Artillery, the Foot Guards, and the Infantry were 100,000 below their proper strength; and whether the Cavalry and Infantry and Engineers in India were not also below their proper strength?

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER assured the hon. Member that he was entirely mistaken, for lately it had been found necessary to diminish the recruiting.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. RAIKES asked whether Supply would be taken as the first Order of the Day at 2 o'clock? He wished to know in consequence of an answer he received from the Chancellor of the Exchequer earlier in the Sitting.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped that an opportunity would be given his right hon. Friend (Mr. Raikes) to raise his question, because, without imputing anything like sharp practice to the Government, he had no doubt the course taken was an unusual one. An addition to the Income Tax was carried by Resolution after 10 minutes to 7 on Tuesday, or, at all events, without Notice to the House that such a Resolution was to be proposed. He was aware that it was said that the Resolution would be dealt with in Ways and Means; but it was the practice when a tax was imposed to give due Notice of it, and the first step in setting up Supply was such that the House was aware what was to be proposed. In this case the House was not aware that it was intended to take this Resolution, and very few Members were aware that it had been passed. Under these circumstances, some opportunity ought to be afforded to his right hon. Friend to discuss the question he desired to introduce. It was one of considerable importance, and he believed his right hon. Friend was right in stating that no similar case had occurred for the last 40 years, and that under no circumstances whatever had an addition been made to the Income Tax to meet a charge which had been imposed by the House, without any opportunity being afforded for discussion.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked when the Resolution which stood in the name of the Secretary of State for India would come on?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: At 2 o'clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish.*)

[BILL 239.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee be deferred till To-morrow, at Two of the clock."

MR. MAGNIAC asked for an explanation from the Secretary to the Treasury. He said that a deputation had waited on the President of the Board of Trade on this subject, and an arrangement had been come to which it was impossible to carry out between now and the Morning Sitting. An intimation had also been given that the Bill would not be taken until Monday, and Members had made their arrangements accordingly. Several hon. Members in consequence were not now present; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would give some assurance that there would be a point at which, if the Bill was taken to-morrow, the discussion should cease.

MR. COURTNEY said, his right hon. Friend had announced that this Bill would be taken at the Morning Sitting, and it was now quite impossible to make any alteration in that respect. He was ready, however, to undertake that the Bill should not be proceeded with beyond the first objection to the Bill which stood in the hon. Member's name.

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (PUTTING THE QUESTION).

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, What possible advantage there was in this Order, seeing that the Prime Minister had pledged himself to consider the whole question in the Autumn Session? The only reason he could imagine for keeping the Order on the Paper was the hope of inducing hon. Members on the other side of the House to agree to the Rule in a certain modified form. He would suggest that the Order, which had been on the Paper since February 20th and reported at intervals, much to the alarm of certain hon. Members, should now be discharged.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON replied that the Order could not be discharged, because it then could not be considered during the Autumn Session.

Adjourned Debate on Main Question [20th February] *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

BALLOT ACT CONTINUANCE AND AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 84.]

(*Sir Charles Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Attorney General.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee be deferred till Monday next."

MR. ONSLOW deprecated the action of the Government on this Bill. He had understood that the Bill was to be one of the discharged Orders, and he must call upon the Government to keep their pledges made in the face of the House. If the Government did not agree to discharge the Order, he would move that it be discharged.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, as soon as the Continuance Bill came in, this Order would be discharged.

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

PARCEL POST BILL.—[BILL 254.]

(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Fawcett.*)

MR. CALLAN objected, as this was the first appearance of the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is that this Bill be read a second time.

MR. CALLAN said, this was the first day the Bill had appeared, and his objection brought the Bill under the Half-past 12 o'clock Rule.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he did not rise to oppose the second reading. At the same time, feeling as he did very strongly against the general principle of allowing Governments to undertake business for the sake of profit, he did not wish to allow the Bill to pass altogether without remark. He knew that in the opinion of his right hon. Friend there were special and exceptional circumstances in the present case; and, under these circumstances, and at so late an hour, he should not press his doubts further on the present occasion.

MR. CALLAN asked whether he was to take it as the ruling of the Chair that this Bill, being objected to, did not come under the Half-past 12 o'clock Rule.

MR. SPEAKER: The Half-past 12 o'clock Rule applies to Notices of Motion; this is an Order of the Day.

MR. FAWCETT said, the Bill had been down since Monday and fixed for the second reading.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

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EAST INDIA (EXPENSES OF MILITARY EXPEDITION TO EGYPT).

RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possession."—(*Sir William Harcourt.*)

MR. CALLAN said, he had a Notice blocking this Motion. He wished to know whether his opposition precluded the Motion from being made at this hour in the morning?

MR. SPEAKER: It will be in the recollection of the House that on the 9th of May the Standing Order with regard to Opposed Business was altered so as to exclude Motions of the character in question from the operation of that Order. This Motion comes under this exception, and, therefore, it may be taken.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India would make his Statement before any other Member spoke, or whether he intended to give his reasons for moving his Resolution after the Members of the House had discussed it?

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he hoped an opportunity would be given for the discussion of this Motion.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it had been stated that this Resolution would be put down for the second reading to-morrow. He proposed, when the Order was called on, to make a Statement.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

LOUTH COUNTY (OFFENCES).

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

MR. CALLAN moved for a Return

> "Of the Offences reported in the County of Louth, specifying the dates thereof, from the commencement of 1881 up to the period when it was proclaimed under the provisions of 'The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881,' specifying those for which Convictions were obtained,"
>
> "And, Copy of the Correspondence as to the said Proclamation, which has passed between His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Magistrates of the said County."

The hon. Member said, he believed there would be no objection to this Return; and, with regard to the second part, his principal reason for wishing to have the Return was that he thought the Return would be *nil*, as he believed there had been no correspondence whatever between the Lord Lieutenant and the county magistrates of Louth. It was not from any curiosity to see the correspondence that he moved for it, but simply to have an authoritative statement that there had not been any correspondence. He would not, under other circumstances, move for what might be deemed confidential documents; but he wished to have either the Return or some statement made that the correspondence had been confidential, or that no correspondence whatever had taken place between the Lord Lieutenant and the magistrates of the county. With reference to the correspondence between the magistrates, no district in Europe was so peaceable, quiet, and orderly as the county of Louth; and when a man had applied for leave to carry arms to protect himself, leave was refused, on the ground that there were no outrages in the county. Therefore, he wanted to know why the county had been proclaimed? When the Arms Act was passed through the House in March, 1881, the late Chief Secretary, among other pledges which had been broken since by himself and by his whole Executive, pledged himself that no county should be proclaimed unless there was some absolute necessity for doing so. The Act passed in March, 1881, and the county was not proclaimed until September, 1881. Between the passing of the Act in March, 1881, and the proclamation of the county in September, no outrages occurred, and there was nothing to justify the Proclamation. He wished to know upon what ground the Proclamation was issued, because the first part of the Proclamation showed that there were no such crimes and offences in the county as to justify such an outrage on the county? He wished to see upon whose advice the Proclamation was issued, and hoped the Government would not refuse this Return.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he had no answer to give the hon. Member; but there was no objection to give the Return moved for.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at Three o'clock.

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TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCLXXII.

SEVENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1882.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1º, 2º, 3º, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—1*st. Div.*, 2*nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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 (*Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. Pell, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Birkbeck, Mr. Stanhope*)
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c. Moved, "That the Select Committee do consist of Twenty-seven Members" *July* 18, 966
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Army Reserve Force
LORDS
Message from the Queen *July* 25, 1670
Ordered, That the said Message be taken into Consideration on Thursday next
Message considered accordingly *July* 27, 1904
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her most gracious Message communicating to this House Her Majesty's intention to cause the Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty should think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service" (*The Earl Granville*); after short debate, Motion agreed to, nemine dissentiente

Army Reserve Force
COMMONS
Message from Her Majesty *July* 25, 1682
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[*cont.*

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Their Lordships met;—

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be *printed*; and to be read 2ª on *Thursday* next (*The Lord Privy Seal*). (No. 205.)

And having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—
[House adjourned.]

COMMONS, SATURDAY, JULY 22.

QUESTIONS.

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Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill [Bill 147]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Mundella*) 1340

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the abolition of free primary education is quite as undesirable as the endowment of secondary education is desirable, and that no Bill dealing with Educational Endowments in Scotland can be deemed satisfactory which, while fettering the discretion of Commissioners appointed under it as to doles, representation, areas, and other points, leaves them power to appropriate to other uses the revenues of a class of free schools affording good elementary education to thousands of working class children,"—(*Dr. Cameron,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 89, Noes 19; Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 292.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee 1368

After long time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 253.]

Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 75]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*) 1479

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Leamy:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *referred* to a Select Committee.

Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation Bill [Bill 124]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Childers*) .. 1482

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Biggar:*)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Mundella*) .. 1483

After short debate, [House counted out.]

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Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Egypt,"—(*The Earl Granville*) 1484

After debate, Motion *agreed to.*

INDIA—CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN INDIAN GAOLS—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the convictions by the lesser courts in British India during the last three years, showing the offences and punishments awarded thereto in each case respectively,"—(*The Lord Truro*) 1523

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

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PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—ORDERS OF THE DAY—RESOLUTION—
Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 1548
After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

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PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—ORDERS OF THE DAY—*continued.*

Moved, "That, until the end of August, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1560

PARLIAMENT—RULES OF DEBATE—UNPARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE—MR. O'DONNELL— 1561

Mr. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, having in course of Debate stated "That the Chair had made a prediction of the words he was about to speak, and then decided upon them:"—

Mr. Speaker directed the Clerk to take down those words, and the same were taken down accordingly.

Moved, "That those words be taken into Consideration To-morrow,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

And Mr. O'Donnell having explained the words to which exception had been taken:—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—ORDERS OF THE DAY—

Question again proposed,

"That, until the end of August, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1572

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (VOTE OF CREDIT)—

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1574

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

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(1.) £23,110, to complete the sum for the Houses of Parliament.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1619

(2.) £550, to complete the sum for the Monument to the Earl of Beaconsfield.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1627

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £88,064, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, including various special Works; for providing the necessary supply of Water; for Rents of Houses hired for the accommodation of Public Departments, and Charges attendant thereon" 1627

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed "That a sum, not exceeding £85,274, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 45, Noes 131; Majority 86.—(Div. List, No. 296.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) £12,860, to complete the sum for Furniture of Public Offices, Great Britain.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1634

(5.) £177,011, to complete the sum for Revenue Department Buildings, Great Britain.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to.* 1635

(6.) £34,480, to complete the sum for County Court Buildings.

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(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,098, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Metropolitan Police Court Buildings" 1637

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 137, Noes 43; Majority 94.—(Div. List, No. 297.)

(8.) £4,195, to complete the sum for the Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland.

(9.) £67,200, to complete the sum for the New Courts of Justice and Offices.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1639

(10.) £135,000, to complete the sum for Surveys of the United Kingdom.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1640

(11.) £17,599, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department Buildings.

(12.) £3,947, to complete the sum for the British Museum Buildings.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1644

(13.) £29,858, to complete the sum for the Natural History Museum.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1645

(14.) £4,695, to complete the sum for Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1646

(15.) £81,088, to complete the sum for Rates on Government Property.

(16.) £5,000, to complete the sum for the Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

(17.) £130,208, to complete the sum for Public Buildings (Ireland).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1652

(18.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £6,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Expenses preparatory to and of the erection of the Museum of Science and Art in Dublin, and of additions to the School of Art in Dublin" .. 1654

After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(19.) £7,512, to complete the sum for the Shannon Navigation.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1656

(20.) £6,650, to complete the sum for Lighthouses Abroad.

(21.) £17,265, to complete the sum for Diplomatic Buildings.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1659

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

MOTIONS.

DULWICH SCHEME—Motion for an Address, Mr. Grantham 1661

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 11, Noes 50; Majority 39.—(Div. List, No. 298.)

Parcel Post Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 254] 1669

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 25.

EGYPT—LETTER OF ARABI PASHA—Questions, The Earl of Carnarvon, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answers, Earl Granville 1669

ARMY RESERVE FORCE—MESSAGE FROM THE QUEEN—

Ordered, That the said Message be taken into Consideration on *Thursday* next 1670

Bills of Exchange Bill (No. 183)—

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read .. 1671

After short debate, Order *discharged:*—Bill *referred* to a Select Committee.

STREET OBSTRUCTIONS (METROPOLIS)—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the gates, bars, and obstructions which are placed across certain streets of the Metropolis, with particulars as to the parishes in which they are respectively situated, the street or other place they obstruct, with the width of such street or place; whether the roadway of such street or place is repaired by the local authorities; whether, if such street or place were opened as a thoroughfare, much traffic would be likely to pass through it, and from what points, with a description of each bar or obstruction, with the authority for its erection and continuance and date of first erection; also what powers such authority confers, and to what extent those powers are now put in force,"—(*The Earl of Milltown*) 1672

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

EAST INDIA (EXPENSES OF MILITARY EXPEDITION TO EGYPT)—RESOLUTION—

Moved to resolve, "That, Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of Her forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on by such forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions,"—(*The Viscount Enfield*) 1673

Motion *agreed to.*

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA—VOLUNTEERS FOR SERVICE ABROAD—Question. Observations, The Earl of Galloway, The Earl of Sandwich, Lord Ellenborough; Replies, The Earl of Morley .. 1678

EGYPT—ARRESTS—Question. Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, Earl Granville 1680

Common Prayer (Priestly Absolution) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*); read 1ª (No. 209) 1681

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 25.

ARMY RESERVE FORCE—MESSAGE FROM HER MAJESTY 1682

Message to be taken into Consideration *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT—ALLEGED FURTHER MASSACRES OF EUROPEANS—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1682

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—FALSE CHARGE OF ATTACK UPON SUB-CONSTABLE FINNEY—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan.. 1683

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. HENRY O'MAHONY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1684

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. DENIS HEALY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1684

BRAZIL—PROVINCE OF MINAS GERAES—SLAVE-HOLDING BY BRITISH SUBJECTS—Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1685

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—VENTILATION OF THIS HOUSE—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1686

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*:)—

WAR IN EGYPT—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, while ready to vote whatever Supplies may be necessary for

Supply—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

the protection of the Khedive and the security of the Suez Canal, is not prepared, having regard to the position of England as a great Mussulman Power, to enter upon a War for the restoration of the authority of the Khedive in Egypt, unless in conjunction with the Forces of the Sultan,"—(*Lord Elcho,*)—instead thereof .. 1687

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit) [First Night]—

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1691

After long time spent therein, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day.*

QUESTION.

Egypt—The Conference—Action of the Porte—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1759

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit)—

(In the Committee.)

Question again proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1759

After long time spent therein, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Hugh Shield*:)—Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Government Annuities and Assurance Bill [Bill 190]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Fawcett*) .. 1818

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

Ways and Means—

Considered in Committee 1820

Resolution (Additional Income Tax.)

Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

Artizans' Dwellings Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 255] 1821

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 26.

Page

Their Lordships met;—And having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate— [House adjourned]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 26.

QUESTION.

Egypt (Military Operations)—Protection of the Suez Canal—Question, Mr. Norwood; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1822

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Army Reserve Force—

Her Majesty's Message [25th July] *considered:*—Message again read .. 1823

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her most Gracious Message communicating to this House Her Majesty's intention to cause Her Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty should think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—To be presented by Privy Councillors.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit) [Second Night]—

(In the Committee.)

Question again proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 1829

After long time spent therein, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Trusts (Scotland) Bill [Bill 198]—

Order for Second Reading read 1903

After short debate, Order *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn.*

Ways and Means—

Resolution [July 25] *reported,* and *agreed to* 1903

Ordered, That it be an *Instruction* to the Committee on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, That they have power to make provision in pursuance of the said Resolution.

QUESTION.

Egypt (Military Operations)—Reported Looting by British Soldiers at Ramleh—Question, Lord Colin Campbell; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 1903

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 27.

Crime (Ireland)—The late Assassinations in the Phœnix Park—Reported Arrest of one of the Murderers—Question, The Earl of Milltown; Answer, Lord Carlingford 1904

The Queen's Message (Reserve Forces)—Motion for an Address—

Order of the Day for the consideration of the Queen's Message read:—Message *considered* accordingly 1904

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her most gracious Message communicating to this House Her Majesty's intention

THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE (RESERVE FORCES)—continued.

to cause the Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty should think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service,"—(*The Earl Granville.*)

After short debate, Motion *agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill (No. 205)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) .. 1910

After long debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 27.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Dover Harbour Bill—

Moved, "That, in the case of the Dover Harbour Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be taken into consideration To-morrow, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1958

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

SCOTLAND—THE HIGHLANDS—VIOLENT LANGUAGE TO A LAND LEAGUE AGENT—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 1960

STATE OF IRELAND—PARTY DISTURBANCES IN TYRONE—Question, Lord Arthur Hill; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1960

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—LORRHA PETTY SESSIONS—Question, Mr. Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1961

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—RELEASE OF PERSONS DETAINED UNDER THE ACT—Question, Mr. Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1962

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME—Question, Mr. Bromley-Davenport; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1962

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—PETTY SESSIONS CLERKS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1963

CHINA—CHEFOO CONVENTION—Questions, Sir Joseph Pease; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1964

DOMINION OF CANADA—IRISH EMIGRATION—Questions, Mr. Blake, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1966

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. MORRIS READE, R.M.—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan.. 1967

STATE OF IRELAND—CRIME IN GALWAY—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1967

PRIVATE BILLS—STANDING ORDER 167—Question, Mr. H. R. Brand; Answer, Mr. Lyon Playfair 1968

NAVY—PROMOTION—DEATH VACANCIES—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1968

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—THE RETURN—Questions, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1969

NAVY — ROMAN CATHOLIC SAILORS AND MARINES — PROVISION AS TO CHAPLAINS IN THE FLEET—Questions, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1969

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—CLAUSE 31 — LOANS TO IRISH TENANTS —Questions, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Courtney .. 1970

[*July* 27.] Page

MOTIONS.

East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt)—Resolution—

Moved, "That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions,"—(*Sir William Harcourt*) .. 2116

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Louth County (Offences)—Motion for a Return—

Moved for a Return "Of the Offences reported in the County of Louth, specifying the dates thereof, from the commencement of 1881 up to the period when it was proclaimed under the provisions of 'The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881,' specifying those for which Convictions were obtained,"

"And, Copy of the Correspondence as to the said Proclamation, which has passed between His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Magistrates of the said County,"—(*Mr. Callan*) 2117

Motion *agreed to*.

LORDS.

NEW PEER.

Thursday, July 13.

Sir Harcourt Van den Bemp de-Johnstone, Baronet, created Baron Derwent, of Hackness in the North Riding of the county of York.

SAT FIRST.

Monday, July 17.

The Earl of Gainsborough, after the death of his father.

Thursday, July 20.

The Duke of Grafton, after the death of his brother.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

Third Session of the *Twenty-Second Parliament* of the
United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*,
appointed to meet 29 April, 1880, in the Forty-third
Year of the Reign of

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SEVENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1882.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 11*th July*, 1882.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Baths and Wash-houses Acts Amendment* (180); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money)* (181).
Committee—Judgments (Inferior Courts)* (110); Entail (Scotland) (*re-comm.*) (169-191).
Committee—Report— Third Reading—Prevention of Crime (Ireland) (186), and *passed.*
Report—Stolen Goods* (185).
Third Reading—Justices' Jurisdiction* (174); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4)* (171), and *passed.*

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET AT ALEXANDRIA.

QUESTIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he has received any information of public interest which he thinks it desirable to communicate to the House?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My Lords, I have received the following telegrams, which I will read to the House. The first is dated July 11, 7.10 A.M. It states—

> "Ships have opened fire on the forts.
>
> "Ships in following positions:—*Alexandra, Sultan, Superb* under weigh on a north-east by east line from 1,500 to 1,900 yards W. ½ N. Eunostos Lighthouse. *Inflexible* in Corvette Pass, 3,700 yards N. by W. of Mexs Fort; *Téméraire* in Central Pass, 3,500 N.N.W. Mexs; *Penelope, Invincible* (flag), *Monarch*, 1,000 to 1,300 yards W. by N Mexs. Unarmoured ships under weigh working guns to best advantage annoying Mexs. Return fire from forts weak and ineffective. *Hecla* has arrived.

The next telegram is dated 8 A.M.—

> "Bombardment continues. Heavy explosion in Fort Marsa-el-Kanat. Return fire from forts slackening.
>
> "French squadron sailed last evening, leaving *Bison* and *Hirondelle* off the port."

A telegram dated 11 A.M. states—

> "Forts on Isthmus comparatively silenced. Moncrieff near Lighthouse and one gun, Fort Ada replying about 10 rounds an hour. *Alex-*

andra, *Sultan*, and *Superb* at anchor returning fire. Unarmoured ships warmly engaged inside Fort Marabout, Egyptian practice apparently very indifferent."

The last telegram we have received is dated 1.30 P.M.—

> "Magazine Fort Ada blown up."

I have, however, seen a later private telegram received a short time ago. It is as follows:—

> "5 P.M. Outside forts still resisting. Forts between Alexandria and Ramleh opening fire."

These would be the forts to the eastward of the new port. From this last telegram I gather that the ships, having silenced the forts to the north, proceeded eastwards and were engaging Fort Pharos to the west of the new port; but that is merely my own conjecture. Those are all the telegrams we have received.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, it will be very satisfactory to your Lordships, I think, if the noble Earl has it in his power to add any assurance as to the safety of the Khedive. I observe that in one of the telegrams which have appeared in the newspapers, it is stated that a very large number of people were seen making their way to the Khedive's palace. Has the noble Earl received any information on the subject?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: We have received no information on the subject. The telegrams we have received have come from the Admiral's secretary, who is either on board or close to the ship to which the cable is attached, now lying four miles from Alexandria. None of the telegrams have come from the Admiral himself.

EARL DE LA WARR: My Lords, the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty has just informed your Lordships that forts have been bombarded by British ships in a country with which we are at peace, and to which we are bound by Treaties in close alliance. I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether there has been any formal declaration of war; and, if so, whether he can state for what reasons?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I do not think it will be convenient at this moment to enter upon the discussion of a question of International Law, especially as no Notice of the Question has been given to Her Majesty's Government by the noble Earl. With regard to the fact itself, I beg to deny that we are in alliance with the military despotism which is at this moment the *de facto* Government of Egypt.

EARL DE LA WARR was understood to remark that Egypt was a part of the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey.

In reply to another noble LORD,

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, the Government had no knowledge of the destination of the French Squadron. They had no further information than what had come in the telegrams he had read.

Subsequently,

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Perhaps your Lordships will allow me to interfere for one moment to read a further telegram from Alexandria. It is dated 4.50 P.M., and it says—

> "Mexs, as well as all forts on sea front of peninsula, silenced. Action between unarmoured ships and Marabout ceased 11.40. *Monarch* and *Penelope* now engaged with batteries inside harbour. *Invincible* unengaged, lying off Mexs."

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 186.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That this House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

Motion *agreed to*.

House in Committee accordingly; Bill *reported* without Amendment.

Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with;* Bill read 3ª.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

LORD DENMAN said, he would say "Not Content," because he wished to record his protest against the measure.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *passed*.

ENTAIL (SCOTLAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.

(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

(NO. 169.) COMMITTEE (ON RE-COMMITMENT).

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee (on Re-commitment) read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Earl of Rosebery.*)

THE EARL OF MINTO, in asking, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to produce to the House any further information in connection with the subject of Scottish Entails in elucidation and correction of the Return No. 154 of the present Session, recently presented to the House? said, that farmers at public meetings had expended a great deal of eloquence in denouncing the Law of Entail in Scotland, though it appeared to him there was little reliable information upon the subject. A Return had, indeed, recently been obtained on the Motion of the noble Earl near him (the Earl of Camperdown), but the information conveyed in the Return was imperfect. They did not yet know, for example, the number of entails in existence in Scotland at the present moment, nor the number of proprietors which these entails represented. There were some entails which had effect over large areas of land, and others only over a few small fields. At least, it was so prior to 1848; but in that year the great Act known as "Lord Rutherford's Act" was passed. Neither the Return in question, nor any previous Return, gave them any information whatever on a subject of that kind. He had, however, made pretty general inquiries, and, as the result, he gathered that there was a much smaller extent of country in Scotland under entail than he had any idea of. There were a number of very large estates, including that of the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), which were unentailed, and he had heard privately of a number of other very large properties which were unentailed. In point of fact, the proneness to disentail was in progress and going on, and it was, therefore, a matter of interest to know where the great damage had been done, and the great injury experienced by the existing law. Personally, he was himself entirely in favour of liberating the land, as proposed in the Bill now before the House; but, nevertheless, he submitted some further information would be desirable. There were 2,350 registered entails at the present time, according to Lord Camperdown's Returns, and he wanted to know whether the Government could inform the House how many proprietors of entail in Scotland were represented by those figures? He also wanted to know, and he did not think there would be anything invidious in giving, the names of these proprietors of entailed lands? There was another point on which he should like some information. In former days, particularly, the only way in which a Scottish entail could be broken—for prior to 1848 entails were perpetual—was by the discovery of some flaw or irregularity in the procedure under the rules dealing with entail, as in the case of the Hamilton estates; and he should like to know how the matter stood now? It would also be desirable if they could know approximately what might be the proportion in Scotland between entailed and unentailed properties, and the probable extent of the entailed land might approximately be given also; and further, it would be very useful if they could be informed in what districts the largest accumulations of entailed land were to be found. He thought these little bits of information, which were not in the Return presented some time ago, but which could be added to it, would be of public interest.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he agreed with his noble Friend (the Earl of Minto) that the information in the Return referred to was very imperfect in regard to the real bearing and extent of the system of entail in Scotland, and he entirely agreed with him also in that, so far as he (the Duke of Argyll) knew, from the ordinary sources of information, there had been an immense exaggeration in the way of oratorical condemnation of the effect of entails upon agricultural improvements. His own belief had always been that, in the first place, the extent of entail in Scotland was much more limited than the public supposed; and, in the second place, that some of the most prosperous estates, and those on which the largest amount of money had been expended in improvements, were the old entailed estates of Scotland.

He believed that if the Government could supply them with the information for which his noble Friend asked, these facts would come out very clearly. He knew himself of individual cases where large estates had long been under entail, and these were the estates upon which unquestionably the largest and most liberal expenditure had taken place. On the other hand, he knew very small estates which had been under strict entail, and the result was that the proprietors had been long in a very impoverished condition, and were unable to spend money on their property. It was for that reason that he thought the present state of affairs unsatisfactory and inexpedient, and was ready to support the principle of the Bill. The noble Earl had referred to one fact of importance, and that was the effect of the decision of the Courts of Law in disentailing property in Scotland. The fact was the Act of 1848, commonly called the "Rutherford Act," contained a clause that provided, unless he was much mistaken, that the old entails of Scotland, which were found to be deficient in any respect, as, for instance, the clause against sale, or the clause against borrowing, should be declared to be void altogether, if they were informal in any of their provisions. He happened to know that such was the fact, because it was under that Act that his own property was disentailed. The Courts of Law in Scotland had for long been against the very strict old entails, and they were very ready to find flaws in them, if they could be found. He believed that clause of the "Rutherford Act" had a very large and complete effect in doing away with entails. He believed a great deal of very useful information could be given to the House, if the Government would oblige them with the particulars asked for—if they would write to the Register Office for them. He was afraid some of the proprietors would object to giving the acreage of their land under entail, and he knew no method by which the Government could arrive at the number of acres under entail before 1848, or after that date; but as some indication had been given in "another place" that the Bill they were going to discuss was but a temporary arrangement, and that probably some further proposition would be made, either by this Government or other Governments, on the subject of entails, and that, in short, they were not dealing with a final measure, he thought it would be worth considering whether some further information could be given to their Lordships.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, the Government would be extremely glad to supply both the noble Earl (the Earl of Minto) and the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) with all the information they asked for; but it was not so easy a matter as they seemed to think. To begin with, there were 2,350 entails or deeds of entail in Scotland, given in the Return recently presented to the House. To obtain approximately any part of the information which was wanted by the noble Earl they would have to overhaul every one of those deeds of entail, and they would then have to send a circular to the various landowners, to which they might or might not reply, asking them what was the extent of the land described in the deed of entail. That would be a laborious method of carrying out the investigation; but it was not on that point alone that it would not be desirable to institute the inquiry. It was perfectly certain that all the proprietors would not answer, and would not give the Returns. They would, therefore, have imperfect and very inadequate Returns, which, to his mind, were worse than having no Returns at all. There was one point, however, on which he could give the noble Earl accurate and exact information. The noble Earl asked whether the figures in the Return previously presented made allowance for the entails invalidated by the Courts of Law in consequence of flaws or irregularities in the original deed of entail. There was no allowance made for those, as he had ascertained from the Crown Office, and that, no doubt, made some considerable difference in the Returns. He confessed he had not much knowledge on these points to which his attention was called; but, as at present advised, he did not believe he could give the information required. It would be imperfect if they obtained it; therefore, unless the House persisted in the demand for the Return, it would be better not to delay the Bill by preparing it. If the noble Earl was of opinion that imperfect Returns, such as he described, would be better than none at all, he would refer the matter in detail to the Register Office in Edinburgh, and give the noble Earl another answer.

THE EARL OF MINTO said, that, under the circumstances intimated, he would not press the matter.

Motion *agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Provisions for applications for authority to borrow, charge, lease, and feu).

LORD WATSON, in moving, as an Amendment, to omit Sub-section 2, which gave authority to the Court or the Sheriff to grant a feu or a lease of a portion for an estate not exceeding two acres in extent, for a scientific purpose or other purpose of public utility, at a feu-duty or rent agreed upon, said, he did so because he was afraid that under the sub-section the possessor of an entailed estate might alienate his estate to a very large extent.

Moved, "To omit Sub-section 2 of the Clause."—(*The Lord Watson.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, in opposing the Motion, and in support of the sub-section, that its object was simply to extend the principle now in force, under which an entailed proprietor might come before the Sheriff, and give a feu for certain purposes of public utility, such as churches. The sub-section extended the power of giving off ground at a nominal rent for purposes of "public utility." Surely the noble and learned Lord might leave it to the Sheriff to decide whether or not the applications were for a purpose of public utility. He (the Marquess of Huntly) knew many instances where, with very great benefit, especially near small towns, proprietors had been very willing indeed to give off land for a mechanics' institute and so forth at a small feu-duty.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that, with regard to the sub-section to which the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Watson) took exception, he (the Earl of Rosebery) did not pretend to say that the words might not be a little more exact; but he did not believe there would be any danger of a Sheriff extending too largely the interpretation of the words "for a scientific purpose or other purpose of public utility." He thought the matter might safely be left to the discretion of the Court. He really did not share the apprehension of the possibility of any heir in possession unjustly alienating his estate under this provision. However, if it so pleased the noble and learned Lord, it might be well to leave the question over until the Report stage of the Bill.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, that his experience was that the clause, as at present drawn, was too wide.

LORD WATSON said, he would point out that "public utility" was a thing to be distinguished from a merely commercial matter. He would accept the suggestion of the noble Earl in charge of the Bill (the Earl of Rosebery) and withdraw his Amendment, reserving his right to raise the question again on Report.

Motion (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Lease may be renewed three years before expiration).

LORD WATSON moved an Amendment limiting the power of the heir in possession to renew a lease within three years before the expiration of the existing one, to renew such lease only "to the tenant and his heirs."

Amendment *moved,* in page 2, line 39, after ("grant,") insert ("to the tenant and his heirs.")—(*The Lord Watson.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he would accept the Amendment, if the noble and learned Lord would be satisfied with leaving the settlement of the question to the Report.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL asked, what was the effect of the Amendment? He understood it was a mere matter of words, and did not affect the substance of the clause. He was not aware that, under the existing Law of Entail in Scotland, it would be illegal for a proprietor to renew a lease to a tenant three years before the expiring of the old lease. The common practice was one or two years. It was not a common thing for a proprietor to renew the lease before the expiring of the old one, but he was not aware that he would be prevented doing so by the Law of Entail. If that was a desirable thing to do he (the Duke of Argyll) maintained, in opposition to the Amendment, that it was a power which ought to be given to him not only in regard to the existing tenant but also in regard to other tenants. He thought the clause had some resemblance to a Bill which he had heard was in the other House of Parliament, but which he trusted he would never see in that House, which compelled landlords and tenants to come to certain agreements. To make it compulsory for landlords and tenants to come to an arrangement about a new lease three or four years before the expiring of the old one was absurd and unreasonable alike in the interests of the landlord and the tenant. Supposing there were two or three years of bad harvests. That might produce a great alteration in the expectation of harvest, and, therefore, in the letting value of land, and a tenant ought to be free, as a landlord ought to be free, up to within a year of the expiring of the old lease to make a new bargain.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, this was a legal point in which his authority was very little; but, as he understood, the Amendment was proposed to be inserted to make legal what was a matter of uncommon practice—namely, to draw out new leases three years before the expiry of the old leases.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he did not understand what the policy of the clause was. This did not seem a necessary power to put into the hands of entailed proprietors.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that the policy was simply this—the fee-simple proprietors had this power; and it was obviously an advantage to put an entailed proprietor in the same position; but he was given to understand, beyond this, that great practical convenience would result from such a provision.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he should be very glad to see the arrangement made within two years.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that was a question in which he would like to be guided by the opinion of noble Lords.

EARL CAIRNS thought there should be just sufficient time to prevent inconvenience, and considered two years would be quite sufficient.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE was sorry to differ from the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll); but he thought it was the practice in Scotland to renew leases three years beforehand.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he would not put the House to the trouble of dividing on the Amendment, as he had promised it should be inserted on Report. He believed many noble Lords who had large estates in Scotland gave three years.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Applications may be made by guardians on behalf of minors and persons under disability).

LORD WATSON moved an Amendment providing that an heir in possession of an entailed estate, or a minor with the consent of his curators, might apply for authority to disentail the estate or any part thereof.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 3, to delete after ("competent") on line 6, to ("application") inclusive, on line 18, and insert ("for an heir in possession of an entailed estate, being of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, to make an application to the court under the Entail Acts, it shall hereafter be competent for an heir in possession, though a minor, with consent of his curators, or for the tutors of an heir in possession, if he is a pupil, or for his curator or other administrator if he is otherwise incapacitated, to make such application, not being an application for authority to disentail or sell the entailed estate or any part thereof.")—(*The Lord Watson.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he must confess it was not an Amendment which he could cheerfully accept, though it might be his destiny to do so. He did not think he would be justified in asking the House to divide on the Amendment, though he considered it struck at the principle of the Bill.

EARL CAIRNS supported the Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY asked the noble and learned Lord the Lord Chancellor, whether the Amendment would prevent the buyer from charging the estate with the maintenance and cost of education of the minor, because those charges might be incumbent on him, and there would be no means of raising the money?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply, said, that he did not think the clause had any bearing on that question.

On Question? Resolved in the *Affirmative;* words *substituted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Consent of nearest heir may be valued and dispensed with).

EARL CAIRNS moved an Amendment at the end of the clause, to the effect that in any application under the section the Court might be required to ascertain the value in money of the interest of the heir, and the Court should then direct that the sum so ascertained should be paid into bank subject to the order of Court, and such sum be transferable to the next heir should the Court so order. The noble and learned Earl said, that without the Amendment an injustice would arise, for it would be a very great hardship if a person with a small interest should be enabled to buy out the heir of entail. If the heir of entail was not satisfied, he would give the next heir the choice of buying. With the Amendment there would be no injustice to anyone.

Amendment *moved*, in page 4, at end of clause, to insert—

(Heir next entitled to have right to acquire estate.)

"In any application under the provisions of this section for authority to disentail any entailed estate or part thereof, the heir apparent or other nearest heir, or the curator ad litem appointed to him in terms of this Act, shall be entitled to require the Court to ascertain the value in money of the interest of the heir in possession in such entailed estate or part thereof.

"Upon such value in money being ascertained, the Court shall direct the sum so ascertained to be paid into bank by or on behalf of such heir apparent or other nearest heir, subject to the orders of Court; and shall also direct the sum or sums ascertained as the value of the expectancy or interest of any remoter heirs, whose consent to the application may be necessary, to be paid or secured by or on behalf of such heir apparent or other nearest heir as nearly as may be in the manner provided in section five of the Entail Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1875.

"Upon such sums being so paid or secured to the satisfaction of the Court, the heir in possession shall execute, at the sight of the Court, a disposition of such entailed estate or part thereof in favour of such heir apparent or other nearest heir who shall thereupon be entitled to execute and record an instrument of disentail in the register of tailzies, and such instrument of disentail, when so recorded, shall have the like effect as if the application for authority to disentail had been presented at his instance.

"As soon as the disposition aforesaid has been executed and delivered by the heir in possession the Court shall direct the payment to him of the sum ascertained as the value of his interest as aforesaid."—(*The Earl Cairns.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he thought there was a good deal in the principle the noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns) had laid down. It was a principle they must all sympathize with, and which he thought might be recognized in some other form than that in which the noble and learned Earl had put it. This was not the right of pre-emption. The right given by the clause was a very simple one. In the Bill they had endeavoured to make it perfectly clear that everyone should know what he was about; and that when a person took proceedings under the Act, he should know what the result of those proceedings might be. The result of the clause proposed by the noble and learned Earl might be that the old proprietor might find himself turned out of the estate which belonged to him. It had always been considered that the interest of the possessor was the supreme interest in Scotland, and the proposed Amendment would altogether override the interest of the possessor. That made a very important difference in the law of Scotland. He considered the Amendment one of great importance, and it ought to be considered from more than one point of view. If it only operated between father and son, there would not be very great objection to it. No one would think it very hard that a father who wished to disentail should, on receiving satisfaction of his interest, see the estate pass to his son, as in the course of nature it would have done; but that would be a very rare case indeed. How many elder sons were there who would be in a position to buy their fathers out of their estates? Therefore, it would come to be an affair between brothers or cousins, or more distant relations, and he ventured to say that, as the relation was more and more remote, the less right had the heir to expel the proprietor from his home. That was the principal objection to the clause proposed by the noble and learned Earl. He also believed it would act as a great preventive to disentail. It would hang as a sword over the head of the proprietor whom they wished to disentail. From the point of view of those who brought in this Bill, it was not desirable so to discourage disentail. He thought it would be a pity, in the interests of the owners and in the interests of the community at large, to complicate by restrictions of this kind a large and general measure dealing with the Entail Laws of Scotland. The proposed clause would not be largely operative, and therefore it would be a disturbing clause without necessity. It would introduce a new principle in the law of Scotland; it would act as a great deterrent on people who wished to disentail, and it would be a gross injustice besides on those who had disentailed; and therefore, though he had accepted with deference all the previous Amendments, he should think it necessary to take the opinion of their Lordships on this one.

The LORD CHANCELLOR, in opposing the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns), said, he wished to point out that it would introduce a great anomaly which would have the effect, not of assimilating, but of still further increasing the difference between the law of England and that of Scotland. That was a thing he thought their Lordships would not desire to do.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, he was bound to say that he thought the objections to the Amendment were much more serious than he had been at first disposed to believe. He should, therefore, vote against it. He thought it would create a danger of entirely ousting the heir in possession.

Earl CAIRNS said, he was sorry to press the Amendment against the wishes of Scotch Peers; but he must point out that the hypothesis here was, that the estate was not to be sold.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, he must confess that when he first saw the Amendment, he thought it was designed simply to give the nearest heir the right of pre-emption, and he was disposed to support it for that reason. He thought that by the use of the words "that the Court was to ascertain the value in money," it was meant to ascertain what the value of the estate was, and that the heir was to pay the difference between his own interest and the full value of the estate, and that on that being done, he should have the right to buy the estate. It seemed to him that arrangement was a fair one; but the arrangement which had now been explained to the House was more than he could support.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 66; Not-Contents 67: Majority 1.

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Hammond, L.
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Lovat, L.
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Tweedmouth, L.
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Wrottesley, L.

Resolved in the *Negative.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 11 to 13, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

Clause 14 (Land entailed by married contract may be disentailed with certain consents).

EARL CAIRNS said, it seemed to him that the clause proposed to render more definite the provisions of the 8th clause which had been objected to respecting minors. He would therefore move that the clause be struck out of the Bill.

Moved, "To omit the Clause."—(*The Earl Cairns.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY opposed the Amendment, urging that the clause was not, as the noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns) seemed to think, for the purpose of rendering more definite the provisions of the 8th clause with regard to minors. Clause 14 was something more, as it was obvious that the disentailment could not be carried out without certain consents from the trustees of a marriage settlement. The clause really made definite the words employed in Clause 8 of the "Rutherford Act." Where it was said in that Act that certain things could not be done without certain consents, this Bill said that with such consent it should be done. He ventured to say that was a very small step, if it was a step at all; and he hoped that their Lordships would not have any difficulty in accepting it.

LORD BALFOUR hoped that if the clause was not struck out, their Lordships would not consent to admit it, at any rate, into the Bill, in an unamended form, because, as he understood, it enacted, to his mind very unsafely, that the heir in possession of an entailed estate, with the consent of the marriage contract trustees, might practically annul the terms of that contract by cutting off the entail. Surely a marriage settlement was made for the protection, not of the heir in possession, nor of the marriage contract trustees, but for the wife and children under the contract, and their Lordships could hardly be asked to put a clause in an Act of Parliament for the purpose of narrowing a marriage contract without the consent of the parties interested. That would be to introduce a new principle into legislation, and he trusted it would not be done.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he did not propose to insist on the retention of the clause. He thought he could propose a way out of the difficulty which had been raised by following the Report of the Writers to the Signet, and declaring that Section 8 of the "Rutherford Act" should apply to this Bill. He apprehended that the noble Lords opposite would not oppose an Amendment to that effect.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *Affirmative.*

Clause *struck out* accordingly.

Clause 15 (Powers of creditors of heir entailed to disentail).

EARL CAIRNS, in moving to strike out the clause, said, he entirely recognized the principle that, if there was a man in possession of property which he was able to disentail on his own authority, and who contracted debts, his creditors should have the right to force him to disentail the property. That was a sound principle recognized in England. But this clause did a great deal more. It provided that, in a case where the disentail was a matter of discretion and option, and the consents of remainders were required, the creditors were to insist upon his entering into negotiations for disentail, or if not, to occupy his place and bargain for the disentail. He was not aware of any principle or precedent for a clause of that kind, in which creditors were to be in the position of their debtor for the purpose of exercising powers and rights of discretion. There could be no hardship on the creditor, for he lent the money knowing the nature of the estate possessed by his debtor.

Moved, To omit the clause.—(*The Earl Cairns.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in opposing the Motion, said, that the main portion of this clause also was based on the "Rutherford Act," Clause 11. He would admit that persons lending money to the owners of strictly entailed estates were not deceived as to the limited nature of their debtor's rights respecting the property he held. He maintained, however, that the effect of the Amendment, if adopted, would be that an entailed proprietor would have an available asset in the property, upon which he could rely to defeat his creditors' claims altogether. It would also give to the proprietor an undeniable advantage, as it would confer upon him a choice between honesty and dishonesty, with a considerable premium upon the latter. He could not agree to the noble and learned Earl's Motion.

LORD BALFOUR, in supporting the Motion, said, that the only class of persons who would be at all sorry if the clause was not put into the Bill would be those who lent money at extravagant rates of interest to young heirs. As their Lordships had decided that the next heir was not to have the right of pre-emption, that would be a great hardship, for it might happen that in the case of an old heir, already in possession of an entailed estate, his creditors might force him to sell the property, and the next heir, though able and willing to maintain the inheritance of his father in the family, might be, by the operation of the law, made unable to do so. He objected to the clause altogether; but if it were to be inserted, he thought that in common honesty it should be made only to have operation in respect to debts incurred after the passing of this Act. He should vote against the clause if a division were taken; but, whatever the result, he hoped that some such provision would be inserted as he had indicated.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he trusted that the clause would be retained. If the heir in possession had the power to sell an estate, subject to compensating other interests, he did not see why the creditor should not receive payment out of the debtor's interest. If it were sold, the creditor would get the capital value at the time of sale; but if it were not sold, the death of the debtor would deprive him of everything.

EARL CAIRNS thought that the argument of the noble and learned Lord opposite was founded on a misapprehension. His (Earl Cairns's) object was to adhere to the provisions of the "Rutherford Act."

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, that as regarded the Amendment to the clause referred to by his noble Friend (Lord Balfour), it was not desirable to go into that matter until their Lordships had decided whether the clause should remain part of the Bill.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 67; Not-Contents 62: Majority 5.

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Derby, E.
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Canterbury, V.
Eversley, V.
Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)
Powerscourt, V.

Aberdare, L.
Annaly, L.
Belper, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Braye, L.
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalban.*)
Calthorpe, L.
Carlingford, L.
Carrington, L.
Carysfort, L. (*E. Carysfort.*)
Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Coleridge, L.
Erskine, L.
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Granard, L. (*E. Granard.*)
Hammond, L.
Hare, L. (*E. Listowel.*)
Hothfield, L.
Howth, L. (*E. Howth.*)
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Kinnaird, L.
Leigh, L.
Meldrum, L. (*M. Huntly.*)
Monck, L. (*V. Monck.*)
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Reay, L.
Romilly, L.
Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Sandhurst, L.
Saye and Sele, L.
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
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Thurlow, L.
Truro, L.

Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
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Wrottesley, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Buckingham and Chandos, D.
Northumberland, D.
Richmond, D.

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)
Bristol, M.
Hertford, M.
Salisbury, M.
Winchester, M.

Annesley, E.
Bandon, E.
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Wilton, E.

Clancarty, V. (*E. Clancarty.*)
Cranbrook, V.
Hawarden, V. [*Teller.*]
Melville, V.

Abinger, L.
Ardilaun, L.
Aveland, L.
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De Freyne, L.
de Ros, L. [*Teller.*]
Digby, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Gage, L. (*V. Gage.*)
Harlech, L.
Harris, L.
Hartismere, L. (*L. Henniker.*)
Hylton, L.
Leconfield, L.
Lilford, L.
Ormathwaite, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Raglan, L.
Saltoun, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
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Trevor, L.
Tyrone, L. (*M. Waterford.*)
Ventry, L.
Walsingham, L.
Watson, L.
Windsor, L.
Wynford, L.

Resolved in the *Affirmative.*

Clause *struck out* accordingly.

Clauses 16, 17, and 18, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Court may prescribe manner of sale).

On the Motion of The Lord WATSON, the following Amendments made:—In page 7, line 29, after ("time") insert ("and place"); line 32, before ("auction") insert ("public"); and in line 41, before ("auction") insert ("public").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Price to be consigned).

On the Motion of The Lord WATSON, the following Amendments made:—In page 8, Sub-section (3), line 24, delete ("balance") and insert ("surplus"); in Sub-section (4), line 32, delete ("railways") and insert ("railway companies"); and in page 9, Sub-section (7), line 24, delete ("section") and insert ("Act").

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY moved an Amendment to the effect that the costs of the application should be made a charge on the fee-simple of the entailed estate.

Amendment *moved,*

In Sub-section 9, page 10, line 7, after ("invested") insert ("or in the case of applications to charge with debts or incumbrances, shall be created a charge upon the fee of the entailed estate.")—(*The Marquess of Huntly.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he would undertake to give the matter his attention, and, if necessary, bring up an Amendment on Report.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Amendment *moved,*

After Clause 20, to insert the following Clause:—"Where any money or other property heritable or movable has been or shall be held or invested in trust for the purpose of purchasing land to be entailed, it shall be lawful for the person, who, if the land were entailed in terms of the trust, would be the heir entitled to possession thereof, to make summary application to the Court for warrant and authority to the person or persons by whom the said money or property is held in trust at the time, to deal with and apply the same or the proceeds thereof as if it were the price of entailed land sold in pursuance of this Act; and it shall be lawful for the Court to grant such warrant and authority notwithstanding any direction to the contrary contained in any will, trust, disposition, and settlement, or other deed or writing; and the person or persons by whom such money or property shall be held in trust as aforesaid, shall, after carrying into effect such warrant and authority, be discharged of the trust."—(*The Earl of Galloway.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that, as far as he could understand the object of the proposed new clause, it was covered by Clause 24, which said—

> "The provisions of this Act with regard to the descriptions of securities and stocks in which the price of land sold may be invested shall apply to all entailed estate consisting of money."

LORD WATSON said, he thought the proposed new clause went further than Clause 24, though he was under the impression that what it provided could be otherwise secured.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he would consider the matter, and if he found out that the object of the Amendment was not so covered, the noble Earl could bring it up again on Report.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause 21 *agreed to.*

Clause 22 (Disposition to be granted at sight of Court).

On the Motion of The Lord WATSON, the following Amendments made:—In page 10, line 22, delete from ("and") on line 25, to ("warrandice") on line 27, both inclusive; in line 29, delete ("a decree declaring such sums to be"); in same line, after ("or") insert ("if the Court shall declare that any sum of money shall be"); and in line 30, after ("estate") insert ("such decree").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 23 (Price of land sold to remain entailed estate).

Amendment *moved,*

In page 10, line 35, at end of clause, to insert —"In the case of an application for disentail of the price of an entailed estate, or any part thereof, sold under the provisions of this Act at the instance of the heir in possession, by whom or on whose behalf the application for sale was made, it shall not be lawful for the Court to dispense with the consent of the heir-apparent or other nearest heir, or his curator *ad litem* appointed under this Act." —(*The Earl Cairns.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he could not agree to the Amendment, to which, indeed, he had the strongest objection, on the ground that it could not answer any useful purpose.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *Negative.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 24 *agreed to.*

Amendment *moved,*

In page 10, after Clause 24, insert the following clause:—"In all applications for disentail or sale under this Act, where the heir in possession shall have expended sums in improving the estate which he is entitled to charge upon the entailed estate without consents, such heir shall be entitled to produce a statement of such expenditure, and upon the Court declaring such expenditure to be properly chargeable upon the estate, the amount thereof, or such portion as the Court may declare properly chargeable, shall be paid to such heir out of the price of the estate, and shall be taken into consideration in fixing the values of compensation payable to the next heirs."—(*The Marquess of Huntly.*)

Lord Watson

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he did not think the proposed clause was a necessary one, and, therefore, he could not agree to it.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Schedule *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 191.)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 11*th July,* 1882.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Isle of Man (Officers)* [238]; Medical Act (1858) Amendment* [237].

Second Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 4)*; Beer Adulteration [82], *put off;* Customs and Inland Revenue [140], *deferred.*

Committee—Arrears of Rent (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [213]—R.P. [*Second Night*].

Committee—Report—Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment [229].

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE—SUB-POSTMASTERS.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY asked the Postmaster General, Whether any disqualification exists to prevent sub-postmasters applying for vacancies in the Post Office, where the salary is over £120 a year, and the vacancy is advertised in the Post Office Circular?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to my hon. Friend, I have to state that sub-postmasters are eligible for appointment to all postmasterships in the gift of the Postmaster General. The reason why sub-postmasters are not more frequently appointed is that, whenever a postmastership is vacant, there are always a great number of eligible candidates who devote their whole time to the service, and it is considered that they have a prior claim.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY asked if he was to understand that there was no objection to sub-postmasters making application for such vacancies?

MR. FAWCETT said, they were invited to do so. The vacancy was advertised in the Post Office Circular, and sub-postmasters had a perfect right to make application, and they frequently did so.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—IRISH MAILS.

MR. DILLON asked the Postmaster General, Whether the carriage of the mail to Clonmel by the Southern Line, instead of round by Limerick Junction, would accelerate the mail service of Clonmel by one hour and a half; whether the stoppage of the mail train at Thurles would cause a delay in the Cork mails of more than five minutes; and, whether he will not cause the day mails to and from Clonmel to be carried by the Southern Line?

MR. FAWCETT: The question of accelerating the provincial mails in Ireland is at the present time engaging the attention of the Department; and I shall be very glad, if it is found practicable, to improve the mail service in the district referred to by the hon. Member.

MR. MOORE asked whether there was any objection to stop the mail train at the junction, and throw out the mails for the towns south of that point?

MR. FAWCETT said, that was one of the suggestions they were at present considering; but he feared that as there was no train between the towns to meet the mails, that would not be much improvement. But the whole subject would receive careful consideration.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Expeditionary Force, or any part of it, is to rendezvous at Limasol, and if Cyprus is to be used as a place of arms during the operations in the East?

MR. CHILDERS: The right hon. and gallant Baronet asks me a hypothetical Question—that is to say, to what use Cyprus will be devoted in the event of an Expeditionary Force going to the East? I must decline to violate two well-established rules, as I should do if I answered this Question. The one is not to answer any hypothetical Questions, and the other not to give information as to military movements. Perhaps I may, at the same time, say that the words "place of arms," or *place d'armes*, have been so differently interpreted that, under any circumstances, I should hesitate to apply them to a particular station.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

COLONEL STANLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Military preparations recently ordered will cause an excess of expenditure beyond that contemplated in the Estimates already presented to Parliament; and, if so, whether, and when, it is intended to propose a Vote of Credit, or a Supplementary Estimate, to meet such excess?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman, I have to state that the arrangements which it has been necessary to make in anticipation of preparing troops for active service have led me to vary somewhat the current programme, especially in regard to purchasing stores in anticipation of later requirements during the year. Should these arrangements not be followed by the troops being employed on active service, I do not at present anticipate any excess over the printed Estimates, as there will be, in that case, savings on certain Votes, especially on that for the Autumn Manœuvres, which have been abandoned. If I should be disappointed in this respect, and it should appear that any excess on the Estimates will result from the preparations, a Supplementary Vote will be proposed. Of course, in the event of active operations, it would be at once necessary to ask Parliament for a considerable Vote.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE ST. JOHN DEL REY MINING COMPANY.

MR. PEASE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, during the administration of the late Government, steps were taken in view of a criminal prosecution of the directors of the St. John del Rey Mining Company for the working of a large number of slaves in their mines, and evidence obtained for that purpose; and, whether the Law Officers of the Crown intend to proceed with the prosecution?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, he could not state what steps were taken by the late Government; but a case had been laid before the Solicitor General and himself by the Treasury, in order to determine whether a criminal prosecution should be instituted against the Directors of the Company. His learned Friend and himself had come to the conclusion that the conduct of the Directors was very reprehensible, that they had taken advantage of slave labour, and broken not only their moral obligation not to employ such labour, but an express agreement that the slaves should be set at liberty. But with respect to a criminal prosecution, great difficulties presented themselves. In the first place, the original purchase of slaves occurred 40 years ago, and many of the persons concerned in it were now dead. Secondly, the documents which would have to be put in evidence, in order to prove the guilt of those who had purchased the slaves and maintained them in a state of slavery, were not within the jurisdiction of our Courts, even if they were in existence at all. It was found impossible to take even the preliminary steps, and, therefore, they had advised that there was no chance of maintaining such a prosecution with success.

Mr. O'KELLY said, he thought there would be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary information. It was by no means unusual for British subjects in slave-owning countries to have slaves.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the question was one of the transfer and purchase of slaves. The prosecution would have been instituted if there had been any likelihood of its being successful.

IRELAND — THE 12th OF JULY — ORANGE PROCESSIONS.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Irish Executive have resolved not to call into requisition the services of extra police in connection with the celebrations of the Orange anniversary to-morrow through the province of Ulster; whether circulars have been issued to the Orange brethren, instructing them to go armed, and whether the celebrations are so arranged in many cases as to direct the march of the Orange processionists through districts peopled by Roman Catholics; and, whether the Executive intend to take any special steps in view of such a prospect?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, His Excellency has gone carefully through all the reports received from magistrates and police respecting the anniversary to-morrow, and he has directed a large number of police to be despatched to those districts in which disturbances are apprehended, and has also sent several Resident Magistrates to the said districts, as well as one to Belfast. Men are held in readiness to go to Belfast should they be demanded by the Resident Magistrate. In some cases, through the action of the magistrates, processions likely to lead to disturbance have been abandoned. An hon. Member has just placed in my hands a telegram from the Town Clerk of Belfast, in which he says that no orders or circulars such as are referred to in the Question have been issued. All is expected to pass off quietly. I hope the hon. Member will consider that assurance satisfactory.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—CONTINUANCE.

Mr. DILLON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Irish Government intend to continue to use the Protection of Life and Property Act of last year after the Crimes Prevention Bill shall have been passed into Law?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Protection of Person and Property Act continues in force until the 30th of September next. The Lord Lieutenant will continue to use it in every case where he deems it necessary to do so.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRANTS.

Mr. MOORE asked the President of the Board of Trade, When the Papers on the subject of the Scandinavian Emigrant Traffic and Lodging House Accommodation in Hull will be ready?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, the Papers in preparation about the Scandinavian emigrant traffic were ready and in print, but they had very little information in regard to the Hull lodging-houses. He would place himself in communication with the Local Government Board, and see if he could get any information.

Army Reserve Force—cont.
  Message considered accordingly *July* 26, 1823
  Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her most Gracious Message communicating to this House Her Majesty's intention to cause Her Reserve Force, or such part thereof as Her Majesty should think necessary, to be forthwith called out for permanent service" (*Mr. Gladstone*); after short debate, Motion agreed to

Arnold, Mr. A., *Salford*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 362; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 788; *cl.* 9, 794; *add. cl.* 1009; Consid. *add. cl.* 1233, 1235, 1244
  Earl of Aylesford's Estates, 2R. 973, 975
  Egypt—Conference, &c. 562
    Protection of Europeans—Suez Canal, 975
  Official Reports—Surreptitious Publication, 1536
  Parliament — Public Business — Saturday Sitting, 1221
  Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1748

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill
  The Loans Clause, Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 14, 453
  The Emigration Clause—Re-committal, Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 19, 1017
  Clause 5—*The Investigation as to the Tenants' Position*, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 20, 1098
  Second Reading, Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, Earl Granville *July* 21, 1205
  Repayment of Loan, Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *July* 21, 1216

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Secretary Childers, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Chairman—R.P. [Second Night] *July* 11, 35
  Committee—R.P *July* 11, 96 [Bill 213]
  Chairman—R.P [Third Night] *July* 12, 198
  Committee—R.P. [Fourth Night] *July* 13, 294
  Chairman—R.P. [Fifth Night] *July* 14, 453
  Committee—R.P. *July* 14, 505
  Committee—R.P. [Sixth Night] *July* 17, 724
  Committee—R P. [Seventh Night] *July* 18, 922
  Committee; Report [Eighth Night] *July* 19, 976
  Considered *July* 20, 1107; Re-committed; Committee—R.P. 1132
  Chairman—R.P. *July* 21, 1226
  Report; Considered *July* 21, 1281
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°," 1307
  Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day two months" (*Sir Herbert Maxwell*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 283, N. 177; M. 106
    Div. List, A. and N., 1319
  Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3°
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Privy Seal*) *July* 22 (No. 205)
  Read 2ª, after long debate *July* 27, 1910

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) [*Salaries and Emigration*]
c. Resolution considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 19, 1050
  Resolution reported, and agreed to, after short debate *July* 20, 1104

Artizans' Dwellings Bill (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 25 [Bill 255]

Ashley, Hon. E. M. (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), *Isle of Wight*
  Africa (South)—Natal—Inequality of Taxation, 711
    South Africa Act, 1877—Renewal, 1081
    Zululand—Restoration of the Ex-King Cetewayo, 273
  Canada, Dominion of—Legislative Independence of Ireland, 273
  Cyprus—Harbour of Famagusta—Cost, 1546
  Cyprus and Malta—Egyptian Refugees, 1543
  Malta—Legislative Council, 263
  Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries), 2R. 416
  New Zealand—Native Disturbances in 1879-80, 272
  West Indies—Court of Policy, Demerara, 706

Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. E., *Eye*
  Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
    Alexandria—State of Affairs, 289, 450
    Military Affairs—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of H.M. Government, 162, 193, 194, 920, 921
    State of Affairs—Massacres of Europeans, 1332, 1334, 1544
    Suez Canal, 455
  Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1609, 2063

Attorney General, The (Sir H. James) *Taunton*
  Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (Nos. 1 and 2), Nomination of Select Committee, 970
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 558
  Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment, Comm. 2115
  Charity Funds (Metropolis), 1537
  Earl of Aylesford's Estates, 2R. 974
  Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 594, 599
  Law and Justice—St. John Del Rey Mining Company, 27
  Settled Land, Comm. *cl.* 21, 424
  Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment—Winter Assizes, 1546
  Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment, 2R. 1167

Aylmer, Captain J. E. F., *Maidstone*
  Army—Mounted Riflemen, 273, 274
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 67; Amendt. 155, 309, 459, 476; *cl.* 4, 540; *cl.* 5, 778; *add. cl.* 938, 953, 957; Consid. *cl.* 1, 1123, 1124; *add. cl.* 1364
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—Repayment of Loan, 1216, 1217

AYLMER, Captain J. E. F.—*cont.*
Dulwich Scheme, Motion for an Address, 1666
Parliament — Public Business — Saturday Sitting, 1221
Partnerships, Comm. *cl.* 6, Motion for reporting Progress, 1325
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 1624
Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1630
Surveys of the United Kingdom, 1643

BALFOUR, Lord
Entail (Scotland), Re-comm. *cl.* 14, 18; *cl.* 15, 19
Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure, 2R. 1206

BALFOUR, Right Hon. J. B. (Lord Advocate for Scotland), *Clackmannan, &c.*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 663; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1372; Amendt. 1374; *cl.* 4, 1377; *cl.* 6, 1398, 1411, 1412; *cl.* 7, 1414, 1415; *cl.* 8, 1437, 1438; *cl.* 10, 1441
Scotland—The Highlands—Violent Language to a Land League Agent, 1960

BALFOUR, General Sir G., *Kincardineshire*
Dover Harbour, 2R. Amendt. 878, 887
Dover Harbour Bill, Res. 1958
Supply—Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1630, 1632
Revenue Department Buildings, 1635

BALFOUR, Mr. A. J., *Hertford*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 101, 205, 206, 315, 318; *cl.* 2, 516; *cl.* 4, 552; *cl.* 5, 744
Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 35
State of Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 919

Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill (*Sir Charles Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Committee deferred, after short debate *July* 27, 2115 [Bill 84]

Banking Laws (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Barclay, Mr. M'Laren*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 25 [Bill 71]

BARCLAY, Mr. J. W., *Forfarshire*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 644, 645, 650, 652; Comm. 1365, 1368; *cl.* 1, 1372, 1374; *cl.* 5, 1379; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1385, 1386, 1387, 1397, 1398, 1406, 1410; *cl.* 7, 1414, 1416; Amendt. 1417

BARING, Mr. T. C., *Essex, S.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 959; Consid. *add. cl.* 1117; *cl.* 1, 1118, 1290
Partnerships, Comm. *cl.* 6, 1326, 1329

BARNE, Colonel F. St. J. N., *Suffolk, E.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 66, 358
Beer Adulteration, 2R. 159

BARRAN, Mr. J., *Leeds*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *add. cl.* 624, 629

BARTTELOT, Colonel Sir W. B., *Sussex, W.*
Army Estimates—Army Supplementary Estimate—Vote A, 2110
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 359; *add. cl.* Motion for reporting Progress, 966; Consid. *add. cl.* 1159
Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 160
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 157
Dover Harbour, 2R. 885, 887
Egypt (Military Operations)—Conflagrations at Alexandria, 1982
Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 276, 277
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 2015
Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 1646
Surveys of the United Kingdom, 1641

Baths and Washhouses Acts Amendment Bill (*Earl Beauchamp*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 11 (No. 180)
Committee *; Report *July* 14
Read 3ª * *July* 20
Royal Assent *July* 24 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 30]

BAXTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Montrose, &c.*
Belfast Harbour, Consid. 856
India—Church of England—Appointment of Chaplains and Building and Repairing Grants for Churches, 1077

BEACH, Right Hon. Sir M. E. HICKS-*Gloucestershire, E.*
Africa (South)—Zululand—Restoration of the Ex-King Cetewayo, 273
Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (Nos. 1 and 2), Nomination of Select Committee, 966
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 60; Amendt. 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 85, 133, 199, 200, 208, 397, 400, 402, 459, 460, 479, 480, 483, 488; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 536, 554, 559; *cl.* 5, 751, 758, 762, 765, 768, 769; Amendt. 775, 777
Arrears of Rent (Ireland) [Salaries and Emigration], Report, 1104
Crime (Ireland)—Agrarian Outrages—Returns, 440
Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 285, 289
Military Affairs—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 162
Suez Canal, 457

[*cont.*

BEACH, Right Hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-—*cont.*
Electric Lighting, Comm. 418, 420
Government Annuities and Assurance, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 421
New Zealand—Native Disturbances in 1879-80, 271
Parliament—Business of the House, 1102
Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1552, 1557
Supply—Surveys of the United Kingdom, 1641

Beer Adulteration Bill
(*Colonel Barne, Mr. Hicks, Mr. Storer*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 11, 158
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Courtney*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 47, N. 77; M. 30 (D. L. 252)
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off [Bill 82]

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Act (1880) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Chaplin, Colonel Kingscote*)
c. Committee; Report *July* 11, 160 [Bill 229]
Considered *; read 3° *July* 12
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Cadogan*) *July* 13 (No. 192)
Read 2ª * *July* 21
Committee *; Report *July* 24
Read 3ª * *July* 25

Belfast Harbour Bill [*Lords*]
c. Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered" *July* 18, 851
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient to grant such extensive powers to any Corporation elected on so restricted a Franchise" (*Mr. Biggar*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 193, N. 26; M. 167 (D. L. 274)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill considered

BELLINGHAM, Mr. A. H., *Louth*
Ireland — National Education — Salaries of National School Teachers, 1079
Marriage Solemnization—Notice to Superintendent Registrar—Additional Notice on Change of Place, 270

BENTINCK, Right Hon. G. A. F. Cavendish, *Whitehaven*
Parliament—Business of the House, 1100
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 1620, 1623, 1624

BIDDELL, Mr. W., *Suffolk, W.*
Jury Laws—Summoning of Jurymen, 1975

BIGGAR, Mr. J. G., *Cavan Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 765, 766, 773; *add. cl.* 977; Consid. *add. cl.* 1280, 1285, 1303

[*cont.*

BIGGAR, Mr. J. G.—*cont.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland) [Salaries and Emigration,] Consid. 1050, 1051
Belfast Harbour, Consid. Amendt. 851
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1424, 1428
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Law and Police—Riots at Belfast, 1215
Magistracy—Petty Sessions Clerks, 1963
Post Office — Telegraph Department — Clerks' Leave of Absence—Belfast Telegraph Clerks, 1977
Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Miscellaneous Questions
American Citizens detained under the Act, 1082
Healy, Mr. Denis, 1684
Mahony, Mr. Henry, 1684
Parliament—Rules of Debate—Unparliamentary Language—Mr. O'Donnell, 1563
Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1483
Scotland—The Highlands—Violent Language to a Land League Agent, 1960
Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 1168, 1169, 1482

Bills of Exchange Bill
(*The Lord Bramwell*)
l. Read 2ª, after debate *July* 18, 833 (No. 183)
Order for Committee discharged; Bill referred to a Select Committee, after short debate *July* 25, 1671

Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment Bill
[H.L.] (*The Lord Coleridge*)
l. Report of Select Committee * *July* 21 [No. 203]

BIRKBECK, Mr. E., *Norfolk, N.*
Fisheries—Appointment of Inspectors, 715

BLAKE, Mr. J. A., *Waterford Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 997; Consid. *add. cl.* 1116, 1158, 1273
Canada, Dominion of—Irish Emigration, 1966
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1425
Parliament—Adjournment of the House, 1483
Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1553, 1554, 1555
Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 1170

BLANTYRE, Lord
Euphrates Valley Railway, Motion for Papers, 684

Boiler Explosions Bill
(*The Earl of Derby*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 22]

BOLTON, Mr. J. C., *Stirling*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 8, 1435; *cl.* 13, 1447; *cl.* 32, Amendt. 1473, 1474; *add. cl.* 1477
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 601

Bourke, Right Hon. R., *Lynn Regis*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 322, 326; *cl.* 5, 762; Amendt. 763, 764
Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 286, 289
  Suez Canal, Protection of, 1083, 1084
Egypt (Military Affairs)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 165
  Suez Canal, 456
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Miscellaneous Questions
  Conference, 1545
  Diplomacy, 712, 713, 714
  Policy of the Government, 719, 913, 914, 1224
France—Reported Resignation of M. de Freycinet, 1104
Parliament—Business of the House—Vote of Credit, 1338
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1074, 1889, 1891, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2007

Brabourne, Lord
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Land Courts—Sub-Commissioners, 1175, 1183, 1197

Bramwell, Lord
Bills of Exchange, 2R. 833, 835; Comm. 1671

Brand, Right Hon. Sir H. B. W., (*see* **Speaker**, The)

Brand, Mr. H. R., *Stroud*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 138, 140
Parliament—Business of the House, 453
Private Bills—Standing Order 167, 1968

Brazil—Province of Minas Geraes—Slave-Holding by British Subjects
Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 25, 1685

Briggs, Mr. W. E., *Blackburn*
River Thames—Pollution Commission, 699

Bright, Right Hon. J., *Birmingham*
Ministry—Resignation of the Right Hon. John Bright, 722

Brise, Colonel S. B. **Ruggles-**, *Essex, E.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 335

Broadhurst, Mr. H., *Stoke-on-Trent*
Parliament—Public Business—Saturday Sitting, 1220
Payment of Wages in Public Houses Prohibition, 2R. 1172

Brodrick, Hon. W. St. J. F., *Surrey, W.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 58, 60, 153; *cl.* 5, 733; Amendt. 736, 749; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 822, 824, 829, 831; Consid. *add. cl.* Amendt. 1111, 1112; *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1117

Brodrick, Hon. W. St. J. F.—*cont.*
Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commissioners—Mr. Meek, 263, 264
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—"Diegen *v.* Adair"—Mr. Joshua Clarke, County Court Judge of Queen's Co. 265

Brooks, Mr. M., *Dublin*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 581, 582

Bruce, Hon. R. P., *Fifeshire*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1397, 1405; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 1450, 1452, 1454; *cl.* 21, 1465; *cl.* 23, Amendt. 1468; *cl.* 25, Amendt. 1469, 1470; *cl.* 31, Amendt. 1471

Bruce, Hon. T. C., *Portsmouth*
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1850

Bruce, Sir H. H., *Coleraine*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 141; *cl.* 2, 531; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 548, 553; *cl.* 5, 735, 740, 741, 742, 744, 745, 754; Amendt. 757
Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commissioners—Mr. Meek, 264

Bryce, Mr. J., *Tower Hamlets*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 227
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Buchanan, Mr. T. R., *Edinburgh*
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Bulwer, Mr. J. R., *Cambridgeshire*
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Callan, Mr. P., *Louth*
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Campbell, Sir G., *Kirkcaldy, &c.*
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Campbell, Mr. J. A., *Glasgow, &c. Universities*
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Capital Punishment Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Pease, Mr. Joseph Pease, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Justin M'Carthy*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 19 [Bill 55]

Carbutt, Mr. E. H., *Monmouth, &c.*
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Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G., *Essex, W.*
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Chamberlain, Right Hon. J. (President of the Board of Trade), *Birmingham*
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Channel Tunnel Scheme
Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 17, 717; Question, Sir Harry Verney; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 21, 1217; Question, Mr. Bromley-Davenport; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 27, 1962; Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, Mr. Childers, 1975

Channel Tunnel Scheme
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that Her Majesty will cause to be laid on the Table, Copy of the Report of a Committee which has lately inquired into the Channel Tunnel scheme; also copies of any other papers which may exist on the same subject" (*The Viscount Bury*) *July* 20, 1071; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Chaplin, Mr. H., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 1093
Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1558
Parliament—Rules of Debate—Un-Parliamentary Language—Mr. O'Donnell, 1565, 1569
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Charity Commissioners, The — The Endowed Schools Commission — Re-organization
Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 20, 1076

Childers, Right Hon. H. C. E. (Secretary of State for War), *Pontefract*
Army—Miscellaneous Questions
  Military Canteens (Ireland), 441
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Channel Tunnel Scheme, 717, 1975
Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal, 2R. Previous Question moved, 1028
Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 1092, 1093;—Conflagrations at, 1983
  State of Affairs, 1334
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  Alleged Pillage by British Soldiers, 1541, 1903
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Law and Police—Riots at Tredegar, 707, 708
Parliament—Business of the House—Vote of Credit, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339
  Public Business—Saturday Sitting, 1219, 1220, 1221
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1599, 1601, 1602, 1605, 1606, 1609, 2004, 2007, 2014, 2015

China—The Chefoo Convention
Questions, Sir Joseph Pease; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 13, 279; *July* 27, 1964

Churchill, Lord R., *Woodstock*
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of the Government, 719

Churchwardens' Admission Bill
(*Mr. Monk, Sir Gabriel Goldney*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That this House will, upon Saturday next, resolve itself into the said Committee" *July* 20, 1172
Amendt. to leave out "Saturday," and insert "Monday" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Question put, "That 'Saturday,' &c.;" A. 12, N. 11; M. 1 (D. L. 287)

Citation Amendment (Scotland) Bill
[H.L.] (*The Lord Monson*)
l. Presented; read 1ª* *July* 24 (No. 206)

Civil Imprisonment (Scotland) Bill
(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Mackintosh*)
c. Report of Select Committee * *July* 19 [No. 288]
Committee * (*on re-comm.*); Report; read 3° *July* 24 [Bill 245]
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Rosebery*) *July* 25 (No. 208)

Clanwilliam, Earl of
Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 1052

Clarke, Mr. E. G., *Plymouth*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 504, 528; *cl.* 4, 552, 553
Law and Justice—Summer Assizes, 1534

Cohen, Mr. A., *Southwark*
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1783

Collins, Mr. E., *Kinsale*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 589

Collins, Mr. T., *Knaresborough*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 371; Consid. *add. cl.* 1292
Parliament—Business of the House—The Adjournment, 281, 282
Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1573
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1619

Colthurst, Col. D. La Zouche, *Cork Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 83, 140, 223, 229, 336, 391; *cl.* 5, 732, 779; *cl.* 12, 926; *add. cl.* 933; *cl.* 15, 1129, 1131; Consid. *add. cl.* 1265; Amendt. 1283, 1289

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COLTHURST, Colonel D. La Zouche—*cont.*]
Ireland—Evictions—The Return, 1969
Land Law Act, 1881—Clause 31—Loans to Irish Tenants, 1970
Navy—Roman Catholic Sailors and Marines—Provision as to Chaplains in the Fleet, 1969

Common Prayer (Priestly Absolution) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *July* 25 (No. 209)

Consolidated Fund (No. 4) Bill
(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 11
Committee *; Report *July* 13
Read 3° * *July* 14
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Granville*) *July* 17
Read 2ª * *July* 18
Committee *; Report *July* 20
Read 3ª * *July* 21
Royal Assent *July* 24 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 28]

Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal Bill
(*Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. P. A. Taylor*)
c. Order for 2R. read *July* 19, 1019 [Bill 64]
Moved, "That Strangers be ordered to withdraw" (*Mr. Callan*); Question put; A. 36, N. 173; M. 137 (D. L. 280)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°," 1021
Previous Question proposed, "That that Question be now put" (*Mr. Childers*); after short debate, Previous Question, "That that Question be now put," put, and negatived

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts — Infected Areas
Question, Mr. James Howard; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 27, 1975

Conveyancing Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. H. H. Fowler*)
c. Report of Select Committee * *July* 20 [No. 276]
Committee * (*on re-comm.*) *July* 24 [Bill 246]
Committee * (*on re-comm.*); Report; read 3° *July* 27

Copyright (Musical Compositions) Bill
(*The Earl Cadogan*)
l. Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 14, 428
Committee * *July* 21 (No. 159)
Report * *July* 24 (No. 204)
Read 3ª * *July* 25

CORBET, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow Co.*
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Irish Land Commission — Sub-Commissioners' Sittings, Co. Wicklow, 702
Lunatic Asylums—Report of Inspectors, 1216
Seeds Act—Seed Rate, 701

Corn Returns (No. 2) Bill
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 13, 257
Committee * *July* 14 (No. 187)
Report * *July* 17
Read 3ª * *July* 18

County Courts (Ireland) Bill
(*The Lord O'Hagan*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 24 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 29]

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), *Liskeard*
Beer Adulteration, 2R. Amendt. 158, 159
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 157, 404, 408, 409, 416; Comm. 2114
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Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Inland Navigation—River Shannon—Increase of Tolls, 1082
Land Law Act, 1881—Clause 31—Loans to Irish Tenants, 1970
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Parliamentary Papers—Distribution, 698;—Return of, 1975
Supply—British Museum Buildings, 1644
Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 1651
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Museum of Science and Art in Dublin, &c. 1655, 1656
Public Buildings (Ireland), 1652, 1653, 1654
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COWEN, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*
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Egypt—War in Egypt, Res. 1689
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COWPER, Earl
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 2R. 1948, 1952

CRANBROOK, Viscount
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 1676
Egypt (Political Affairs) — Policy of the Government—Ministerial Statement, Motion for an Address, 1513, 1522

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Cranbrook, Viscount—*cont.*
  Public Offices Site, 2R. 435; Comm. 839
  Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford University Statutes), Motion for an Address, 1061

Criminal Law—Cases of Charles Frost and Edward Smith, wrongfully Convicted
  Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 17, 700

Cropper, Mr. J., *Kendal*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1290
  Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure (Clôture), 280

Cross, Right Hon. Sir R. A., *Lancashire, S.W.*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 149; *add. cl.* 954; Consid. *add. cl.* 1138; 3R. 1316
  Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. 1161
  Egypt—Alleged Massacre of Europeans, 1682
    Military Operations—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 29, 30, 34, 35
  Parliament—Business of the House, 1050, 1323;—Vote of Credit, 1336
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  Supply—British Museum Buildings, 1644
    Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1602, 1806, 1815
    New Courts of Justice and Offices, 1639

Cross, Mr. J. K., *Bolton*
  Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 595; *cl.* 5, 616, 621
  Post Office—Telephonic Exchanges, 711

Cunliffe, Sir R. A., *Denbigh, &c.*
  Education (Wales)—Higher and Secondary Education, 1541

Currie, Sir D., *Perthshire*
  Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 13, 1454
  Electric Lighting, Comm. *add. cl.* 628

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill
(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish*)
c. 2R. deferred, after short debate *July* 11, 157
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 13, 404
  Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, the financial arrangements comprised in the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill will not be satisfactory unless provision is therein made for giving immediate relief to the ratepayers from the incidence of rates levied for the maintenance of main roads in England" (*Mr. Harcourt*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 149, N. 131; M. 18 (D. L. 256)

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Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—cont.
  Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2°;" after short debate, main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 140]
  Committee*; Report *July* 14 [Bill 239]
  Committee (*on re-comm.*) deferred, after short debate *July* 27, 2114

Cyprus—The Harbour of Famagusta—Cost
  Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 24, 1546

Cyprus and Malta—Egyptian Refugees
  Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 24, 1543

Dalhousie, Earl of
  Entail (Scotland), Re-comm. *cl.* 7, 11

Dalrymple, Mr. C., *Buteshire*
  Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 6, 1413; *cl.* 8, 1435, 1438, 1439; *cl.* 16, 1462

Daly, Mr. J., *Cork*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 785; *add. cl.* 980, 990, 999; Consid. *add. cl.* 1115, 1276, 1295
  Belfast Harbour, Consid. 866, 868
  Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1426
  Ireland — Law and Justice — Cork Assizes, 1989
  Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. 1480

Davenport, Mr. W. Bromley-, *Warwickshire, N.*
  Channel Tunnel Scheme, 1962

Davey, Mr. H., *Christchurch*
  Partnerships, Comm. *cl.* 6, 1329

Davies, Mr. D., *Cardigan, &c.*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1117

Dawnay, Colonel Hon. L. P., *Thirsk*
  Army—Regiment of Foot Guards, 271

De La Warr, Earl
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 3, 4, 256
  London River-side Fish Market, Lords Amendts. 428

Denman, Lord
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 2R. 1957
  Corn Returns (No. 2), 2R. 258
  India—Corporal Punishment in Indian Gaols, Motion for an Address, 1524
  Prevention of Crime (Ireland), Comm. 4

Derby, Earl of
- Euphrates Valley Railway, Motion for Papers, 680
- Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford University Statutes), Motion for an Address, 1064

De Worms, Baron H., *Greenwich*
- Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Alexandria—State of Affairs, 285
  - Conference, &c. 562
  - Military Operations—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria — Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 33
  - Political Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 718, 915, 916
- Russia—Persecution of the Jews, 1543
- Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1865, 1868

Dickson, Major A. G., *Dover*
- Dover Harbour, 2R. 880
- Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1609

Dickson, Mr. J., *Dungannon*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 334

Dickson, Mr. T. A., *Tyrone*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 137, 247, 350 ; *cl.* 2, 529 ; *cl.* 5, 754, 755, 782 ; *add. cl.* Amendt. 938, 942, 955
- Supply—Shannon Navigation, 1657, 1658
- Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. 1480

Dilke, Sir C. W. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Chelsea, &c.*
- Brazil—Province of Minas Geraes—Slave-holding by British Subjects, 1686
- Bulgaria—New Ministry, 1530
- China—Chefoo Convention, 279, 1965
- Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Alexandria—State of Affairs, 290, 1090, 1091, 1547, 1548
  - Conference, &c. 562, 563, 564, 1545 ;—Action of the Porte, 1759
  - Massacre of Europeans, 1682
  - Parliamentary Paper (No. 9), Personal Explanation, 564
  - Protection of Europeans—Suez Canal, 975, 976
  - Riots at Alexandria—Arrest of the Plunderers, 1973
  - State of Affairs—Massacres of Europeans, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1544
  - Suez Canal, Protection of, 1083, 1084
- Egypt (Military Operations) — Miscellaneous Questions
  - Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 29, 30, 33, 34
  - Policy of the Government, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 188, 193, 198 ;—Explanation, 695, 696
  - Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 276, 277, 278
  - Sir Beauchamp Seymour's Despatches, 1517
  - Suez Canal, 455, 456, 457, 458

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Dilke, Sir C. W.—*cont.*
- Egypt (Political Affairs)—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Approval by Austria of Course taken by England, 1088
  - Diplomacy, 712, 713, 714
  - Policy of H.M. Government, 894, 896, 897, 913, 914, 1222, 1224, 1225
- Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1074
- France — Reported Resignation of M. De Freycinet, 1104
- Korea—The Opium Traffic, 278
- Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1553
- Public Departments—Distribution of Parliamentary Papers to the Press—Undue Preference, 272
- Spain—The Zamora Waterworks Company, 448
- Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1617, 1618, 1710, 1789, 1790, 1998, 1999

Dillon, Mr. J., *Tipperary*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 45, 47, 68
- Ireland—Post Office—Irish Mails, 25
  - Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Continuance, 28

Dillwyn, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*
- Pluralities Acts Amendment, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 425
- Supply—Metropolitan Police Court Buildings, 1638
  - Repair of Public Buildings, Great Britain, &c. 1628, 1633

Distress Amendment Bill
(*Sir Henry Holland, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Joseph Pease, Mr. Cropper*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 25 [Bill 73]

Dixon-Hartland, Mr. F. D., *Evesham*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 819, 822

Dodds, Mr. J., *Stockton*
- Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 1171

Dodson, Right Hon. J. G. (President of the Local Government Board), *Scarborough*
- Marriage Solemnization—Notice to Superintendent Registrar—Additional Notice on Change of Place, 271
- Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 1170
- Vaccination—Alleged Death of Children at Norwich from Effects of Operation, 446, 447, 1971
- Ways and Means—Financial Statement—Relief of Highway Rates, 1981

Donaldson-Hudson, Mr. C., *Newcastle-under-Lyne*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 337, 338 ; Consid. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1121

Donoughmore, Earl of
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 2R. 1955

Dover Harbour Bill (*by Order*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. Freshfield*) *July* 18, 873
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it is not desirable to proceed with this Private Harbour Bill until Government have made known their final decision,—about the formation in Dover Bay of the long contemplated Public, Military, and Naval Harbour,—as to their intentions about granting, in aid of the proposed private work, money grants, loans, subsidies, and tolls,—the use of convict labour, materials, lands, shores, and the use of the Admiralty Pier; also, to what inquiry the proposed work will be subjected, as to the sufficiency of the named capital and works to form and complete a private harbour which will fulfil the conditions set forth in the Petition of the promoters of this undertaking" (*General Sir George Balfour*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Moved, "That, in the case of the Dover Harbour Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be taken into consideration To-morrow, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *July* 27, 1958; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Dulwich Scheme
Motion for an Address (*Mr. Grantham*) *July* 24, 1661; after short debate, Question put; A. 11, N. 50; M. 39 (D. L. 298)

Dunraven, Earl of
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 2R. 1954

Dunsany, Lord
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Land Courts—Sub-Commissioners, 1203
Navy—Shipbuilding Policy of the Admiralty, Motion for an Address, 847

Dyke, Right Hon. Sir W. H., *Kent, Mid*
Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1553

Earl of Aylesford's Estates Bill [*Lords*]
c. Read 2°, after short debate *July* 19, 973

Ebrington, Viscount, *Tiverton*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 550, 552, 553; *cl.* 5, 733

Ecroyd, Mr. W. F., *Preston*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 199; Amendt. 213, 218

Educational Endowments (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. 2R. deferred, after short debate *July* 13, 403
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 15, 632
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Colonel Alexander*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question again proposed, 648; after short debate, original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 147]
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That this House will, upon Saturday next, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) *July* 20, 1160
Amendt. to leave out "Saturday," and insert "Monday," (*Colonel Alexander*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'Saturday,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 130, N. 36; M. 94 (D. L. 283)
Main Question put, and agreed to
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 22, 1340
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add the abolition of free primary education is quite as undesirable as the endowment of secondary education is desirable, and that no Bill dealing with Educational Endowments in Scotland can be deemed satisfactory which, while fettering the discretion of Commissioners appointed under it as to doles, representation, areas, and other points, leaves them power to appropriate to other uses the revenues of a class of free schools affording good elementary education to thousands of working class children" (*Dr. Cameron*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 89, N. 19; M. 70 (D. L. 292)
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee; Report

Educational Endowments (*Scotland*) [*Salaries and Expenses*]
c. Resolution considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 18, 972
Resolution reported *July* 19

Education Department
Education (*Scotland*) *Act—Rosskeen School Board—Agreement with Teachers*, Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 20, 1076
Education (*Wales*)*—Higher and Secondary Education*, Questions, Sir Robert Cunliffe, Sir Hussey Vivian; Answers, Mr. Mundella *July* 24, 1541
Elementary Education Acts — Education of Paupers, Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 27, 1974
Elementary School Teachers—Pension Fund, Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 14, 444

Edwards, Mr. J. P., *Salisbury*
Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 1091
Military Operations—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 709

Egerton, Admiral Hon. F., *Derbyshire, E.*
Egypt—State of Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 912

Egypt
Lords
Military Operations
Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, Questions, The Marquess of Salisbury, The Earl of Carnarvon, Earl De La Warr; Answers, The Earl of Northbrook *July* 11, 1; Questions, The Marquess of Salisbury, Earl De La Warr; Answers, The Earl of Northbrook, Earl Granville *July* 13, 253; Question, The Earl of Clanwilliam; Answer, The Earl of Northbrook *July* 20, 1052
Despatch of Troops from India—Incidence of Cost, Notice of Resolution, Viscount Enfield *July* 24, 1484

Policy of Her Majesty's Government, Question, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury; Reply, Earl Granville *July* 20, 1051
Arrest of Egyptian Subjects, Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, Earl Granville *July* 25, 1680
Letter of Arabi Pasha to the Prime Minister, Questions, The Earl of Carnarvon, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answers, Earl Granville *July* 25, 1669

Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of the Government
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Egypt" (*The Earl Granville*) *July* 24, 1484; after debate, Motion agreed to

Egypt
Commons
Military Operations
The Island of Cyprus, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 11, 25
Operations of the Fleet at Alexandria—Employment of Indian Troops, &c., Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Richard, Mr. Onslow, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. G. W. Elliot, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 11, 29; Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, 93; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, 94; Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Gourley, Mr. G. W. Elliot, Mr. Bourke, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Gladstone *July* 12, 162;—Explanation, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 17, 695;—Question, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 12, 198; Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, 253; Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 13, 276; Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 14, 447; Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 17, 708;—*Sir Beauchamp Seymour's Despatches*, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 24, 1546
The Military Preparations, Question, Colonel Stanley; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 11, 26
Despatch of Troops—The Household Cavalry, Questions, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Mr. Childers *July* 21, 1221
Despatch of Troops from India—Incidence of Cost, Notice of Motion, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 24, 1526
Alleged Pillage by British Soldiers, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 24, 1541
Reported Looting by British Soldiers at Ramleh, Question, Lord Colin Campbell; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 26, 1903

Political Affairs
Diplomacy—Policy of the Government, *July* 12, 162; *July* 17, 695; Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Bourke, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Stewart Macliver, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, 712; Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Bourke, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, 718; Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 18, 893; Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Leamy; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Gladstone *July* 21, 1222
Approval by Austria of Course taken by England, Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 20, 1088
The Conference, &c., Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Monk, Mr. Villiers-Stuart, Sir John Hay, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 15, 562; Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 24, 1545; Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 25, 1759

Alexandria
State of Affairs at Alexandria, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Ritchie, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Sir Henry Tyler, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Gibson, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Captain Price; Answers, Mr. Campbell-

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Egypt—Alexandria—cont.

Bannerman, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 13, 282; Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Mac Iver, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 14, 449; Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Gorst, Mr. W. H. Smith, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Lord Eustace Cecil, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Tottenham; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers *July* 20, 1089

Alleged further Massacres of Europeans, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Onslow, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Childers *July* 22, 1332; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 24, 1544; Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 25, 1682

The Massacre at Alexandria, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 24, 1547

Arrest of Plunderers, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 27, 1973

Conflagrations at Alexandria, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers *July* 27, 1982

The Suez Canal

Questions, Sir Henry Peek, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. J. Lowther, Lord Eustace Cecil, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. W. M. Torrens, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers *July* 14, 454; Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, 504

Protection of the Suez Canal, Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 20, 1083; Question, Mr. Norwood; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 26, 1822

Protection of Europeans, Questions, Mr. Gourley, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 19, 975

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

The Letter of Arabi Pasha to the Prime Minister, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 27, 1983

Parliamentary Paper, No. 9, Personal Explanation, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Question, Mr. Villiers-Stuart; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 15, 564

Egypt—War in Egypt

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 25, To leave out from "That," and add "this House, while ready to vote whatever Supplies may be necessary for the protection of the Khedive and the security of the Suez Canal, is not prepared, having regard to the position of England as a great Mussulman Power, to enter upon a War for the restoration of the authority of the Khedive in Egypt, unless in conjunction with the Forces of the Sultan" (*Lord Elcho*) *v.*, 1687; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

ELCHO, Lord, *Haddingtonshire*

Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (Nos. 1 and 2), Nomination of Select Committee, 970

Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 3R. 1313

Parliament—Business of the House, 452

Supply—Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1631

War in Egypt, Res. 1687, 1690

Election of Representative Peers (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]

(*The Earl of Belmore*)

l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 26]

Electric Lighting Bill

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ashley*)

c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That this House will resolve itself into the said Committee upon Saturday" *July* 13, 417

Amendt. to leave out "Saturday," and insert "Monday next" (*Colonel Makins*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'Saturday,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 130, N. 109; M. 21 (D. L. 257); after further short debate, main Question put, and agreed to

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 15, 565

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it is undesirable to retain in the Bill the novel powers proposed to be given to the Board of Trade to grant licences to local authorities, Companies, or persons, enabling them to exercise powers which have hitherto only been granted by Act of Parliament, or Provisional Order confirmed by Act of Parliament, and the power given to local authorities under Clauses five and six, and other parts of the Bill, to raise money on the credit of local rates, without the consent of the ratepayers, for the purpose of competing with private capital, are contrary to every principle hitherto recognized by the Legislature, and that no Bill containing such powers will be acceptable to this House" (*Colonel Makins*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee; Report [Bill 200]

Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Finchley, &c.) Bill [H.L.]

c. Report * *July* 17 [Bill 219]

Read 3° * *July* 18

Royal Assent *July* 24 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cxxxix]

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Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill
c. Report * *July* 13 [Bill 195]
Considered * *July* 14
Read 3° * *July* 17
Royal Assent *July* 24 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cxli]

Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (West Ham, &c.) Bill
(*Lord Sandhurst*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. cii]

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Militia—Volunteers for Service Abroad, 1680
Army Reserve Force—Queen's Message considered, Motion for an Address, 1905
Euphrates Valley Railway, Motion for Papers, 683

ELLIOT, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. 1167; *cl.* 6, 1403; *cl.* 8, 1437

ELLIOT, Sir G., *Durham, N.*
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 2053

ELLIOT, Mr. G. W., *Northallerton*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 34
Policy of the Government, 165

ELPHINSTONE, Lord
Navy—Shipbuilding Policy of the Admiralty, Motion for an Address, 848

EMLYN, Viscount, *Carmarthenshire*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 545; *cl.* 9, 806
Post Office—Salaries of Post Messengers, 1531

Endowed Schools—Flogging at Eton
Question, Colonel Makins; Answer, Mr. Childers *July* 17, 716

Endowed Schools and Hospitals
Christ's Hospital—The New Scheme, Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 24, 1542
Dulwich Scheme, Motion for an Address (*Mr. Grantham*) *July* 24, 1661; after short debate, Question put; A. 11, N. 50; M. 39 (D. L. 298)

Endowed Schools Commission—The Charity Commissioners—Re-organization
Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 20, 1076

ENFIELD, Viscount (Under Secretary of State for India)
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 1673, 1678
Egypt (Military Operations)—Despatch of Troops from India—Incidence of Cost, 1484

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ENFIELD, Viscount—*cont.*
India (Hyderabad)—Major C. B. Euan Smith, 1174
India—Corporal Punishment in Indian Gaols, Motion for an Address, 1524

Entail (Scotland) (*re-committed*) **Bill**
(*The Lord Rosebery*)
l. Committee, after debate *July* 11, 5 (No. 169)
Report *July* 17, 685 (No. 191)
Read 3ª * *July* 18
c. Read 1° * (*The Lord Advocate*) *July* 21
Read 2° * *July* 22 [Bill 248]

ERRINGTON, Mr. G., *Longford Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 976
West Indies—Court of Policy—Demerara, 706

Euphrates Valley Railway
Moved for, "Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1871 and 1872; together with the Minutes of Evidence, &c." (*The Lord Lamington*) *July* 17, 674; after short debate, Motion agreed to

EWART, Mr. W., *Belfast*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1240
Belfast Harbour, Consid. 857
Parliament—Business of the House, 722
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. 1043
Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. 1482

EWING, Mr. A. ORR-, *Dumbarton*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 644; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1370, 1375; *cl.* 5, 1383; *cl.* 8, 1434

FAWCETT, Right Hon. H. (Postmaster General), *Hackney*
Electric Lighting, Comm. 420; *add. cl.* 628, 629; Report, 632
Government Annuities and Assurance, 2R. 421, 1818
Parcel Post, 2R. 2116
Parliament—Public Business—Saturday Sitting, 1220
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Post Office—Miscellaneous Questions
  Letter Carriers, 893, 1100
  Post Cards, 697
  Post Office Telegrams (Secrecy), 282
  Salaries of Post Messengers, 1532
  Sub-Postmasters, 24, 25
  Telegraphic Communication with India, 1221
  Telephonic Exchanges, 711
  Upper Edmonton, Chief Postal and Telegraph Office at, 275
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  Telegraph Department—Clerks' Leave of Absence—The Belfast Telegraph Clerks, 1978
Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Telegraph Clerks—Payment for Overtime, 1980
  Suspension of a Clerk, 714

FINDLATER, Mr. W., *Monaghan*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 353, 460, 471, 488 ; *cl.* 2, 494 ; *cl.* 4, 540
  Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 20, 623

FIRTH, Mr. J. F. B., *Chelsea*
  Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 601
  Endowed Schools and Hospitals—Christ's Hospital—New Scheme, 1542
  Supply—Houses of Parliament, 1620
    Metropolitan Police Court Buildings, 1637
    Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1628

Fisheries, Inspectors of—Appointment
  Question, Mr. Birkbeck ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 17, 715

Fishery Board (Scotland) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. Robert Duff*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 17 [Bill 240]

FITZMAURICE, Lord E., *Calne*
  Bulgaria—New Ministry, 1530
  Egypt (Military Affairs)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 198

FITZ-PATRICK, Hon. B. E., *Portarlington*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 305, 308 ; Amendt. 477
  Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. 1482

FLETCHER, Sir H., *Horsham*
  Army Estimates—Army Supplementary Estimate—Vote A, 2109

FOLKESTONE, Viscount, *Wilts, S.*
  Army—Auxiliary Forces — The Reserve—Royal Irish Constabulary, 1528
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 363 ; *cl.* 2, 526 ; *cl.* 4, 551 ; *cl.* 5, 777 ; *cl.* 11, 827 ; *add. cl.* Amendt. 947, 948
  Parliament—Business of the House, 1049, 1050, 1101

Foreign Official Reports
  Question, Lord Houghton ; Answer, Earl Granville *July* 17, 694

FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Bradford*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 81, 119 ; *cl.* 5, 742, 747, 748, 750, 751, 757 ; *add. cl.* 1001 ; Consid. *add. cl.* 1154, 1296
  Egypt (Military Affairs)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 194
  Ireland—Arrears of Rent Bill—Emigration Clause, 1019
  Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 1170

FOWLER, Mr. H. H., *Wolverhampton*
  Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 416
  Parliament—Business of the House, 1102

FOWLER, Mr. H. H.—*cont.*
  Supply—Diplomatic Buildings, 1660
    Houses of Parliament, 1619
    Repair of Public Buildings, &c. 1633
    Surveys of the United Kingdom, 1642
  Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment, 2R. 1167

FOWLER, Mr. R. N., *London*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1291
  Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 416
  East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 2117
  Government Annuities and Assurance, 2R. 422
  Parliament — Public Business — Saturday Sitting, 1220
  Partnerships, Comm. *cl.* 6, 1331
  Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1609, 1613

FOWLER, Mr. W., *Cambridge*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 371
  Electric Lighting, Comm. 571 ; *cl.* 2, 585, 587

France—Reported Resignation of M. De Freycinet
  Questions, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Bourke ; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 20, 1104

FRESHFIELD, Mr. C. K., *Dover*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 338, 343
  Dover Harbour, 2R. 873, 881
  Dover Harbour Bill, Res. 1958, 1959

Friendly Societies Acts
  Registrar's Report, 1881, Question, Mr. W. H. James ; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 27, 1972
  The Independent Mutual Brethren Friendly Society, Question, Mr. Acland ; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 14, 441

Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns) Bill
(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 13, 403 [Bill 228]
  Committee * ; Report ; read 3° *July* 14
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *July* 17 (No. 194)
  Read 2ª * *July* 24
  Committee * ; Report *July* 25
  Read 3ª * *July* 27

GALLOWAY, Earl of
  Army (Auxiliary Forces) — The Militia — Volunteers for Service Abroad, 1678
  Entail (Scotland), Report, *add. cl.* 693
  Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure, 674

GALWAY, Viscount, *Nottingham, N.*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 364 ; 3R. 1319

GARNIER, Mr. J. CARPENTER-, *Devon, S.*
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  Questions, Mr. J. G. Talbot, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 20, 1095

Imprisonment for Debt Bill
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c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 25 [Bill 102]

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Church of England—Appointment of Chaplains and Building and Repairing Grants for Churches, Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 20, 1077
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The War in Egypt—Despatch of Troops from India—Incidence of Cost, Notice of Motion, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 24, 1526

India—Corporal Punishment in Indian Gaols
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the convictions by the lesser courts in British India during the last three years, showing the offences and punishments awarded thereto in each case respectively" (*The Lord Truro*) *July* 24, 1523; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

India—East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt)
Lords
Moved to resolve, "That, Her Majesty having directed a military expedition of Her forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the military operations which may be carried on by such forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions" (*The Viscount Enfield*) *July* 25, 1673; Motion agreed to

India—East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt)
Commons
Observations, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Stafford Northcote; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Speaker *July* 27, 1991
Moved, "That, Her Majesty having directed a Military Expedition of Her Forces charged upon the Revenues of India to be despatched for service in Egypt, this House consents that the Revenues of India shall be applied to defray the expenses of the Military operations which may be carried on by such Forces beyond the external frontiers of Her Majesty's Indian Possessions" (*Sir William Harcourt*) *July* 27, 2116; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); Motion agreed to

Inland Revenue Department—Grievances of Excise Officers
Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 27, 1978

Ionian Bank Bill (by Order)
c. 2R., after short debate, Debate adjourned

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Tory Island Lighthouse, Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 27, 1981
Inland Navigation—The River Shannon—Increase of Tolls, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 20, 1082

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Law and Police

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Kerry Magistrates—Case of Daniel Courtnay, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 24, 1532

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Party Disturbances in Tyrone, Question, Lord Arthur Hill; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 27, 1960

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The late Assassinations in the Phœnix Park—Reported arrest of one of the Murderers, Question, The Earl of Milltown; Answer, Lord Carlingford *July* 27, 1904; Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Sir William Harcourt, 1974

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American Citizens detained under the Act, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 20, 1082

Prisoners detained under the Statute 34 Edward III.—Messrs. O'Loughlin and Hogan, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 20, 1081

Detention and Arrests—John Vine and others, Questions, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 24, 1537

Release of Persons detained under the Act, Question, Mr. Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 27, 1962

Estates of the Earl of Kenmare, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 445

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Mr. Denis Healy, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 25, 1684
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Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act
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Meetings at Castlecomer, Kilkenny—Presence of the Police, Question, Mr. Marum; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 24, 1539

Ireland—Louth County (Offences)
Moved for a Return "Of the Offences reported in the County of Louth, specifying the dates thereof, from the commencement of 1881 up to the period when it was proclaimed under the provisions of 'The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881,' specifying those for which Convictions were obtained,"
"And, Copy of the Correspondence as to the said Proclamation, which has passed between His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Magistrates of the said County" (*Mr. Callan*) *July* 27, 2117; Motion agreed to

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Mr. Richard Garland, Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 24, 1528
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The Sub-Commissioners at Magherafelt, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 20, 1087
The Sub-Commissions, Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 13, 261
Continuation of Appointment, Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 20, 1095

Isle of Man (Officers) Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 11 [Bill 238]
Read 2° * *July* 13

JACKSON, Mr. W. L., *Leeds*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 596, 597

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JAMES, Mr. W. H., *Gateshead*
Friendly Societies (Quinquennial Returns), 2R. 404
Friendly Societies—Registrar's Report, 1881, 1972

JENKINS, Sir J., *Carmarthen, &c.*
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JERNINGHAM, Mr. H. E. H., *Berwick-on-Tweed*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 1383

JOHNSON, Right Hon. W. M. (Attorney General for Ireland), *Mallow*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 100, 153, 154, 155, 314, 355, 356, 377, 378, 386, 387, 392, 459, 464, 468, 469, 470, 471, 483, 484; *cl.* 2, 492, 493, 496, 497, 501, 503; *cl.* 5, 726, 727, 729, 730, 731, 767; Amendt. 769, 770, 771, 773, 783; *cl.* 7, 787; *cl.* 8, 788, 789; *cl.* 11, 829, 891; *add. cl.* 960, 961, 977, 979, 1011; Consid. *add. cl.* 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113; Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 1, 1117, 1118, 1120; Amendt. 1122, 1123; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1124; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1126; *cl.* 5, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*, 1127
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Jury Laws—Summoning of Jurymen
Question, Mr. Biddell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 27, 1975

Justices' Jurisdiction Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Bramwell*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 11 (No. 174)
c. Read 1° * (*Sir R. Assheton Cross*) *July* 20 [Bill 247]

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Korea—The Opium Traffic
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LABOUCHERE, Mr. H., *Northampton*
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Egypt—Transmission of Letter of Arabi Pasha to the Prime Minister, 1983
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Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Villiers Stuart, Sir Patrick O'Brien, Sir Hervey Bruce, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Sullivan*)
c. Committee *; Report *July* 24 [Bill 212]
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LEA, Mr. T., *Donegal*
Commissioners of Irish Lights—Tory Island Lighthouse, 1981
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l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. xcvii]

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l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. ciii]

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l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. xcviii]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill (*The Lord Carlingford*)
l. Read 3^a * *July* 11 (No. 171)
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l. Commons reasons for disagreeing to certain of the Lords Amendts. considered *July* 14, 425
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LONG, Mr. W. H., *Wilts, N.*
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McArthur, Mr. A., *Leicester*
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McArthur, Mr. Alderman W., *Lambeth*
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Marriage Law—Notice to Superintendent Registrar — Additional Notice on Change of Place
Question, Mr. Bellingham; Answer, Mr. Dodson *July* 13, 270

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Maxwell, Sir H. E., *Wigton*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 481; Amendt. 482, 483; 3R. Amendt. 1310
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1421; *cl.* 31, 1473

Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill
(*Dr. Lyons, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Gibson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 11 [Bill 237]
Read 2° * *July* 17
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 18
l. Read 1° * *July* 20 (No. 201)

Meldon, Mr. C. H., *Kildare*
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Questions, Mr. Moore; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 11, 28

Merchant Shipping (Colonial Inquiries) Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 13, 416 [Bill 235]

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Charity Funds, Irregular Application of, Question, Sir Thomas Acland; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 24, 1536
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Theatres and Music Halls—Precautions against Fire, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 24, 1533

Metropolis—Street Obstructions
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of the gates, bars, and obstructions which are placed across certain streets of the Metropolis, with particulars as to the parishes in which they are respectively situated, the street or other place they obstruct, with the width of such street or place: whether the roadway of such street or place is repaired by the local authorities; whether, if such street or place were opened as a thoroughfare, much traffic would be likely to pass through it, and from what points, with a description of each bar or obstruction, with the authority for its

[*cont.*

Metropolis—Street Obstructions—cont.
erection and continuance and date of first erection; also what powers such authority confers, and to what extent those powers are now put in force" (*The Earl of Milltown*) *July* 25, 1672; Motion withdrawn

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill (*The Lord Thurlow*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 11 (No. 181)
Committee * *July* 14
Report * *July* 17
Read 3ª * *July* 18

Midleton, Viscount
Royal Irish Constabulary—Special Grant, 848

Militia Acts Consolidation Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Read 2º * *July* 14 [Bill 123]

Milltown, Earl of
Ireland—Crime—The late Assassinations in the Phœnix Park—Reported arrest of one of the Murderers, 1904
Street Obstructions (Metropolis), Motion for an Address, 1672, 1673

Minto, Earl of
Entail (Scotland), Re-comm. 5, 9; Report, 686

Molloy, Mr. B. C., *King's Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 989
Ireland—Arrears of Rent Bill—Clause 5—Investigation as to the Tenants' Position, 1098
Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Coughlin, James, 715

Monck, Viscount
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Land Court—Sub-Commissioners, 1204

Moncreiff, Lord
Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure, 2R. 1210

Monk, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester City*
Churchwardens' Admission, Comm. 1172
Egypt—Conference, &c. 563
Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, 1098
Parliament — Public Business — Saturday Sitting, 1220
Partnerships, Comm. *cl.* 6, 1326, 1327
Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. 1169

Moore, Mr. A. J., *Clonmel*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 58; *cl.* 2, 519; *cl.* 5, 758; Consid. *add. cl.* 1115; *cl.* 15, 1130; *add. cl.* 1150
Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal, 2R. 1021
Emigrants—Lodging Houses (Metropolis), 268, 269
Ireland—Post Office—Irish Mails, 25
Merchant Shipping Acts—Scandinavian Emigrants, 28, 29

Morgan, Right Hon. G. Osborne (Judge Advocate General), *Denbighshire*
Army—Camp at Aldershot, 1526

Morley, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for War)
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Militia—Volunteers for Service Abroad, 1679, 1680
Army Reserve Force—Queen's Message considered, Motion for an Address, 1906, 1909
Channel Tunnel Scheme, Motion for an Address, 1072

Mulholland, Mr. J., *Downpatrick*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 319; Consid. 1109
Belfast Harbour, Consid. 865

Mundella, Right Hon. A. J. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Sheffield*
Charity Commissioners — Endowed Schools Commission—Re-organization, 1076
Contagious Diseases Animals Acts—Infected Areas, 1976
Dulwich Scheme, Motion for an Address, 1667
Education Department—Miscellaneous Questions
Education (Scotland) Act—Rosskeen School Board—Agreement with Teachers, 1076
Education (Wales)—Higher and Secondary Education, 1541
Elementary Education Acts—Education of Paupers, 1974
Elementary School Teachers — Pension Fund, 444
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 403, 632, 640, 641, 643, 648, 649, 650, 652, 654, 657, 662, 664, 668, 670; Comm. 1343, 1347, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1354, 1357, 1368; *cl.* 1, 1370, 1375; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1376, 1377; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1378, 1379, 1380, 1384, 1385; *cl.* 6, 1386, 1394, 1396, 1400; Amendt. 1401, 1402, 1403, 1406, 1407, 1410; *cl.* 7, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1419, 1420, 1424, 1425, 1426; Amendt. 1430; *cl.* 8, 1432, 1434, 1438, 1439; *cl.* 10, 1441; *cl.* 11, 1442; *cl.* 12, *ib.*, 1443; *cl.* 13, *ib.*, 1444, 1446, 1447, 1449, 1453, 1455; *cl.* 15, Amendt. *ib.*, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460; *cl.* 16, 1461, 1462; *cl.* 19, 1463, 1464; *cl.* 20, *ib.*; *cl.* 21, *ib.* 1465, 1466, 1467; *cl.* 23, 1468; Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 24, *ib.* 1469; *cl.* 25, *ib.*, Amendt. 1470; *cl.* 31, 1471, 1472, 1473; *cl.* 32, 1474; *cl.* 35, Amendt. *ib.*; *add. cl.* 1476, 1477; Preamble, Amendt. *ib.*, 1478
Electric Lighting, Comm. 419, 420
Endowed Schools and Hospitals—Christ's Hospital—New Scheme, 1542
Supply—Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, &c. 1654, 1655
Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. 1481

Natal—Inequality of Taxation
Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 17, 710

NAVY
MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS
Admiralty Pensions, Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 13, 282
Dockyard Employés, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 24, 1534
Promotion—Death Vacancies, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 27, 1968
Roman Catholic Sailors and Marines—Provision as to Chaplains in the Fleet, Questions, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 27, 1969
The Sick Berth Staff, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 24, 1534

Navy—Shipbuilding Policy of the Admiralty
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Returns of the number and armament of ships of war in the navies of Foreign Powers, number and weight of guns carried by them, with the number of torpedo boats at the present time, and the estimated naval forces that are expected to be at the disposal of each Power at the expiration of three years from the present date" (*The Viscount Sidmouth*) *July* 18, 844; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

NELSON, Mr. I., *Mayo*
Belfast Harbour, Consid. 859

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*
Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (Nos. 1 and 2), Nomination of Select Committee, 969
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 82; *cl.* 9, 804
Ireland—Law and Justice — Cork Assizes, 1987

New Zealand—The Native Disturbances in 1879-80
Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 13, 271

NICHOLSON, Mr. W. NEWZAM- *Newark*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 14, Amendt. 611, 616

NOLAN, Colonel J. P., *Galway Co.*
Army—Foreign Artillery System—Accidents to Material, 706
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 85, 154, 335, 338, 351, 355; Amendt. 374, 459; *cl.* 2, 516; *cl.* 4, 538; *cl.* 5, 761, 782; *cl.* 12, 926, 928; *add. cl.* 942, 952; Consid. *add. cl.* 1238, 1292; Amendt. 1302

NORTHBROOK, Earl of (First Lord of the Admiralty)
Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 2, 3, 4, 254, 255, 256, 1052

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NORTHBROOK, Earl of—*cont.*
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of the Government—Ministerial Statement, Motion for an Address, 1508
Navy—Shipbuilding Policy of the Admiralty, Motion for an Address, 846
Public Offices Site, 2R. 436

NORTHCOTE, Right Hon. Sir S. H., *Devon, N.*
Army Reserve Force—Consideration of H.M. Message, Motion for an Address, 1825
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 75, 76, 143, 237, 477, 478; *cl.* 9, 799
Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal, 2R. 1030
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 409
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), 1991
Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
Alexandria—State of Affairs, 282, 284
Conference—Action of the Porte, 1759
State of Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 904, 1224
Egypt (Military Operations) — Miscellaneous Questions
Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 29, 33, 94
Policy of the Government, 163, 166, 185
Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 277
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Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
Business of the House, 452, 1103;—Electric Lighting Bill, 292
Public Business—Saturday Sitting, 1219, 1220
Rules of Debate—Unparliamentary Language—Mr. O'Donnell, 1568
Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1549
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1591, 1592, 1598, 2079, 2093
Ways and Means—Special War Charges, Explanation, 1545

NORTHCOTE, Mr. H. S., *Exeter*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1148
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1472

NORWOOD, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Protection of the Suez Canal, 1822

O'BEIRNE, Colonel F., *Leitrim*
Ireland—Crime—Cattle Lifting, 703, 1024
Royal Irish Constabulary—Deputy Inspector-Generalship, 1216

O'CONNOR, Mr. A., *Queen's Co.*
Army Estimates—Army Supplementary Estimate—Vote A, 2108, 2112
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), 1991
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1416, 1419, 1427

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O'Connor, Mr. A.—*cont.*
- Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 1092
  - State of Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 922
- Egypt (Military Operations)—Conflagrations at Alexandria, 1983
  - Suez Canal, 458
- Inland Revenue Department—Grievances of Excise Officers, 1978
- Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Crime, Detection of—Alleged Espionage by Military, 268
  - Criminal Law—Case of Daniel Courtnay, 1532
  - Ladies' Land League—Erection of a Hut for an Evicted Tenant, 1531
  - Law and Justice—Cork Assizes, 1990
  - Law and Police—Cattle Stealing, 1095;—Disturbances at Listowel, 710
  - Magistracy—Listowel Magistrates, 1532
  - Prevention of Crime Act—Bands and Party Tunes, 1972
- Navy—Roman Catholic Sailors and Marines—Provisions as to Chaplains in the Fleet, 1970
- Parliament—Parliamentary Papers, Return of, 1974
  - Rules of Debate—Un-Parliamentary Language—Mr. O'Donnell, 1563, 1564, 1571
- Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1560
- Supply—Furniture of Public Offices, Great Britain, 1634
  - Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 1649, 1650
  - Metropolitan Police Court Buildings, 1638
  - Museum of Science and Art in Dublin, &c., Motion for reporting Progress, 1655
  - Public Buildings, Ireland, 1652, 1653
  - Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1633
  - Revenue Department Buildings, 1636
  - Shannon Navigation, 1656, 1659
  - Surveys of the United Kingdom, 1643
- Union Officers' Superannuation (Ireland), 2R. 1481

O'Connor, Mr. T. P., *Galway*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 398; Consid. 1109; *cl.* 15, 1129, 1131; *add. cl.* 1226, 1233, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1281
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland) [Salaries and Emigration], Report, 1106
- Canada, Dominion of—Irish Emigration, 1967
- Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Magistracy—Mr. Morris Reade, R.M. 1967
  - Prevention of Crime Act — Arrest at Loughrea, 1087, 1088
  - Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881 — Detention and Arrests — John Vine and others, 1537
  - State of—Crime in Galway, 1967
- Law and Police — Tredegar Riots (South Wales), 442, 443, 708, 716, 717
- Parliament—Business of the House, 1980, 2113, 2114
  - Rules of Debate—Un-Parliamentary Language—Mr. O'Donnell, 1564
- Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1889
  - Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 1647, 1648
  - Houses of Parliament, 1626

O'Donnell, Mr. F. H., *Dungarvan*
- Army—Brigade of Guards, 1539, 1540
- Army Estimates—Army Supplementary Estimate—Vote A, 2110, 2111
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1257, 1266
- Belfast Harbour, Consid. 870
- East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), 1991
- Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Alexandria—State of Affairs, 1093, 1547
  - Political Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 1222, 1223
  - Suez Canal, Protection of, 1084, 1085
- Egypt (Military Operations) — Miscellaneous Questions
  - Conflagrations at Alexandria, 1982
  - Despatch of Troops from India—Incidence of Cost, 1526
  - Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 709
- Ireland—Law and Justice — Cork Assizes, 1988
- Law and Police—Riots at Tredegar, 717
- Parliament—Business of the House—East Indian Financial Statement, 1102, 1103
  - Rules of Debate—Un-Parliamentary Language—Mr. O'Donnell, 1561, 1562, 1571
- Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1611, 1613, 1617, 1618, 2103; Motion for reporting Progress, 2104, 2105

O'Donoghue, The, *Tralee*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 54

O'Gorman Mahon, The, *Clare*
- Ireland—Fisheries—River Shannon, 1529

O'Kelly, Mr. J., *Roscommon*
- Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1284
- Brazil—Province of Minas Geraes—Slave-holding by British Subjects, 1685, 1686
- Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Alexandria—State of Affairs, 291, 1547
  - Alleged Pillage by British Soldiers, 1541
  - Military Affairs—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 182
  - Political Affairs—Policy of H.M. Government, 1224
- Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
  - Poor Law—Stokestown Union—Mr. Flynn, 1215
  - Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Leonard, Mr. Patrick R., 274;—Murphy, James, 1215
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—False Charge of Attack upon Sub-Constable Finney, 1683
- Law and Justice—St. John Del Rey Mining Company, 27
- Supply—Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 1648

Onslow, Mr. D. R., *Guildford*
- Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (Nos. 1 and 2), Nomination of Select Committee, 969
- Army Reserve Force—Consideration of H.M. Message, Motion for an Address, 1825, 1829

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Onslow, Mr. D. R.—*cont.*
  Ballot Act Continuance Amendment, Comm. 2115
  East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 2117
  Egypt—Military Operations—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 31, 33
    State of Affairs—Massacres of Europeans, 1334
  Parliament—Business of the House—Vote of Credit, 1337
  Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day, Res. 1553
  Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1602, 1603

Oranmore and Browne, Lord
  Army Reserve Force—Queen's Message considered, Motion for an Address, 1909
  Public Offices Site, 2R. 436

O'Shaughnessy, Mr. R., *Limerick*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 380; *cl.* 2, 500; Consid. *add. cl.* 1284
  Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal, 2R. 1030

O'Shea, Mr. W. H., *Clare*
  Ireland—Inland Navigation—The River Shannon—Increase of Tolls, 1082
    Prisoners detained under the Statute 34 Edward III.—Messrs. O'Loughlin and Hogan, 1081
  Palace of Westminster—Ventilation of this House, 1686

O'Sullivan, Mr. W. H., *Limerick Co.*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 331, 385; *cl.* 5, 785
  Parliament—Business of the House, 452

Paget, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*
  Elementary Education Act — Education of Paupers, 1974
  Post Office—Post Cards, 697
  Supply—British Museum Buildings, 1644
    Diplomatic Buildings, 1659, 1660
    Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 1651
    Museum of Science and Art in Dublin, &c. 1655
    Public Buildings (Ireland), 1652
    Surveys of the United Kingdom, 1642
  Ways and Means — Financial Statement—Relief of Highway Rates, 1981

Palmer, Mr. J. H., *Lincoln*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 355; *cl.* 5, 736, 772
  Supply—Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1628

Parcel Post Bill
(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *July* 24 [Bill 254]
Read 2°, after short debate *July* 27, 2115

Parker, Mr. C. S., *Perth*
  Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1375; *cl.* 5, 1382; *cl.* 6, 1410; *cl.* 7, 1416; *cl.* 13, 1449, 1452; *cl.* 21, 1467; Preamble, 1478
  Parliament—Business of the House—Vote of Credit, 1336

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Order—Morning Sittings—The 6.50 p.m. Rule—Precedence of Amendments, Observations, Lord George Hamilton; Reply, The Chairman *July* 11, 94
Private Bills—Standing Order 167, Question, Mr. H. R. Brand; Answer, Mr. Lyon Playfair *July* 27, 1968

Business of the House, and Public Business
Questions, Sir Joseph Pease, Sir George Campbell, Colonel Makins, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Speaker *July* 13, 293; Questions, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Anderson, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. J. Lowther, Lord Elcho, Mr. Brand; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lyon Playfair *July* 14, 451; Questions, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Callan; Answers, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Gladstone *July* 17, 722; Questions, Viscount Folkestone, Colonel Alexander, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 19, 1049; Observations, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Reply, Mr. Gladstone *July* 21, 1323; Questions, Mr. Raikes, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 27, 2113;—*The Proposed Adjournment—An Autumn Sitting,* Question, Mr. T. Collins; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 13, 281;—*The Electric Lighting Bill,* Questions, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Gladstone *July* 13, 291;—*Scotch Business,* Questions, Mr. Stewart, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 17, 720;—*Contagious Diseases Acts,* Question, Mr. Stansfeld; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 17, 720;—*Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill,* Questions, Colonel Makins, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 20, 1100;—*The East Indian Financial Statement,* Questions, Mr. E. Stanhope, Mr. J. N. Richardson, Viscount Folkestone, Mr. H. H. Fowler, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. O'Donnell, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 20, 1101;—*Blocking Bills,* Question, Mr. Carbutt; Answer, Sir George Campbell *July* 20, 1104;—*A Saturday Sitting,* Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote; Reply, Mr. Childers; short debate thereon *July* 21, 1219;—*The Vote of Credit,* Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Childers; short debate thereon *July* 22, 1335; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Mundella*), 1483; after short debate [House counted out];—*Police Superannuation Bill,* Question, Colonel Alexander; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 24, 1535; Question, Mr. Pell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 27, 1971;—*Proposed Alteration of the Standing Orders,* Questions, Sir Joseph

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Parliament—Commons—*Business of the House, and Public Business*—cont.

Pease, Mr. Marriott, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt *July* 27, 1979

The New Rules of Procedure—The First Resolution (*Putting the Question*, Questions, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 13, 280; Adjourned Debate *July* 27, 2114; Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington; adjourned Debate on Main Question [20th February] further adjourned

The Ministry—Rumoured Resignation of Mr. Bright, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Lord Richard Grosvenor *July* 14, 561; Questions, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 15, 565; Observations, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Gladstone *July* 17, 722

Palace of Westminster—House of Commons—Connection with the Telephone Exchange, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 20, 1086;—*Ventilation of this House*, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 25, 1686

Parliamentary Papers — Distribution, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 17, 698

Official Reports — Surreptitious Publication, Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 24, 1536

Return of Parliamentary Papers, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 27, 1974

Parliament—Public Business—Orders of the Day

Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *July* 24, 1548; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Moved, "That, until the end of August, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority; and that Government Orders have priority on Wednesday" (*Mr. Gladstone*), 1560

Parliament—Rules of Debate—Unparliamentary Language—Mr. O'Donnell, 1561

Mr. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, having in course of Debate stated "That the Chair had made a prediction of the words he was about to speak, and then decided upon them"

Mr. Speaker directed the Clerk to take down those words, and the same were taken down accordingly

Moved, "That those words be taken into Consideration To-morrow" (*Mr. Gladstone*)

And Mr. O'Donnell having explained the words to which exception had been taken, Motion withdrawn

After short debate, Question put, and agreed to, 1572

Parliament—Commons—*cont.*

Parliament—House of Lords

New Peer

July 13—Sir Harcourt Van den Bemp de-Johnstone, created Baron Derwent, of Hackness, in the North Riding of the county of York

Sat First

July 17—The Earl of Gainsborough, after the death of his father

July 20—The Duke of Grafton, after the death of his brother

Parnell, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*

Army—Private Purchases of Arms, 1540

Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 91; Amendt. 127, 143, 152, 248, 333, 354, 356, 375, 376, 379, 391, 396, 400, 401, 402, 481, 484; *cl.* 2, 493; Amendt. 520, 532; *cl.* 5, 779, 783, 785; *cl.* 11, 824, 828; *cl.* 12, 927; *add. cl.* 941, 944, 960, 961, 963, 981, 986, 989, 990; Consid. *cl.* 2, 1125; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 1128, 1129; *add. cl.* Motion for reporting Progress, 1156

Partnerships Bill (*Mr. Monk, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Barran, Mr. Lewis Fry*)

c. Committee (*on re-comm.*)—R.P. *July* 21, 1324 [Bill 179]

Patents for Inventions Bill

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Brown, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Hinde Palmer*)

c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 25 [Bill 72]

Patrick, Mr. R. W. Cochran-, *Ayrshire, N.*

Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 219

Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 658; Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1373, 1374; *cl.* 6, 1388, 1389, 1398; Amendt. 1401; *cl.* 8, 1435; *cl.* 13, 1444; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 1455, 1460; *cl.* 16, 1462

Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Morley*)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° upon Saturday next" (*Mr. Broadhurst*) *July* 20, 1171

Amendt. to leave out "Saturday," and insert "Monday" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'Saturday,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 33, N. 4; M. 29 (D. L. 286)

Main Question put, and agreed to

Pease, Sir J. W., *Durham, S.*

Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 106

China—Chefoo Convention, 279, 1964

India—Government of India—Opium Cultivation, 1976

Korea—Opium Traffic, 278

Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions

Business of the House, 1979;—The Electric Lighting Bill, 291

Order of Business, 293

Public Business—Saturday Sitting, 1221

Pease, Sir J. W.—*cont.*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. 1039
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1737

Pease, Mr. A., *Whitby*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *cl.* 1, 228
Law and Justice—St. John Del Rey Mining Company, 26

Peddie, Mr. J. Dick-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 403, 646, 672; Comm. 1359; *cl.* 5, 1383; *cl.* 6, 1389, 1392; Amendt. 1396, 1397, 1400, 1412; *cl.* 7, 1416, 1423; *cl.* 13, 1454; *cl.* 21, Amendt. 1465, 1466, 1467; *cl.* 24, 1469; *cl.* 31, 1472
Electric Lighting, Comm. 419; *add. cl.* 632
Supply—Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1628

Peek, Sir H. W., *Surrey, Mid.*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Suez Canal, 454

Pell, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 412
Parliament—Business of the House, 1971

Pensions Commutation Bill
(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 21 [Bill 252]

Percy, Right Hon. Earl, *Northumberland, N.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 84

Petty Sessions (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Viscount Lifford*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 24]

Phipps, Mr. C. P., *Westbury*
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. 1042

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Committee*; Report *July* 24 (No. 148)
Read 3ª * *July* 25

Places of Worship Sites Amendment Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Aberdare*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 21]

Playfair, Right Hon. Mr. Lyon (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 47, 86, 98, 101, 132, 143, 199, 210, 211, 227, 300, 320, 326, 327, 332, 333, 337, 338, 353, 378, 400, 469, 477, 478, 479, 487, 492; *cl.* 2, 496, 517; *cl.* 4, 534, 551; *cl.* 5, 730, 741, 745, 755; *cl.* 9, 816, 824, 831; *add. cl.* 948, 989; Consid. *add. cl.* 1132, 1244

Playfair, Right Hon. Mr. Lyon—*cont.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland) [Salaries and Emigration], Consid. 1050
Belfast Harbour, Consid. 863
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 645; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1369, 1370; *cl.* 7, 1417, 1418; *cl.* 8, 1431; *cl.* 13, 1446, 1448, 1449, 1450; *cl.* 15, 1456, 1459; *cl.* 20, 1464; *cl.* 31, 1473
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 582, 583, 586, 594; *cl.* 5, 605; *cl.* 14, 613, 614; *add. cl.* 632
Parliament—Business of the House, 453
  Order—Morning Sittings—The 6.50 p.m. Rule—Precedence of Amendments, 95
  Private Bills—Standing Order 167, 1968
Supply—British Museum Buildings, 1644
  Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1609, 1613, 1617, 1889, 1890, 1891
  Furniture of Public Offices, Great Britain, 1635
  Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1633

Plunket, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 342, 351, 366; *cl.* 2, 501, 509, 520; *cl.* 5, 731, 771, 774

Pluralities Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 13, 424; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); Question put: A. 49, N. 35; M. 14 (D. L. 260); 2R. deferred

Poor Law Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 21 [Bill 251]

Porter, Mr. A. M. (Solicitor General for Ireland), *Londonderry Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 324, 326, 344, 345, 349, 350, 398, 466, 471; *cl.* 2, 495, 499, 507, 508, 514, 518; *cl.* 4, 536, 543, 546, 553, 555, 561; *cl.* 5, 734, 738, 757, 760; Amendt. 761, 762, 763, 766, 767, 768, 777; *cl.* 12, 923, 924, 925, 928; Consid. 1107; *add. cl.* 1111, 1112, 1115; *cl.* 2, 1125; *cl.* 15, 1129; *add. cl.* Amendt. 1306
Belfast Harbour, Consid. 871

Post Office
Miscellaneous Questions
Chief Postal and Telegraph Office at Upper Edmonton, Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 13, 275
Post Cards, Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 17, 697
Ireland—Irish Mails, Questions, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Moore; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *July* 11, 25; Questions, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *July* 18, 889
Salaries of Post Messengers, Question, Viscount Emlyn; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 24, 1531

[*cont.*

[*cont.*

POST OFFICE—cont.
Sub-Postmasters, Questions, Sir John Kennaway; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *July* 11, 24
Telephonic Exchanges, Question, Mr. J. K. Cross; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 17, 711
The Letter Carriers, Questions, Mr. Summers; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *July* 18, 892; Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 20, 1099

Telegraph Department
Suspension of a Clerk, Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 17, 714
Post Office Telegrams (Secrecy), Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 13, 282
Telegraph Clerks — Payment for Overtime, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 27, 1980
Telegraphic Communication with India, Question, Mr. Gilbert Leigh; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 21, 1221

POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 79; Consid. *add. cl.* 1151
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Clause dealing with Town Parks, 297
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 2071, 2074

POWERSCOURT, Viscount
Public Offices Site, Comm. 839

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Bill
(*The Lord Privy Seal*)
l. Committee; Report; read 3ª; Bill passed *July* 11, 4 (No. 186)
Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 25]

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 290

Public Departments
l. Distribution of Parliamentary Papers to the Press—Undue Preference, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 13, 272; Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 17, 698
Official Reports — Surreptitious Publication, Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 24, 1536
Return of Parliamentary Papers, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 27, 1974

Public Health (Fruit-Pickers' Lodgings) Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl Stanhope*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 23]

Public Offices Site Bill
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *July* 14, 429

[*cont.*

Public Offices Site Bill—cont.
Amendt. to leave out ("now,") and add ("this day six months") (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*); after debate, on Question, that ("now,") &c.? resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2ª (No. 184)
Report * *July* 17
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee" *July* 18, 836
Amendt. to leave out from ("That,") and insert ("the Bill be referred to a Select Committee") (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*); after debate, on Question, That the words, &c.? resolved in the affirmative; Committee; Report
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" (*The Earl of Kimberley*) *July* 21, 1212
Amendt. to leave out ("now,") and add ("this day three months") (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*); on Question, That ("now,") &c.? resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 3ª
Royal Assent *July* 24 [45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 32]

PUGH, Mr. L. P., *Cardiganshire*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 5, Amendt. 604, 605, 609; *cl.* 20, 624
Supply—Surveys of the United Kingdom, 1641, 1643

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Navy—Admiralty Pensions, 282
Post Office Telegrams (Secrecy), 282

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., *Preston*
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 414
Parliament—Business of the House, 2113
Ways and Means (Vote of Credit)—Income Tax, 1983

RAMSAY, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 997; Consid. *add. cl.* 1159
Educational Endowments (Scotland), 2R. 646
Electric Lighting, Comm. *add. cl.* Motion for reporting Progress, 627, 628

RANKIN, Mr. J., *Leominster*
Education Department—Elementary School Teachers—Pension Fund, 444
Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment—Winter Assizes, 1545

RATHBONE, Mr. W., *Carnarvonshire*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1145, 1288, 1291, 1304
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 589; *cl.* 14, 618
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1861, 1865

REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Bills of Exchange, 2R. 835
Public Offices Site, 2R. 437; Comm. 838, 843
Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure, 673; 2R. 1210
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford University Statutes), Motion for an Address, 1066

Redmond, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 7, 1422
Ireland—Magistracy—Lorrha Petty Sessions, 1961
Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Release of Persons detained under the Act, 1962

Reid, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 188

Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Galloway*)
l. 2R. put off, after short debate *July* 17, 673
Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 21, 1206
(No. 190)

Repton, Mr. G. W. J., *Warwick*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *add. cl.* 629

Reserve Forces Acts Consolidation Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 22, 1482; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Biggar*); Motion withdrawn
Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 124]

Richard, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 33;—Policy of the Government, 196
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1766

Richardson, Mr. J. N., *Armagh Co.*
Ireland — National Education — Stangmore National School—Result Fees, 448
Parliament—Business of the House, 1101
Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 1170

Richmond and Gordon, Duke of
Bills of Exchange, 2R. 835
Entail (Scotland), Re-comm. *cl.* 7, 11; Report, *cl.* 7, 687
Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure, 674
Vagrancy (now Casual Poor), Comm. 1053

Ritchie, Captain C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Egypt—Alexandria—State of Affairs, 285, 290, 291
Parliament — Business of the House — New Rules of Procedure (Clôture), 281
Sugar Bounties (Holland), 274, 275

River Thames—The Pollution Commission
Question, Mr. Briggs; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 17, 699

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 13 [Bill 20]

Rogers, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 1157
Dover Harbour, 2R. 880, 881, 882
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. 1166
Supply—Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1633
Revenue Department Buildings, Great Britain, 1637

Rosebery, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department)
Entail (Scotland), Re-comm. 8; *cl.* 6, 9; *cl.* 7, 10, 11, 12; *cl.* 8, *ib.*; *cl.* 10, 14; *cl.* 14, 17, 18; *cl.* 15, 19; *cl.* 20, 22, 23; *cl.* 23, *ib.*; *add. cl.* 24; Report, 686; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 687; *cl.* 6, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 7, 688; *cl.* 13, Amendt. *ib.* 691; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 693; *cl.* 20, Amendt. *ib.*; Schedule, Amendt. *ib.*
Street Obstructions (Metropolis), Motion for an Address, 1673

Rosse, Earl of
Pauper Lunatics (Ireland), 438

Round, Mr. J., *Essex, E.*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Volunteer Adjutants, 701
Supply—Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 1648, 1651

Russell, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 325, 475, 479

Russia—Persecution of the Jews
Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 24, 1543

Rylands, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Army Estimates — Vote for the Autumn Manœuvres, 279
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 474
Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 180
Electric Lighting, Comm. *add. cl.* 632
Parliament—Order of Business, 293
Supply—Metropolitan Police Court Buildings, 1637

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill (*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Birley, Mr. William M'Arthur, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 19, 1031
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Warton*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. J. G. Talbot*): after further short debate, Debate adjourned

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Richardson, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Corry, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Blake*)
Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° upon Saturday next" *July* 20, 1170
After short debate, Amendt. to leave out "Saturday," and insert "Monday" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'Saturday,' &c.;" Question put; A. 30, N. 25; M. 5 (D. L. 285)
Main Question put, and agreed to

Salisbury, Marquess of
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), 1205, 1206; 2R. 1919, 1923
  Bills of Exchange, 2R. 835
  East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 1678
  Egypt—Letter of Arabi Pasha, 1670
    Military Operations—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 1, 253, 254, 256;—Despatch of Troops from India—Incidence of Cost, 1484
  Egypt—Policy of H.M. Government, 1051;—Ministerial Statement, Motion for an Address, 1492, 1497, 1507, 1523
  Entail (Scotland), Report, *add. cl.* 690
  Public Offices Site, Comm. 843
  Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure, 674
  Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford University Statutes), Motion for an Address, 1055, 1059, 1069

Salt, Mr. T., *Stafford*
  Army Estimates — Votes for the Autumn Manœuvres, 278, 279
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt, 294, 301, 342

Sandwich, Earl of
  Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Militia—Volunteers for Service Abroad, 1679

Schreiber, Mr. C., *Poole*
  Post Office—Letter Carriers, 1099

Sclater-Booth, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 40, 44; *cl.* 11, 823
  Supply—New Courts of Justice and Offices, 1640
    Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain, &c. 1628
    Revenue Department Buildings, Great Britain, 1636

Scotland—The Highlands—Violent Language to a Land League Agent
  Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 27, 1960

Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*
  Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. 1011

Settled Land Bill [H.L.]
(*Sir R. Assheton Cross*)
c. Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report; read 3° *July* 13, 423 [Bill 223]

Sexton, Mr. T., *Sligo*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 397, 470; *cl.* 2, 512, 524; Consid. 1109; *add. cl.* 1112, 1113, 1116; *cl.* 1, 1119; *add. cl.* 1136, 1251
  Belfast Harbour, Consid. 864
  Canada, Dominion of—Legislative Independence of Ireland, 272
  Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
    Army—Military Canteens, 440
    Arrears of Rent Bill—Emigration Clause, 1019
    Board of National Education — Mary McCaffrey, 1213
    Land Law Act, 1881—County Court Judge of Clare, 891
    Law and Police—Bands and Party Tunes, 704;—Orange Processions, 453
    Magistracy—Austin, Mr. T. K., J.P., 703
    Prevention of Crime Bill—Search Warrants, 1093
    State of—Police Protection in Galway, 890
    12th of July—Orange Processions, 27
  Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Miscellaneous Questions
    Armstrong, Mr. Luke, 261
    Duffy, Mr. P. J., 440
    Loughrea, Co. Galway—Arrests, 699
    Persons detained under the Act, 705, 892
    "Suspects," Co. Sligo, 262

Shaftesbury, Earl of
  London River-side Fish Market, Lords Amendts. 428

Shaw, Mr. W., *Cork Co.*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 236; *cl.* 2, 525; *cl.* 4, 539, 540; *add. cl.* 952, 960, 998
  Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 582, 590

Shield, Mr. H., *Cambridge*
  Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 78
  Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), Motion for reporting Progress, 1818, 1830, 1833

Sidmouth, Viscount
  Navy—Shipbuilding Policy of the Admiralty, Motion for an Address, 844, 847

Simon, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
  Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 587; *add. cl.* 627, 630, 631
  Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1877

Slagg, Mr. J., *Manchester*
  Egypt (Military Operations)—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria—Policy of the Government, 186
  Electric Lighting, Comm. 569; *cl.* 2, 585; *cl.* 14, 615; *add. cl.* 630

Smith, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster*
Army Estimates — Vote for the Autumn Manœuvres, 279
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 98, 99, 127, 380; Amendt. 484, 487; *cl.* 9, 822; *add. cl.* 951; Amendt. 955, 957; *add. cl.* 1011; Consid. *add. cl.* 1114, 1260
Egypt—Miscellaneous Questions
Military Operations—Proceedings of the Fleet at Alexandria, 253;—Employment of Indian Troops, &c. 31, 32, 93;—Policy of the Government, 189
Political Affairs—Diplomacy, 713;—Policy of H.M. Government, 1225
State of Affairs at Alexandria, 287, 288, 290, 1090, 1091
Suez Canal, 504
Government Annuities and Assurance, 2R. 423
Parliament—Business of the House, 1102, 2113
Vote of Credit, 1335, 1337

Somerset, Duke of
Egypt (Political Affairs) — Policy of H.M. Government—Ministerial Statement, Motion for an Address, 1494, 1495
Public Offices Site, 2R. 435

South Africa Act, 1877—*Renewal*
Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 20, 1081

Spain—The Zamora Waterworks Company
Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 14, 448

Speaker, The (Right Hon. Sir H. B. W. Brand), *Cambridgeshire*
Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (Nos. 1 and 2), Nomination of Select Committee, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970
Army Reserve Force—Consideration of H.M. Message, Motion for an Address, 1826, 1828
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Consid. 1109, 1110, 1115; 3R. 1307
Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal, 2R. 1020, 1021
Dover Harbour Bill, Res. 1959
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), 1991; Res. 2116
Egypt—State of Affairs—Alexandria, 289, 290;—Policy of H.M. Government, 894, 921, 923;—Massacres of Europeans, 1334
Egypt—War in Egypt, Res. 1689
Electric Lighting, Comm. 421
Ireland—Law and Justice—Cork Assizes, 1985
Irish Land Commission — Suspension of Sittings, 267
Ministry—Resignation of the Right Hon. John Bright, 724
Parcel Post, 2R. 2115, 2116
Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
Business of the House, 1103;—Vote of Credit, 1337
Order of Business, 294
Public Business, Saturday Sitting, 1221
Rules of Debate—Un-Parliamentary Language, Mr. O'Donnell, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1571
Parliament—Orders of the Day, Res. 1554, 1555, 1573

Stanhope, Earl
Vagrancy (now Casual Poor), Comm. 1054

Stanhope, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 145, 151, 331, 332, 336; *cl.* 4, 539, 545; *cl.* 9, Amendt. 789, 796, 797, 810
Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill—Loans Clause, 453
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 1, 571; *cl.* 2, 582, 587, 589, 593; *cl.* 5, 603, 608; *cl.* 20, 623; *add. cl.* 628, 629, 631
Parliament—Business of the House, 1101

Stanley, Right Hon. Colonel F. A., *Lancashire, N.*
Egypt (Military Operations)—Military Preparations, 26
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 1602, 1692, 1697

Stanley, Hon. E. L., *Oldham*
Educational Endowments (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 8, 1438; *cl.* 31, 1472
Parliament—Rules of Debate—Un-Parliamentary Language, Mr. O'Donnell, 1567

Stanley of Alderley, Lord
East India (Expenses of Military Expedition to Egypt), Res. 1677
Egypt—Arrests, 1680
Egypt (Political Affairs)—Policy of the Government—Ministerial Statement, Motion for an Address, 1520
India — "Hyderabad," Major C. B. Euan Smith, 1173, 1175
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Land Courts—Sub-Commissioners, 1205
Vagrancy (now Casual Poor), Comm. 1054

Stansfeld, Right Hon. J., *Halifax*
Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal, 1021
Parliament—Business of the House, 720

Stevenson, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*
Parliament—Adjournment of the House, 1483
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. 1031

Stewart, Mr. J., *Greenock*
Parliament—Business of the House, 720
Trusts (Scotland), 2R. 1903

Stolen Goods Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Report * *July* 11
Read 3ª * *July* 13 (No. 185)

Storer, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 9, 809

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Story-Maskelyne, Mr. M. H. N., *Cricklade*
Electric Lighting, Comm. *cl.* 2, 588; *cl.* 14, 614, 615
Supply—Natural History Museum, 1645

Stratheden and Campbell, Lord
Public Offices Site, 2R. Amendt. 433, 438; Comm. Amendt. 836; 3R. Amendt. 1212

Stuart, Mr. H. Villiers, *Waterford Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 48, 52, 316; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 786; Consid. *add. cl.* 1117; *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1120
Egypt—Conference, &c. 563
Parliamentary Paper, No. 9—Personal Explanation, 564
Supply—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit), 2030

Sudeley, Lord
Corn Returns (No. 2), 2R. 257
Public Offices Site, 2R. 429, 438; Comm. 840

Sugar Bounties (*Holland*)
Questions, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 13, 274

Sullivan, Mr. T. D., *Westmeath*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 141, 142, 399, 486; *cl.* 4, 560; Consid. *add. cl.* 1293
Ireland—Protection of Person and Property Act, 1881—Detention and Arrests—John Vine and Others, 1537
Persons detained under the Act, 705, 1078

Summers, Mr. W., *Stalybridge*
Post Office—Letter Carriers, 892, 893

SUPPLY
Army Estimates—Vote for the Autumn Manœuvres, Questions, Mr. Salt, Mr. Rylands, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, Mr. Childers *July* 13, 278
Forces in the Mediterranean (*Vote of Credit*), Notice of Motion, Mr. Gladstone; Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Gladstone *July* 20, 1072

SUPPLY
Considered in Committee *July* 24, 1574—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit)
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Motion withdrawn
Considered in Committee *July* 24, 1619—Civil Service Estimates — Class I. — Public Works and Buildings—Votes 4 to 23
Resolutions reported *July* 25
[*cont.*

Supply—*cont.*
Considered in Committee *July* 25, 1691—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit) [First Night]
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,300,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, in strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean" (*Mr. Gladstone*); after long time spent therein, Committee—R.P.
Considered in Committee *July* 26, 1829—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit) [Second Night]; after long time spent therein, Committee—R.P.
Considered in Committee *July* 27, 1992—Forces in the Mediterranean (Vote of Credit) [Third Night]
After long time spent therein, original Question put; A. 275, N. 19; M. 256
Div. List, A. and N., 2106
Considered in Committee *July* 27, 2108—Army Supplementary Estimate, Vote A
(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a number of Men, not exceeding 10,000, all ranks, in addition to those already voted, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at home and abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883" (*Sir Arthur Hayter*); after short debate, Motion agreed to
Resolutions reported *July* 28

Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 1° * (*Mr. Attorney General*) *July* 18
Read 2°, after debate *July* 20, 1167 [Bill 243]
The Winter Assizes, Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 24, 1545

Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 1° * (*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*) *July* 21 [Bill 250]

Synan, Mr. E. J., *Limerick Co.*
Arrears of Rent (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 37, 204, 206, 369, 395, 463, 470, 474; *cl.* 2, 494; *cl.* 5, 781; *add. cl.* 961, 983, 994; Consid. *cl.* 15, Amendt. 1129
Ireland—Piers and Harbours—Foynes Harbour, 1214

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Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 22, 1479; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Leamy*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived
Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°, and referred to a Select Committee

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (*Oxford University Statutes*)
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold Her assent from the proposed Statute for the University of Oxford, framed by the University of Oxford Commissioners, concerning the nomination of examiners, and now on the Table of this House" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *July* 20, 1055; after debate, on Question? Cont. 57, Not-Cont. 70; M. 13; resolved in the negative
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Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, That they have power to make provision in pursuance of the said Resolution

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